2014

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Clues from Early Spanish Chronicles: Reconstructing Marriage and Family in the Pre-Hispanic Philippines

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Methodology and Sources

The nature of the indigenous family and the relationships within it were of great interest to the early Spanish missionaries in the Philippines. Chroniclers of the religious orders described native customs and practices such as burial, warfare, inheritance and marriage. Marriage practices, in particular, attracted the attention of the early chroniclers not only because it was the basis of most social relations, but also because it was vastly different from their own ideal and practice of marriage.

Social mores in the precolonial Philippines reflected the egalitarian nature of society. Inheritance followed the line of descent, kinship was reckoned bilaterally, marriage was mutually consented to by the parties and divorce and remarriage were widely practiced. In the eyes of the early missionaries, many of whom had come from Mexico, the habit of easy divorce and remarriage was perceived as particularly problematic. They thus set out to reconstruct a new model of marriage and family life for the indios; one that was based on Spanish Catholic norms.

Using documents from the religious orders and civil authorities in the Philippines, the paper will tackle prehispanic betrothal and marriage practices that bring to light notions and ideals of family, matrimony and the role of women in society. It will look at attempts by the clerical and secular authorities to change what they perceived as pagan and savage practices, as well as the responses of the indigenous peoples. In addition, the indigenous epic tradition will also investigated to reveal aspects of courtship and marriage. The paper will thus reveal an important aspect of the early period of Spanish colonization: a time when indigenous societies appropriated, discarded or altered colonial norms and practices.
Courtship and Betrothal

Prehispanic Philippine epics and other forms of oral lore reveal that the search for a spouse often involved arduous travel, fighting, raiