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Filipino Class Structure in the Sixteenth Century

WILLIAM HENRY SCOTT

The present paper offers summary results of a study of sixteenth century Filipino class structure insofar as it can be reconstructed from the data preserved in contemporary Spanish sources. The major accounts on which it is based have been available in English since the publication of the Blair and Robertson translations early in this century, and have recently been made accessible to the general Filipino reading public by F. Landa Jocano in a convenient and inexpensive volume entitled *The Philippines at the Spanish Contact*. At least four of these accounts were written for the specific purpose of analyzing Filipino society so that colonial administrators could make use of indigenous institutions to govern their new subjects. Yet any history teacher who has tried to use them to extract even such simple details as the rights and duties of each social class, for purposes of his own understanding and his students' edification, know how frustrating the exercise can be.

The problems are many. The accounts were not, of course, written by social scientists and are therefore understandably disorderly, imprecise, and even contradictory. 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

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— 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 the modern Filipino knows 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 the original documents are confusing, they are made 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.

It was a decade of frustrating attempts to resolve such contradictions that inspired the present study.

Seven basic documents were used for the study: Miguel de Loarca’s *Relación de las Islas Filipinas* (1582); Juan de Plasencia’s *Relación de las costumbres que los indios se han tener en estas islas* and *Instrucción de las costumbres que antiguamente tenían los naturales de la Pampanga en sus Pleitos* (1589); Pedro Chirino’s *Relación de las Islas Filipinas* (1604); chapter eight of Antonio de Morga’s *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*; the anonymous late sixteenth century Boxer manuscript; and the unpublished *Historia de las Islas e Indios de las Bisayas* (1688) of Francisco Alcina.

Loarca was an encomendero in Arevalo, Panay, with ten years’ experience — including the operation of a shipyard in Oton — at the time he wrote his account; it is therefore not surprising that he includes more economic details than any of the others. Plasencia was a Franciscan missionary for twelve years in the Tagalog-speaking lake district east of Manila, who translated the *Doctrina Cristiana* which after his death became the first book printed in the Philippines. His description of his parishioners’ customs runs to concise but comprehensive statements indicating personal experience, careful observation, and thoughtful reflection. His treatise on Pampanga law remained the best work on Philippine custom law until Barton’s *Ifugao Law* (1919). Chirino was a Jesuit who served during the 1590s in both the Visayas and Luzon. His work is scholarly, organized, and edited for publication, but contains data on social structure only incidental to telling the story of his Society’s early evangelizing efforts in the Philippines.

Morga was a Doctor of Canon Law who held two of the highest offices of the colonial government during the last five years of the sixteenth century, and although he spent considerable time building and commanding fleets with Filipino manpower and materials, he had no experience at the barrio level. His justly respected *Sucesos* is a professional, highly literate, and chronologically arranged history whose eighth chapter is the most comprehensive description of the archipelago and its people of his generation. Alcina was a Jesuit who, although he arrived late on the scene — sixty years after Loarca — spent thirty years learning to know the people and language of Samar and Leyte before writing his monumental work on Visayan ethnography and natural science. His nine chapters on preconquest Filipino government, warfare, and slavery remain the most penetrating study of Philippine society in the Spanish period.

Since the so-called Boxer codex, of unknown but presumably Manila provenance, has been largely ignored by historians, a few words may be said about it. Jocano used it to good effect in the introduction to his *The Philippines*, but other scholars have tended to dismiss it as a rehash of earlier accounts. Careful scrutiny, however, suggests that it is an original, eyewitness description whose author was probably not even familiar with the other accounts. (Why would he have ignored their accurate description of tattooing techniques and persist in thinking Visayan specimens were applied with hot irons?) He provides the earliest description of how to make that garment the Maranaos call a *malong*, gives a drawing of a sexual device well-known from the other accounts, and makes explicit one fact the others only imply — that the *gigilid* house-slave becomes a *namamahay* householder upon marriage. His unwitnessed data are detailed but unstudied, and were evidently taken down from personal informants. He notes, for example, that hunters working for Moro masters must be sure to reach the game before the dogs do because Islamic law requires animals to be bled before butchering. The author was probably an intelligent, observant traveler, perhaps a colonial officer, who did not stay long in one place, could not speak any Philippine language, and used an interpreter given to Mexican spelling conventions like *aguiguilitl*.

The goal of this study was to discover a distinct, non-contradictory, and functional meaning for each Filipino term used in

the Spanish accounts. The methodology had four stages. First, the original texts were examined and compared, with all such Spanish terms as *principales* and *esclavos*, etc., removed. Second, the Spanish use of the Filipino terms during the first century of occupation was examined in contemporary dictionaries, decrees, and correspondence. Third, the sixteenth century meanings of the Spanish terms in Spanish society were studied, and their applicability to Filipino classes assessed. And, finally, a synthesis was attempted which would resolve all contradictions by recourse to sectional variations, the authors' personal interests, and genuine anachronisms due to socioeconomic changes during the second half of the sixteenth century. The results are presented below in two sections, one for Luzon and the other for the Visayas, for obvious reasons of differences in the terminologies themselves.

LUZON

Father Plasencia describes Filipinos as being divided into four social conditions or "estates": *principales*, *hidalgos*, *pecheros*, and *esclavos*. These appear to be functional divisions as he conceived them, for he separates the common tribute-payer (*pechero*) from the "true" slaves, calls the *principales* "datus," and comments that they are "like knights" (*como caballeros*), that is, holder of an office, not members of a class. In a separate treatise on custom law, however, he only distinguishes three estates: those of ruler, ruled, and slave, as Doctor of Canon Law Antonio de Morga also did, and like Morga does not equate principal with datu.

Members of the first two of these estates are enfranchised with the right to make or break client-patron relationships, but are distinguished from one another for purposes of administering justice and fixing fines, wergeld, and inheritance. Those in the First Estate have the right to trial by their peers, those in the Second to trial by those in the First. The Third have no right to trial at all. They are not enfranchised in the eyes of the law and are dependent upon their masters' favor for justice; they do not even appear in the statutes Plasencia codified by interviewing wise old men in Pampanga.

The Spaniards called all members of this First Estate, whether

actually occupying positions of rule or not, principales. Since the Real Academia Española defines principal as a "person or thing that holds first place in value or importance and is given precedence and preference before others," it is a suitable term, more so than any English equivalent. None of the accounts give a Filipino equivalent for this word, but it was surely either *maginoo* or some other derivative of *poon/pund* ("chief leader"). Plasencia translates "Lord God" as *Panginoon Dios*, and one of the leaders who surrendered the Port of Manila in 1571 was Maginoo Marlanaway. The force of the word is made clear in the San Buenaventura dictionary: *pund* is defined as "principal or head of a lineage," *ginoo* as "noble by lineage and parentage, family and descent," and *maginoo* as "principal in lineage or parentage," and *señor* (lord) is equated with all three. They are obviously to be distinguished from nouveau riche imitators scornfully called *maygintao*, "man with gold" — or, as San Buenaventura says, "Hidalgo by gold, not lineage, a 'dark knight,' as we would say." Whatever it was called, the class constituted a birthright aristocracy with claims to respect, obedience, and support from those of subordinate status. They will be called "chiefs" in this paper, in the sense of being of the chiefly class, not in the sense of being rulers.

People in the Second Estate had the theoretical right to shift allegiance from one *maginoo* to another and so were called *libres* or *libertos* in later Spanish accounts, and *freemen* in modern English. But they were not free in the sense that they had no chief at all: rather they were vassals who rendered service to some overlord. Some paid feudal dues in the form of agricultural labor and were called *timawa*, while others rendered military service and were called *maharlika*. But in either case, whether men of substance following their lords to war or humble farmers working his fields in season, they were enfranchised in the eyes of the law and could bring suit.

The unenfranchised and disfranchised of the Third Estate were called *alipin*, a term all Spanish sources translate as slave. The Academia defines esclavo as "one who lacks liberty because of being under the control of another," so the term does not necessarily connote chattel or captive. In the Philippines, the majority of them were actually serfs, peons, bondsmen, debtors, or depend-

ents — or what Filipinos called “householders,” *alipin namamahay*. Those who could be legally sold were called “hearth slaves,” *alipin sa gigilid*, and the distinction was often deliberately blurred by oppressive creditors haling them before a Spanish judge who was ignorant of Philippine social structure. All *alipin* were in a condition of more or less servitude, but this servitude was negotiable so they could not necessarily be distinguished from the Second Estate by their economic condition alone. What sets the *alipin* of the Third Estate apart from the *maginoo*, *maharlika*, and *timawa* of the first two Estates is their want of franchise — the right to change lords or file a law suit.

None of the accounts record any political office other than that of *datu*, the ruler of a *barangay*. Other Spanish sources refer to any super-baranganic political power, or pretensions to power, as oddities or actual aberrations, especially the one at the mouth of the Pasig River which they regard as an alien intrusion. Morga uses the word *datu* only once, applying it to officers (*mandadores*) who assist a chief in the administration of a *barangay*, and *barangay* itself he calls a *parcialidad* (faction or party). These variations probably reflect the viewpoint of a highly placed colonial official stationed in a former harbor principality where his personal contact with Filipinos was restricted to members of the ex-royalty. The *principalia* to whom he refers had already absorbed the heirs of conquered rulers with impressive personal titles like *Rajah Matanda* Acheh, *Rajaj Muda* Solayman, and *Si Bunaw Lakan* Dula, who in their day had obviously been superordinate to mere *datus* since Legazpi recognized their right to surrender Manila in the name of all the other chiefs. By Morga's day, twenty-five years later, their descendants' political prerogatives had already been converted into economic advantages like exemption from tribute. The process is unconsciously reflected in the rhetoric of all four accounts: they describe the role of the ruling chiefs in the past tense, but those of their subjects and slaves in the present.

THE FIRST ESTATE

The Spanish accounts do not describe the class of *maginoo* but only the office of *datu*. A *datu*, needless to say, must be a member of the *maginoo* class. The meaning of the word is made clear by

the early Tagalog-Spanish dictionaries: he is the ruler of a barangay (e.g., "*nagdarato*: to rule the barrio or barangay"), and a barangay is a "barrio of people subject to one" — and synonymous with *dolohan*, "barrio or faction of people subject to one head." Plasencia thinks each one of them was a single family in origin, and since barangay also means "boat," he speculates that the role of datu arose from the captain of a boat migrating to the Philippines with his family, relatives, and servants. It is difficult to believe that Philippine barrios could have maintained their discrete boatload identities across centuries or millenia, but Plasencia, like other Spaniards of his day, thought the Filipino people had only arrived in the archipelago a short time before. A more likely explanation would be that a datu is one who governs like the captain of a ship, that is, with uncontested authority. In fact, most datos were captains of ships; rowing for them is listed among their vassals' duties in every one of the accounts. Perhaps a barangay was the social unit necessary to build, launch, supply, and fight a man-of-war and support its captain's argosies.

At any event, a barangay varied in size from thirty to a hundred households, and was normally part of a settlement (*pueblo*) which included other barangays, either contiguous to it or at some distance. These settlements, or at least the land they occupy, appear to be what the dictionaries call a *bayan*, namely, "place for a *pueblo*" or "pueblo where the people live," as in the question, "*Kaninong pabuwisan ang bayang ito?*" (whose estate is the bayan here?) Assuming this to be the case, a given barangay might have claims to swidden land in more than one bayan, and serfs (*alipin namamahay*) might be inherited from one barangay to another but could not be removed from the bayan itself. Taytay, Rizal had four barangays — and four datos — with a hundred families each when Father Chirino arrived in 1591. The Boxer manuscript thinks three or four datos are normal for such a settlement, in contrast to one or two in the Visayas. Loarca says that if ten or more datos live in the same *pueblo*, they obey the wealthiest among them, but Morga says only the best warriors are obeyed and Plasencia holds that the datos were not subject to one another at all "except by way of friendship and kinship." Plasencia adds, "the chiefs helped one another with their barangays in the wars they had."

Sources of Datu's Authority. The Boxer manuscript calls datu "señores de ttulo" (titled lords). Eligibility for title is maginoo lineage which is reckoned bilaterally, though the office itself, being exercised only by men, passes through the male line from father to son or brother. The office is the source of the datu's authority, but his power depends upon the fealty of men in the Second Estate and the support of those in the Third. Since the former are enfranchised, they can in theory give their allegiance to the datu of their choice, and their choice is usually the best warrior. (Datus who die with a reputation for bravery in battle go to the grave accompanied by live slaves — in actual ships in the case of those of special Viking valor.) A powerful datu is therefore, literally, a popular datu, some so much so as to attract others of their peers. In such cases, important decisions—especially legislative — are made by the chief datu's calling them all together and securing their acquiescence, his large house serving as the barrio hall. (Loarca comments from Panay, "the Pintados do not have this policy because nobody wishes to recognize another as more of a chief.") All the accounts list the datu's duties as twofold: to govern his people, and to lead them in war (though good administrator Morga adds, "and succor them in their struggles and needs"). It is quite understandable, of course, that nobody mentions the primary duty of any lord to his vassals — that of defending them against their enemies, especially foreign invaders.

A datu has the duty to render judgment in any lawsuit filed by his followers. He convokes the litigants, hears sworn testimony, and hands down a decision — all in the presence of his people, and sometimes with the assistance of older men. His decision may be appealed, however, to an arbiter of the contestants' choice from another community, even a non-datu. In the case of theft, the datu presides over — and may initiate and enforce — trial by oath, divination, or ordeal. He also participates in dispensing justice within the First Estate, appearing before a wise legalist acceptable to him and his accuser if he himself is sued, or combining with his peers to initiate such action in the case of others, and to contribute police power to enforce their decision afterwards. Where such arbitration fails, the plaintiff inaugurates a kin feud which runs its violent course until mutual exhaustion satisfies honor and both parties agree to payment of wergelds.

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The provisions of the law are handed down by tradition, but are liable to amendment by consensus among ruling datu, and to circumvention by any among them powerful enough to do so. Penalties vary with the relative social status of the parties, and include restitution or indemnification in the case of theft, death for witchcraft, murder, sexual advance, or infraction of religious taboo, and fines in all other cases. In the case of capital punishment or the totally dependent status of gigilid slavery, the presiding datu takes possession of the condemned man's children and accomplices, and compensates the plaintiff himself.

Control over disposition of barangay real property is vested in its datu. The distribution of irrigated land is of major consideration, but hillside swiddens are worked freely by any barangay member or even aliens with claims through intermarriage or prior arrangement with the datu. The datu has the right to retain certain land use privileges to himself: for example, the restriction of access to fisheries, or the collection of fees from a market opened at a strategic passage on a waterway. A datu may alienate territory — presumably on behalf of his entire barangay — or even convert his rights into regular payments from his subjects. The ruler of Pila, Laguna, for example, purchased it in gold from its former chief and then charged rentals from his own maharlika for its use. It is noteworthy that the rate was fixed at four cavans a year rather than at some percentage of the produce or size of the holding.

Services Received. A datu receives services, agricultural produce, and respect from his people who, in Laguna at least, are called his *katunguhan*, literally, "those who go along." The respect is shown by such deferential behavior as covering the mouth with the hand when addressing him, or contracting the body in a profound bow on entering his presence indoors and raising the hands alongside the cheeks. The same deference is shown his family and descendants, in office or out — to all maginoo, in short — and slander against any of them is severely punished. He receives a share of harvests as tribute except from men of maginoo lineage, and additional contributions such as a jar of sugarcane wine or tuba at unscheduled seasons like feasts or funerals. Services are also of two kinds: seasonal field labor from which nobody is exempted of whatever class or condition, participation in maritime and military expeditions, and unscheduled occasions like house

construction or opening new land, for all of which work the laborers are fed or feasted. The importance of seafaring duties is indicated by the considerable detail with which they are specified in the accounts: to equip and supply the vessel and then to row it, either as slaves or warriors, or to come, provisioned and armed, as soon as called and as often, and to follow wherever the datu leads.

Perhaps a clue to the Spanish assessment of the office of datu may be found in the fact that Plasencia likens them to knights ("como caballeros") while he equates maharlika, timawa, and alipin directly with hidalgo, pechero, and esclavo, with no such reservation as "como." A caballero is one endowed with a *caballería* (a knighthood) and a caballería is an *encomienda*, that is, "a commission: the office of certain knights of the military orders [or] the place, territory, or fees of this office." The Blancas de San José dictionary glosses encomienda with *pabuwisan*, from *buwis*, tribute or dues (*pecho*) — which is what Chief Saripada Humabon wanted Magellan to pay when he anchored in the port of Cebu. A caballero is thus one who collects dues from a certain district. It is probably the lack of a reigning monarch qualified to so invest Filipino datos that moves Father Plasencia to say "como."

THE SECOND ESTATE

Philippine custom law calls members of the Second Estate timawa, which Plasencia translates as "common people" (*la gente común*) and Morga as "plebeians" (*plebeyos*), both being terms which in sixteenth century Spanish suggest ineligibility to marry a person of royal blood. Their franchise depends upon competence to enter into client-patron relationships, not upon birthright; that is, if they are not in debt to anybody, they are free to make such contracts, both as client, and as creditors to debtors or master to slaves. They enjoy agricultural rights to a portion of the barangay land, both to use and bequeath, and to harvest without paying any tribute. Although contractual relations vary and appear to include tribute in some cases, their patrons are basically their lords, not their landlords. Their normal obligation is agricultural labor worked off in groups when summoned for planting or harvesting, but they may also be liable to

work fisheries, accompany expeditions, or row boats. And, like members of the Third Estate, they can be called out for irregular services like supporting feasts or building houses.

Membership in the Second Estate is largely acquired. The *timawa* have their ultimate origin in the First and Third Estates. From the First they absorb the illegitimate offspring of *maginoo* with their unmarried slaves and married serfs, and from the Third, those who have successfully repaid debts, completed indenture, or literally purchased their freedom in gold. The definitions in the early Tagalog dictionaries are unambiguous. San Buenaventura defines *timawa* as "without servitude (*esclavonía*), neither rich nor poor," and *manga timawa* as "the free, the common people after the magnates," and illustrates with the example, "*titimawain kita*" (I'll set thee free). Blancas de San José is even more illuminating:

A free man who was formerly a slave, and from this they say *timawa* of one who escapes death by chance, like one in the hangman's noose and the rope breaks, or the bull that cannot be captured because of his bravery, and, changing the accent, *Nagtitimawak* of a slave who has freed himself by running away from his master, and the same with animals.

The Maharlika Aristocracy. The Second Estate also includes a birthright aristocracy called *maharlika* who render military service. The *maharlika* accompanies his captain abroad at his own expense whenever he calls and wherever he goes, rows his boat not as a galley slave but as a comrade-at-arms, and receives his share of the spoils afterwards. Plasencia's is the only account which mentions *maharlika* and it does not explain the origin of their ascribed status. Probably they were a sort of diluted *maginoo* blood – perhaps the descendants of mixed marriages between a ruling dynasty and one out of power, or scions of a conquered line which struck this bargain to retain some of its privileges. At any event, the *maharlika* are subject to the same requirements of seasonal and extraordinary community labor as everybody else in the *barangay*. Technically, they are less free than the ordinary *timawa* since, if they want to transfer their allegiance once they are married, they must host a public feast and pay their *datu* from six to eighteen pesos in gold. Their profession was destined to disappear under the colonial regime, of course, just as the *mangayaw* raids in which they practiced it disappeared. Indeed, it seems that it was already being downgraded in Plasencia's day: those *datos* controlling market places and collecting fishing fees were exemplars of the

socioeconomic changes which produced chiefs like the lord of Pila whose maharlika were reduced to a kind of *inquilino* status. A generation later San Buenaventura had already forgotten that they were "free" (*libres*) rather than "freed" (*libertos*), and so, evidently, had the Filipino people by the next century when Juan Francisco de San Antonio could cite as common Tagalog usage, "*Minahadlika ako nang panginoon ko*" (my master freed me). The Blancas de San José dictionary defines them as "free-men though with a certain subjugation in that they may not leave the barangay: they are the people called villeins (*la gente villano*)," literally countryfolk living outside some nobleman's villa. In 1754, long after they had disappeared, of course, Juan Delgado simply calls them "plebeians."

Plasencia calls the maharlika "hidalgos" and, as a matter of fact, the parallels are noteworthy. Training and maintenance for the warrior life are expensive for both the maharlika and hidalgo, so they must be men of substance to enter their profession, though they may be handsomely reimbursed in booty later. But substance alone is not enough: qualification in both cases includes descent from others of their class — for four generations, in the case of the hidalgo. Like the maharlika, the hidalgo is bound to his master by tighter feudal ties than the ordinary vassal; in the event of breach of faith, his lord may seize both his goods and his person, while even a serf is guaranteed the land to which he is attached. In like manner, the maharlika is fined for breaking his contract if he leaves his datu. And if the hidalgo can no longer shoulder the financial burden of warfare, he can ritually unmake his contract and drop down to a cheaper vassal status, that of villano. Something like this seems to have happened to the maharlika between 1590 and 1630.

THE THIRD ESTATE

An alipin is a man in debt to another man. His subordination is therefore obligatory, not contractual: the other man is technically his creditor rather than his lord, and may be a maginoo, maharlika, timawa, or another alipin. The alipin has birthright claim to work a piece of the barangay land which cannot be taken away from him or he from it, except in the case of a commuted death sentence by which he becomes a chattel slave. The alipin

may be born as such – in which case he is called *gintubo* – but what he really inherits from his parents is their debt, indenture, or sentence. Although he cannot be legally seized or sold, his debt can be transferred from one creditor to another for profit and to his detriment. For this reason, a man who falls into debt seeks to become *alipin* to one of his own relatives if possible. As a matter of fact, men in extreme penury may voluntarily seek the security of *alipin* status, that is, be *napaaalipin* as opposed to *naaalipin*. Since the degree of *alipin* indebtedness can vary, when that debt is passed on to heirs it also varies according to the wife's status, and indeed, according to the debts either parent has inherited from preceding generations. For example, if *alipin* and *timawa* marry, their offspring will be only half *alipin*; or if an *alipin* has three non-*alipin* grandparents, only one quarter, – social conditions described in Spanish accounts with the rather unsatisfactory expressions “half slave” and “quarter slave.” What all this means in practical terms is that such *alipin* only work off half their father's, or one-fourth their grandfather's, indebtedness during alternate months. Such partial *alipin*, moreover, have the right to enforce their manumission if they can afford the price.

The normal *alipin* with land rights is called *namamahay* (householder), and the one who has lost that right, *alipin sa gigilid* (hearth slave), a category which also includes those who never had such a right in the first place, namely, captives or purchases. The Boxer manuscript makes the curious remark that there is a kind of slaves of both *namamahay* and *gigilid* status called *tagalos*. If this is not a flat error, it may have been obtained from some informant of Bornean descent, and thus reflects an attitude based on a former relationship between the two peoples.

Alipin Namamahay. Spanish accounts consistently translate *alipin* as “slave,” but their authors just as consistently deplore the illogic of including the *namamahay* in the same category as the *gigilid*, or even in the category of *esclavo* at all. That the *gigilid* – or at least some *gigilid* – were chattel house slaves “like those we have,” as Morga says, was obvious, but it was just as obvious that the serf-like *namamahay* were not. One of the longest entries in the San Buenaventura belabors the point, and includes the following passage:

These *namamahay* slaves in *Silanga*, which is on the way to *Giling-giling* from *Lumban*, make one field called *tongo*, and it is to be noted that

they have no further obligation to their master; in Pila, Bay, Pillila [Pililla] and Moron [Morong], they are almost free for they serve their master no more than from time to time, and [they say] he almost has to beg them to go with him to other places or to help him with something, the same as he does with the freemen; in all the hills as far as Calaylayan, they serve their master from time to time if he calls them, but if he calls them too often it's considered an abuse.

Father Plasencia solves the problem directly and sensibly: he calls them *pecheros* (tribute-payers). The *pecho* they pay is called *buwis* and amounts to half their crop, and the one who pays it is called *nunuwis*. Or his lord may agree to a fixed fee of four *cavans* of *palay* a year instead, the same rate the *datu* of Pila was charging his *maharlika* for their land use in the 1580s. In addition, he is expected to present a measure of threshed rice or a jar of wine for his master's wedding feasts or funerals, and generally a share of any special foodstuffs he may acquire for himself, for example, the leg of a deer taken in the hunt. Like everybody else, he comes at his master's call to plant and harvest his fields, build his houses, carry his cargo, equip his boat, and row it when he goes abroad – not as a warrior but as an oarsman, unless relieved of this status as an accolade for bravery – and in any emergency such as his master's being sick, captured, or flooded out. He owns his own house, possessions, and gold, and bequeaths them to his heirs, but his ownership of the land he uses is restricted: he cannot alienate it. If his master moves out of the settlement, he continues to serve him as a kind of absentee landlord, and if his master dies, he is obligated to all his heirs, and must divide his services among them. Upon his own death, his creditor has the right to take one of his children for *gigilid* domestic service in his own house, but if he takes more, he is considered a tyrant.

A man enters *namamahay* status by three routes: inheritance from *namamahay* parents, dropping down from the Second Estate, or rising up from *gigilid* status. If his debt stems from legal action or insolvency, he and his creditor agree about the duration of the bondage and an equivalent cash value for its satisfaction. In Father Plasencia's day this never exceeded ten *taels* in gold, or roughly the *marke* value of 320 *cavans* of rice at Manila prices. This custom continued under the Spanish occupation and so exercised the friars' conscience that their theologians argued the fine points of its morality for a century. (How long can a man justly be indentured

for such-and-such a debt? At what age does a child handed over for its father's debts become productive enough to be reckoned an asset rather than a liability?) Those who rose from the ranks of the gigilid hearth slaves might actually have purchased their freedom, but mainly they were transferred to namamahay householding when they married, simply for their master's own convenience. For this reason, it also seems likely — though the Spanish sources do not say so — that captives and purchased slaves may have been set up in namamahay housekeeping status from the beginning.

Alipin sa Gigilid. Gilid is the "innermost part of the house where the hearth is," and the use of the term to distinguish a kind of alipin calls attention to the typical place of their service, or, perhaps, conception. They are members of their master's household who, unlike namamahay householders, eat out of their master's pot. They are as dependent upon him as his own children, and from this circumstance arises his moral right to sell them. In actual practice, however, he rarely does. He may transfer them to some other creditor, but raw materials for the slave trade or human sacrifice is not procured from the household, or even from the alipin labor pool which implements a datu's public and private projects. Quite the opposite, they may be rewarded at their master's pleasure, or his hope of motivating them, by being permitted to retain some of the fruits of their labor, even to the extent of eventually purchasing their liberty. Indeed, if they can accumulate enough gold, say through the trade as a goldsmith or participating in raids, they can buy their way not only into namamahay status, but even *timawa*. (Juan Francisco de San Antonio, reporting the old thirty-peso manumission price 130 years later, comments, "and if he gave sixty or more, he was free of everything and became an hidalgo.")

The main sources of alipin sa gigilid recruitment are the children born in their master's house, not infrequently natural children by his own alipin of either status, and those of men under commuted death sentence who mortgage one of their own to somebody who can afford to raise them, thus preserving their own liberty to support the rest. Once a hearth slave grows up, however, it may be more practical and profitable to set him up in his own house instead of feeding and housing him and his new family. All the

accounts distinguish the namamahay not only as having his own house separate from his master's, but as being married and having his own family. The author of the Boxer manuscript describes the situation with some surprise:

His master can sell him because none of these slaves who are in their master's house are married, but all [are] maidens and bachelors, and in the case of a male who wishes to marry, the chief does not lose him; and such a one is called namamahay when married, and then lives by himself, and, surprising enough, they would [even] give the slaves who were in the chiefs' houses permission to marry, and nobody would hinder the men.

The terms *gigilid* and *namamahay*, therefore, more accurately distinguish a man's residence than his economic status, and are incidental to a sliding scale of downward social mobility occasioned by punitive disfranchisement and economic reversal. The condemned man's debt to society or fiscal creditor can be underwritten by some other man motivated by kin loyalty or hope of gain. If both are *alipin* and neighbors and relatives, their new relationship may be no more visible than a redistribution of their labor. But the social stigma is considerable, for the *gigilid* of a *namamahay* is called by the insulting term *bulisik*, "vile" or "despicable." Still worse, the poor wretch who becomes the *gigilid* of a *gigilid* of a *namamahay* is branded *bulislis*, "exposed," like the private parts when one's dress is hitched up — a term which may reflect a relationship between master and slave.

Slaves purchased from outside the community, and captives taken in war or raids, are also counted among the *gigilid* and may be real chattel without even the security of the parental affection of some master in whose house they grew up. If they are destined for resale or sacrifice, they may be temporarily employed — as field hands, for example — but will literally be non-persons in society. But if they are brought into the community as functioning *alipin*, they will perforce enjoy the rights of food, shelter, and work of other *alipin*. Their children will then be born into society not as aliens but as *gintubo*, "children of *alipin*," and as such be eligible for whatever upward social mobility fortune may offer them.

The categories of *namamahay* and *gigilid* thus appear to have been dysfunctional at the time they were first described by Spanish observers. If a man raised a *gigilid* slave to manhood, married him off as a *namamahay* householder, and then seized

one of his children to raise as a gigilid slave, what was that child's status on reaching maturity? Do these categories distinguish membership in ascribed subclasses, or simply conditions of residence? The categories as described would be fully functional only in a society in which real slavery was limited to domestic service and slaves therefore lived in their masters' houses, and men were born alipin but not alipin namamahay or alipin sa gigilid. Gintubo, the birthright status of such alipin commoners, would then serve to distinguish the operative core of the class from social transients or newcomers who had not yet learned their role. But if such a society underwent economic changes which either increased the value of slave labor or restricted slaveholders' other sources of income, strong motivation for modifications would arise. That such changes were taking place in the 1590s but being resisted, is suggested by the following passage from the Boxer manuscript:

If they have many children, when many have been taken and he takes more, they consider it a tyrannical abuse, and once those who are leaving the chief's house to marry leave, they do not return to render him any more service than the namamahay do, unless he uses force, and this they consider a worse tyranny inasmuch as they were given permission to leave his house and he makes them return to it; and these slaves inherited these customs from their ancestors.

This confusion of alipin status was brought to Spanish attention by an ill-fated attempt to replace Filipino concepts of slavery with Christian concepts of slavery. Most contemporary sources attribute the confusion to a combination of Filipino cupidity and Spanish ignorance, the former using the latter for their own purposes. Typical is the following entry in the San Buenaventura dictionary:

Gintubo: [slavery] inherited from one to another; this is the first kind of slaves. *Nagkakagintubo*: slaves of this kind. *Gintubo ni ama*: "My father inherited it"; this the Filipinos say before the judges, and those who do not know the significance of the word judge the slaves to be sagigilid, so it should be noted that under this name, *gintubo*, the two kinds which follow [viz., *gigilid* and *namamahay*] are covered, and they should not say that *gintubo* is *sa gigilid* since it also includes the *namamahay*.

Despite such well-intended erudition, however, the confusion was profound enough to survive into the twentieth century, long after the alipin who caused it had disappeared. The 1972

Panganiban *Diksyunaryo-Tesaurus Pilipino-Ingles* defines *gintubo* as "a slave born in the house of the master," but considers it synonymous with "*anák ng alipin*."

VISAYAS

Both Loarca and the author of the Boxer manuscript record a Visayan cosmogony which divides mankind into five types or species: *datus*, *timawas*, *oripun*, negroes, and overseas aliens. The myth presents them all as offspring of a divine primordial pair who flee or hide from their father's wrath. According to the Boxer version:

They scattered where best they could, many going out of their father's house; and others stayed in the main sala, and others hid in the walls of the house itself, and others went into the kitchen and hid among the pots and stove. So, these Visayans say, from these who went into the inner rooms of the house come the lords and chiefs they have among them now, who give them orders and whom they respect and obey and who among them are like our titled lords in Spain; they call them *datos* in their language. From those who remained in the main sala of the house come the knights and *hidalgos* among them, inasmuch as these are free and do not pay anything at all; these they call *timaguas* in their language. From those who got behind the walls of the house, they say, come those considered slaves, whom they call *oripes* in their language. Those who went into the kitchen and hid in the stove and among the pots they say are the negroes, claiming that all the negroes there are in the hills of the Philippine Islands of the West come from them. And from the other tribes there are in the world, saying that these were many and that they went to many and diverse places.

The details of the myth are revealing of Filipino views of their own social hierarchy: class distinctions are presented as being of the same order as racial differences. The ruling class is secluded and protected in the inner security of the house ("*lo más escondido de las casa*"), Loarca says, with their privileged *timawa* retinue standing between them and the world in the front sala ("*más afuera*"), and their more timid *oripun* supporters occupying the very walls of the house. And, completely beyond the pale of Philippine society, are the soot-colored negroes of the hills, and such literally outlandish races as the Spaniards themselves, descendants of those who "left by the same door through which their father had entered, and went toward the sea." Equally significant

is something the myth does not say: it fails to distinguish the rice- and cotton-producing Filipinos of the uplands from those along the coast who supply them with salt, fish, and imported trade porcelains.

Sixteenth century Visayans therefore saw themselves as divided into three divinely sanctioned orders: datu, timawa, and oripun. The word datu is used as both a social class and a political title: the class is a birthright aristocracy or royalty careful to preserve its pedigree, and the office is the captaincy of a band of warrior supporters bound by voluntary oath of allegiance and entitled to defense and revenge at their captain's personal risk. These supporters are timawa, and they are not only their datu's comrades-at-arms and personal bodyguards, testing his wine for poison before he or any other datu drinks it, but usually his own relatives or even his natural sons. Everybody else is oripun. They support timawa and datu alike with obligatory agricultural and industrial labor, or its equivalence in rice. When the Spaniards reached Cebu, they found the subordination of the oripun to the other two orders so obvious and the distinction between datu and timawa so slight, that they did not at first recognize the existence of three orders. Legazpi, after three busy years of conquering, cajoling and coopting them, thought there were only two orders of Pintados: rulers and ruled. And a half century later, old Samareños recalled the timawa as a lower order of datus, and even an extinct class in between called *tumao*.

THE FIRST ORDER

Members of the datu class enjoy ascribed right to respect, obedience, and support from their oripun followers and acquired right to the same advantages from their legal timawa. In theory at least, they can dispose of their followers' persons, houses, and property, and do in fact take possession of them at their death. Land use and disposition are not mentioned in any of the accounts, presumably because Visayan sustenance comes exclusively from swiddens, forests, or the sea. Since the sons of a ruling datu have equal claim to succession, competition is keen among them, and official datu wives practice abortion to limit such divisive possibilities to only two or three offspring. Significantly, a myth recorded by

Loarca attributes the invention of weapons and introduction of warfare to a quarrel over inheritance. In fact, it is normal for a datu's brother to separate from him and form another settlement with a following of his own. To maintain the purity of their line, datos marry only among their kind, often seeking high-ranking brides in other communities, abducting them, or contracting brideprices running to five or six hundred pesos in gold, slaves, and jewelry. Meanwhile they keep their own marriageable daughters secluded as *binokot*, literally, "wrapped up." Social distance is maintained by such deference as addressing them in the third person, keeping off the noisy bamboo-slatted floor while they are sleeping, or the strict observance of their mourning taboos by the whole community. Furthermore, competition from bold and wealthy kin is discouraged by such protocol sanctions as restricting the size and ostentation of their houses.

Datus of pure descent (for example, *potli nga datu* or *tubas nga datu*, or the four-generation *lubus nga datu*) also recognize another lineage of lesser nobility called tumao. Literally, tumao means "to be a man," that is, without taint of slavery, servitude, or witchcraft. These are the descendants of other or former datos, or of an immigrating datu's original comrades, or the kin of a prominent local ruler ("*señor y dueño del pueblo*"). From this tumao rank come a ruling datu's personal officers, such as his *Atobang sa Datu* (Prime Minister), and from their sons come a corps of *Sandig sa Datu* ("Supporters of the Datu"), though after fifty years of Spanish occupation both the titles and offices had disappeared. Datus also maintain *sandil* concubines, some of them binokot ("princesses") of high rank captured in raids, who bear them illegitimate offspring with no inheritance rights beyond their father's favors while alive, but who are usually set free upon his death. These are the timawa, whom the origin myth considers a separate order of men, but whose descendants were fondly respected as a third grade of the first order long after colonial rule had rendered all such distinctions meaningless. Those timawa who are released on their father's death — slaves freed from above, so to speak — are called by the special title, ginoo. By Alcina's day, however, the term timawa alone survived as a designation for the ordinary Visayan tribute-payer who was neither chief nor slave, while ginoo took on the general Tagalog significance of "sir" because of Manila's new prestige as the colonial capital.

Datu's Duties and Functions. The following which a datu rules is his *sakop*, *haop*, or *dolohan* — what is elsewhere called a barrio or barangay, and what Alcina translates as “gathering” or “kin” (i.e., *junta*, *congregación*, or *parentela*). The office or estate of datuship is therefore a *ginaopan* or *gindolohanan*. The visible house cluster of such a group is commonly called a *gamoro*, but like two other terms for village or settlement, *lonsor* and *bongto*, the word originally referred to a collection of people, not houses. The Boxer manuscript states that such followers obey their datu because “most of them are their slaves, and those in the settlement who are not are the relatives of the datus.” In the event of a datu's capture in war, these relatives contribute to his ransom in proportion to the closeness of their kinship. Some datus can raise fighting forces of between 500 and 1,000 men-at-arms, either through confederation with other datus, or by actual overlordship (*señorío*). Si Dumager of Langigey, Bantayan, for example, imposed a 20 per cent inheritance tax on slaves and other property after such a conquest, a form of servitude (*esclavonia*) which, Loarca reports, “is still being introduced among all the Filipinos along the coast, though not the uplanders.” If any of these super-baranganic chieftains were ever dignified with the title of *hadi* (king), none of the accounts record it. Quite the opposite, Alcina comments scornfully of a legendary Visayan hero named Bohato: “he conquered so many ‘kings,’ as they are wont to call them around here, who were nothing more than some gang leaders not even deserving the name of captain.”

A ruling datu has the duty to execute judicial decisions handed down by experts in custom law, which execution among his peers is likely to institute a family feud. All crimes are punishable by fines, even murder, adultery, and insubordination to datus, though these latter three are technically capital offenses commuted on appeal to enslavement or servitude which is both negotiable and transferable to kin and offspring. Petty larceny (reckoned at less than ₱20) and other civil offenses are not transferable except that children born during the period of bondage become the property of the creditor. Grand larceny, however, is a capital offense, and datus themselves are liable to prosecution — though, of course, they can afford the fines or wergeld necessary to avoid slavery in any case. Where a datu's own honor or interests are involved, he

acts both as judge and executioner, and may abuse this position to procure additional indentured or slave labor by outright perversion of justice.

The datu's main function is to lead in war. Warfare — *mangubat* in general, *mangayaw* by sea, and *magahat* by land — appears as endemic in all the accounts. It takes the form of raiding, trading, or a combination of both, and is terminated or interrupted by blood compacts between individuals or whole gamoros. Slaving is so common everybody knows the proper behavior patterns. A captured datu is treated with respect and his ransom underwritten by some benefactor who will realize a 100 percent profit on the investment. Men who surrender may not be killed, and the weak and effeminate are handled gently; a timawa who kills a captive already seized must reimburse his datu. A commanding datu rewards his crewmen at his own discretion, but otherwise has full rights to profit and booty. In the event of a combined fleet, the datu who provides the predeparture sacrifices to ancestral spirits and war deities receives half the total take. Visayan men-of-war are highly refined specimens of marine architecture which call for considerable capital investment to construct, outfit, and operate, and are launched over the bodies of slave victims. If a silent partner invests in such a venture, he receives half the profits but no interest on his capital. And, in recognition of the risks involved, he must ransom his active partner in the event of capture, without claim to reimbursement or return on his original investment.

Datu's Commercial Interests. The Loarca account is full of indirect testimony to a datu's commercial interests. Coastal Visayans barter cotton from uplanders for marine products and Chinese porcelains, and datos let out the cotton in the boll to the wives of their oripun to return as spun thread. It will be recalled that medieval Chinese accounts list cotton and porcelain as exchange goods in their Philippine trade, which was conducted from deep-draft, sea-going junks and anchored off shores whose natives handled local collection and distribution. It may also be recalled that when Magellan opened a store in Cebu, his customers paid for their purchases with gold weighed out in scales carried for the purpose, as Igorots in the Baguio mine fields were still doing three centuries later. Many social customs appear to favor the pursuit of business

too. Although betrayal of visitors from allied communities is a just cause for war, outstanding debts can be collected by force in such settlements without danger of war simply by seizing the sum from any of the debtor's townmates, who will then be entitled to collect twice the amount from the debtor himself. And in contrast to loans of palay, which carry an interest rate of 100 percent compounded annually, cash (i.e., gold) is loaned out with no interest; rather, it is an investment from which the lender gets a percentage of the profits it earns. Indeed, it is just possible that Loarca gives a hint of a new form of usury which arose in direct response to his own encomendero presence: "Nowadays, some loafers who do not feel like looking around for their tribute to pay, ask to borrow it and return a bit more."

THE SECOND ORDER

The timawa are personal vassals of a datu to whom they bind themselves as seafaring warriors; they pay no tribute, render no agricultural labor, and have a portion of datu blood in their veins. Thus the Boxer manuscript calls them "knights and hidalgos," Loarca, "free men, neither chiefs nor slaves," and Alcina, "the third rank of nobility" (*nobleza*). Although a first-generation timawa is literally the half-slave of some datu sire, once he achieves ginoo status through liberation, he is free to move to any settlement whose lord is willing to enter into feudal relations with him. Such contracts call for the timawa to outfit himself for war at his own expense, row and fight his datu's warship, attend all his feasts, and act as his wine-taster; and for the datu, to defend and avenge the timawa wherever he may have need, risking his person, family, and fortune to do so, even to the extent of taking action against his own kin. The timawa are his comrades-at-arms in his forays and share the same risks under fire, but they are clearly his subordinates: they have no right to booty beyond what he gives them, and they are chided for battle damage to his vessel but not held liable. But as his comrades-at-arms, they share in the public accolade of a society which esteems military prowess so highly that women are courted with lyrics like, "You plunder and capture with your eyes; with a mere glance, you lay hold on more than mangayaw-raiders do with their fleets."

The timawas' relations with their datus are highly personal. When they attend his feasts and act as wine-tasters, they are there as his retinue and familiars — "out front in the main sala," as the creation myth puts it. If they are not their datus' actual relatives, they behave like relatives: they are sent as emissaries when he opens marriage negotiations for his son, and they enjoy the same legal rights in prosecuting adultery. They are men of consequence in the community and may be appointed stewards over a datu's interests. At the time of his death, the most prominent among them acts as major domo to enforce his funeral taboos, and three of their most renowned warriors accompany his grieving women-folk on a ritual voyage during which they row in time to dirges which boast of their personal conquests and feats of bravery. But they are not men of substance. Although they may lend and borrow money or even make business partnerships, their children, like everybody else in the community, inherit only at their datu's pleasure. As Loarca says in speaking of weddings, "the timawas do not perform these ceremonies because they have no estate (hacienda)."

The Timawa's Distinct Role. Since both datu and timawa are what would be called non-productive members of society in Marxist terms, they form a single class in the economic sense, just as Legazpi thought they did. But in the Visayan body politic, the timawa serve a separate and distinct function: they are the means by which the datus consolidate their authority and expand their power. By limiting their own birthrate, monopolizing advantageous marriages, and controlling inheritance, they preserve their authority; and by producing a brood of warrior dependents tied to them by both moral and economic bonds, they provide themselves with a military support whose loyalty can be expected, thus suppressing competition to a considerable extent. Such social specialization would serve a trade-raiding society well, and may have been doing so for centuries before the Spaniards arrived. Medieval Chinese merchantmen avoided Visayan waters because of the notoriety of their slavers, and Chinese records indicate that Visayan raids were not unknown on the coasts of China itself. But the timawa role was destined not to survive serious modification of this economy. Datus with control of cotton-spinning underlings, or irrigated rice lands to apportion their followers, would have

less need for such Viking services. And whatever needs remained would quickly be disoriented, deflected, and destroyed by occupation by a superior military power. The history of the word *timawa* suggests that just such changes took place in the Philippines in the sixteenth century.

When the Spaniards first met the *timawas* in the Visayas, they were the *hidalgo*-like warriors Loarca describes. But in fertile wet-rice lands around Laguna de Bay and the Candaba swamps, they were found to be "plebeians" and "common people," farming rather than fighting. As Plasencia says of them in Pampanga, "every chief who holds a *barangay* orders the people to plant, and has them come together for sowing and harvesting." Their former military functions were now being performed by another order with the elegant name of *Maharlika* ("great, noble") who were probably the genetic overflow of the aristocracy which occupied, or arose in, the Laguna lake district earlier in the century. By 1580, however, many of these "noblemen" found themselves reduced to leasing land from their *datus*. By the end of the century, any claim to Filipino royalty, nobility, or *hidalguía* had disappeared into a homogenized *principalía*, and the word *timawa* had become the standard term to distinguish all other Filipinos from slaves. Thus did the King himself use it in his instructions to Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas in 1589, as well as the Archbishop of Manila in promulgating a graduated scale of stole fees in 1626. And in Panay, meanwhile, regardless of whatever changes had already affected the *timawa* calling, Loarca was helping to make it completely dysfunctional by the exercise of foreign military power. As former warriors had to seek their living by other means, he found it necessary to describe their order not simply as *timawa* but as "true" *timawa* or "recognized" *timawa*, as if there were counterfeit versions around. If there were, they would have been victims of the inflation which led to the term's final debasement in the modern Visayan word, which means "poor, destitute."

THE THIRD ORDER

Oripun are commoners in the technical sense of the word, that is, they cannot marry people of royal blood (*datus*) and are under

obligation to serve and support the aristocracy of the First Order and the privileged retainers of the Second. They are under this obligation not because they are in debt, but because it is the normal order of society for them to be so; it is the way mankind was created. Their usual service is agricultural labor, and a distinctive characteristic of the upper two orders of society is that *datus* and *timawas* do not perform agricultural labor. Within this limitation, however, members of the Third Order vary in economic status and social standing, from men of consequence (who may actually win *datu* status through *repute* in battle), to chattel slaves born into their condition in their master's house generation after generation. And at the very bottom of the social scale, the *oripun* technically include — if for no other reason than that there is no place else to assign them — those non-persons destined to join some deceased warlord in the grave, along with Chinese porcelains and gold ornaments.

The class of *oripun* is common to all the Visayan accounts, but the particular subclasses which reflect the socioeconomic variations within it differ considerably. The differences are not merely in terminology, as would be expected from Samar to Mindanao, but in actual specifications. In the most favored condition, for example, are Loarca's *tumataban* and *tumaranpok*, the Boxer manuscript's *horo-hanes*, and Alcina's *gintobo* or *mamahay*, all of whom can commute their agricultural duties into other forms of service such as rowing or fighting or actual payments in kind. Loarca's *ayuey* ("the most enslaved of all") only serve in their master's house three days out of four, and in the Boxer manuscript (which spells it *hayoheyes*) they move into their own house upon marriage and become *tuheyes* who do not even continue further service if they produce enough offspring. Plasencia's "whole slaves," however, for example the four-generation *lubus nga oripun*, hand over the whole fruits of their labor. This is a stricture which may be the result of social breakdown under colonial domination, since a characteristic of Philippine slavery, otherwise universally reported, is the theoretical possibility of manumission through self-improvement. These variations no doubt illustrate different economic conditions, crops, markets, and demands for labor, as well as individual *datus'* responses to them. They also illustrate a social mobility which ultimately embraces all three social orders.

Condition of Higher Subclasses. Oripun are born into the Third Order just as *datu* and *timawa* are born into the other two. But their position within the order depends upon inherited or acquired debt, commuted criminal sentences, or victimization by the more powerful — in which latter case they are said to be *lopot*, “marked, creased,” or, as Alcina puts it, “unjustly enslaved.” Those in serious need may mortgage themselves to some *datu* for a loan, becoming *kabalangay* (“boat-mates”?), or may attach themselves to a kinsman as bondsman, but debts can also be underwritten by anybody able and willing to do so. The *tumataban*, for example, whom Loarca calls “the most respected” commoners, can be bonded for six pesos, their creditor then enjoying five days of their labor per month. The status of *tumaranpok*, on the other hand, is reckoned at twelve pesos, for which four days’ labor out of seven is rendered. Both of these oripun occupy their own houses and maintain their own families, but their wives are also obligated to perform services if they already have children, namely, spinning and weaving cotton which their master supplies in the boll, one skein a month in the case of the *tumataban*, and a half month’s labor in the case of the *tumaranpok*. Either can commute these obligations to payment in palay: fifteen cavans a year for the former, thirty for the latter. Thus a *tumataban*’s release from field labor is calculated at five gantas a day and a *tumaranpok*’s at three and a half. So, too, the creditor who underwrites a ₱12 *tumaranpok* debt receives 208 days of labor a year, but one who invests in a ₱6 *tumataban*, only 72. Since Loarca states that rice is produced in the hills in exchange for coastal products, such commutation enables an uplander to discharge his obligations without coming down to till his master’s fields. A coast dweller, on the other hand, has to be a man of considerable means to assume such a tribute-paying *pechero* role.

Another oripun condition is that of *horo-han* (probably *uluhan*, “at the head”). These perform lower-echelon military service in lieu of field labor, acting as *mangayaw* oarsmen or *magahat* (“foot-soldiers”) and their children take their place upon their death (but have no obligation prior to it). They are part of the public entertained and feasted during a *datu*’s ceremonial functions, where their presence moved the author of the Boxer manuscript to comment with tourist-like wonder, “they are taken into their houses when they give some feast or drunken revel to be received just like

guests." The oripun called *gintobo*, *mamahay*, or *johai* also participate in raids, though they receive a smaller portion of the booty than *timawas*, and if they distinguish themselves regularly enough by bravery in action, they may attract a following of their own and actually become *datus*. They are also obliged to come at their *datus'* summons for such communal work as house-building, but do not perform field labor; instead they pay *reconocimiento* (a recognition-of-vassalage fee) in rice, textiles, or other products. But, like the *timawa* above them and indentured bondsmen and slaves below, they cannot bequeath their property to their heirs: their *datu* shares it with them at his own pleasure. This arbitrary inheritance tax enables a ruling *datu* to reward and ingratiate his favorites, and leave others under threat of the sort of economic reversal which sets downward social mobility in motion. A ₱12 debt can plunge a man into the depths of *ayuey* household slavery, with the high probability of transmitting that status to his offspring since any children born during his bondage will become the property of his master.

The Ayuey Condition. These *ayuey* are at the bottom of the oripun social scale. They are, literally, domestics who live in their master's house and receive their food and clothing from him, and who are real chattel. As Loarca says, "those whom the natives have sold to the Spaniards are *ayuey* for the most part." They either have no property of their own or only what they can accumulate by working for themselves one day out of four. They are generally field hands with the same manumission price as the *tumaranpok*, namely, ₱12, and their wives work as domestic servants in their master's house. They are usually single, however, but are given a separate house when they marry and become *tuhey*, working only two days out of five. Their wives, however, continue to serve until they have children; then, if they have many, they and their husbands may be absolved of all further *ayuey* servitude. Their children, needless to say, do not inherit.

First-generation *ayuey* are debtors, purchases, captives, or poverty-stricken volunteers seeking security. Those who are enslaved in lieu of payment of fines are called *sirot*, which means "fine," and those seized for debts, or imputed debts, are *lupig*, "inferior, out-classed." Creditors are responsible for their debtors' obligations; so another route by which commoners are reduced to *ayuey* status

is for their creditors to cover some fine they have incurred. Purchases may be outright, for example, adults or children in abject penury, or by buying off somebody's debt, in which case the debtor becomes *gintubus*, "redeemed." Actual captives are *bihag*, whether slave or not at the time of capture, and are sharply to be distinguished from all other ayuey because of their liability to serve as offerings in some human sacrifice. (Loarca notes approvingly, "they always see that this slave is an alien and not a native, for they really are not cruel at all.") It is not impossible that Spanish disruption of traditional slaving patterns produced an increase in domestic oppression on the part of those *datus* who were called *principales*. At least Alcina comments, "they oppressed the poor and helpless and those who did not resist, even to the point of making them and their children slaves, [but] those who showed them their fangs and claws and resisted were let go with as much as they wished to take because they were afraid of them." But, in any event and whatever their origin, first-generation ayuey all have one thing in common: they are the parents of the second-generation "true" slaves.

The "true" slaves, as distinguished from those commoners of varying degrees of servitude who are slaves in name only (*nomine tenus*, as Alcina says) are those born in their master's house. The children of purchased or hereditary slaves are called *haishai*. If both their parents are houseborn slaves like themselves, or purchased, they are *ginlubus* (from *lubus*, "all one color, unvariegated"), and if they are the fourth generation of their kind, *lubus nga oripun*. But if only one of their parents is an ayuey of their status, they are "half slaves" (*bulan* or *pikas*) and if three of their grandparents were non-slave commoners, they are "one-quarter slaves" (*tilor* or *sagipat*). "Whole slaves" may also be known as *bug-us* ("given totally") or *tuman* ("utmost, extreme"). But some of them are cherished and raised like their master's own children, often being permitted to reside in their own houses and usually being set free on their master's death; these are the *silin* or *ginogatan*. Thus there is no given word for "slave," but only a graduated series of terms running from the totally chattel *bihag* to the *horo-han* commoner ("at the head") in the upper level of the *oripun* order. And the initial step up this social ladder is the normal expectation of the houseborn ayuey at the bottom, for when

his master marries him off to another houseborn ayuey, he is set up in his house where he and his wife serve both masters. When his children are born, they become slaves to both masters too, but as soon as they grow up, he himself assumes tumaranpok status. Thus as Visayan house slaves move upward into the dignity of vassalage, they leave enough of their offspring behind to supply their masters' needs.

CONCLUSION

The sixteenth century Spanish accounts say that Filipino society is divided into three classes, to which they assign the European feudal concepts of rulers, military supporters, and everybody else. This having been said, they proceed to give information which indicates that this three-class analysis is inadequate for an understanding of the society being described. On the one hand, in economic terms, the three classes appear to be only two. In Loarca's Visayas, for example, the upper two classes live off food and export products produced by the third class, while in the Tagalog areas reported by Morga and Plasencia, the lower two classes work the fields of the upper. On the other hand, in social terms, the indigenous class designations are not readily reduced to three, and, worse yet, seem to shade off into one another confusingly. This confusion probably arises not so much from an inadequacy in the Spanish descriptions as from the basic fallacy of originally expecting to find three — or any other number — of static pan-Philippine social classes. What might more logically be expected would be the description of a society, or societies, observed in the process of change, that is, of class structures caught in the midst of ongoing development and decay, so to speak. Such an expectation can be readily fulfilled by a reconsideration of the accounts.

VISAYAN CULTURE

Of the two cultures described, Visayan and Tagalog, the former appears to be the more basic and stable — not stable in the sense of unchanging, but in the sense of being flexible enough to absorb such changes as confront it. This flexibility is provided at both the

top and bottom of the social scale. At the one end, a chief can retain and restrain competing peers, relatives, and offspring if he has the personality and economic means for it; but if not, they can migrate to other communities that can use their services, or found new ones of their own. At the other end, the owners of chattel slaves can demand their and their children's services if they have need of them, but are not obligated to do so. The political units of this society are small — less than 1,000 persons at most — and are potentially hostile to one another unless related by blood, intermarriage, trading partnerships, or subjugation through conquest. Weaponry is too unsophisticated to be monopolized by individuals, so political power is exercised through client-patron relationships. The economy is based on products from swiddens, forests, and the sea, and their redistribution a pattern of trade-raids which make public protection necessary. Chiefs fulfill this function by means of specialized warships designed for speed, maneuverability, and operation in shallow, reef-filled waters, but with limited cargo capacity. These are the conditions to which Visayan social structure is fitted, as those of Mindanao and Luzon probably were in their day, too.

The chief of a Visayan community is called a *datu*, and the social class to which he belongs is called by the same term. A lesser aristocracy descended from former or subordinate *datus* is called *tumao* and provides the *datu's* officers, retinue, and bodyguard. Descendants of a *datu's* illegitimate offspring are called *timawa* and constitute a warrior class whose members may attach themselves to a *datu* of their choice. These three social classes form an economic upper class supported by the labor of a lower class called *oripun* who are born, impressed, or sold into their class. A variety of statuses or subclasses have been generated among them by a society's particular needs for labor or crops, and differences of personal debt. Most members of this class live at such a low subsistence level that debt is a normal condition of their lives: it arises from outright loans for sustenance or from inability to pay fines, and its degree determines individual *oripun* rank. Among these subclasses are the following;

Ayu-ey: a domestic slave or bondsman whose offspring are the property of his master.

Bihag: a captive.

Ginlubus: the child of two domestic slaves, born in their master's house.

Ginogatan: a cherished household slave favored with separate quarters and usually liberated upon his master's death.

Gintobo: an *oripun* who performs military service and also pays a vassalage fee in kind.

Gintubus: any *oripun* whose debt has been underwritten by another man.

Haishai: the child of a purchased or hereditary slave.

Horo-han: a high-status servitude of military service in lieu of field labor, but passed on to the next generation.

Lupig: any *oripun* seized for debt.

Siro: any *oripun* whose status results from an unpaid fine.

Tu-ey: a married *ayu-ey* set up in housekeeping by his master; he normally becomes a *tumaranpok* when his children are old enough to replace him.

Tumaranpok and *tumataban*: two grades of servitude requiring specified kinds and periods of labor from both man and wife; the first is reckoned at twice the second in terms of debt or tribute if labor is commuted to payment in kind.

LUZON CULTURE

Luzon culture in the time of Morga and Plasencia differed from the Visayan in at least three particulars: it enjoyed more extensive commerce, it had been influenced by Bornean political contacts, and it lived off wet rice. Spanish records of the first generation of the Conquest consistently refer to Tagalog business interests as exceeding those of the Visayans, which, on the testimony of tribute-collector Loarca, were hardly developed. Augustinian Fray Martín de Rada attributed the decline of human sacrifice in the Manila area to the fact that Tagalogs were "more traders than warriors," and Legazpi found Philippine internal trade dominated — or monopolized — by ships from Borneo and Luzon, which the Visayans called "Chinese" because of the origin of their wares. Manila itself had probably been founded early in the century by adventuresome Nakhoda Ragam Sultan Bulkeiah of Brunei, who also counts as the fourth Sultan of Sulu. Rice was grown under controlled irrigation in Pampanga, and in such deep water along the shores of Laguna de Bay that it was harvested from boats; the San Buenaventura dictionary lists thirteen terms for rice and six for "transplant," and gives a detailed description of the process. This last consideration alone would be enough to account for three

constant references in the descriptions of Tagalog social structure missing from the Visayan accounts: those to land use, inheritance, and universal field labor.

COMPARING VISAYAN AND TAGALOG CULTURES

Tagalog material culture is therefore more developed than the Visayan, and its social structure is accordingly more complex and less stable, that is, it is in a process of differentiating because of inability to absorb the changes confronting it. Any attempt to equate it with the basic "three-class" Visayan social system is therefore probably unrealistic. Such an attempt was made by Jesuit Francisco Colín in the middle of the seventeenth century: he equated Visayan datu with Tagalog *maginoo*, *timawa* with *maharlika*, and *oripun* with *alipin*. However, such an equivalence would require, in the first place, that the Visayan *timawa* become a common part of the Tagalog vocabulary in just twenty years. This is possible; but it is less possible than that Plasencia, after ten years' residence in Philippine barrios, could have committed so gross an error in his study of Pampanga law as to mistake this Visayan import for a native term. Moreover, if the Spaniards transferred the word, they transferred it to a class which did not exist in the Visayas: farmers who work their datu's fields, pay him no tribute, and can transfer their allegiance to another datu. In the second place, the terms simply are not equivalents. A man has to be born a *maginoo*, but he can become a datu by personal achievement. The Visayan *timawa* neither pays tribute nor performs agricultural labor, while the Tagalog *maharlika* not only works his datu's fields but may even pay rent on his own. And the Luzon *alipin* are divided into two sharply defined subclasses, while the Visayan *oripun* are not.

It is much easier to account for both the similarity and the dissimilarities of the two systems by presupposing a common terminology being applied to new or emerging classes resulting from economic development. *Maginoo*, for example, expands the membership of the datu ruling class by appeal to descent rather than office, that is, from an actual founding ancestor, if the root of *maginoo* is really *pund* which means "origin, trunk, stem" as well as "chief." Datus of this class have a privilege Visayan datus do

not — they can call out all non-maginoos to plant and harvest their fields, as well as to perform all sorts of other personal labor. Thus all non-maginoos form a common economic class in some sense, though this class has no designation, presumably because it represents so recent an expansion of maginoo authority. This subject class may then be divided into two subclasses according to whether their members are in debt or not. Those who are, are alipin, and those who are not are timawa and maharlika.

The timawa warrior class of old has now disappeared, probably due to decreased need for their service, and the term is being applied instead to former alipin who have escaped bondage by payment, favor, or flight — but not, like Visayan oripun, by military prominence. The maharlika are a birthright warrior class found only in Laguna whose ancestors were probably associated with Bornean influence or intrusion; they are, in increasing numbers, coming to rent land from their datos. The alipin, too, are divided into two subgroups. If, unlike their oripun counterparts, they have rights of usufruct to irrigated land, they are called namamahay and may be either renters or sharecroppers; but if they are domestic slaves or bondsmen without such rights, they are called alipin sa gigilid and, unlike Visayan ayu-ey, constitute an actual caste in defiance of the social mobility which is characteristic of Philippine class structure. And if alipin are removed from a barangay by purchase, donation, or bequest, their datu loses their labor without compensation — but they cannot be removed from the bayan, a circumstance which would favor the growth of political centralization.

All these details which distinguish Tagalog from Visayan social structure would appear to reflect an intensification of agricultural production, a decrease in slave-raiding activities, and an increase in the power of the ruling class. And, in retrospect, consideration of the details which portray the societies themselves would appear to present, in a single century, cameo versions of those stages through which the economic determinist usually pursues the course of human history across three millenia.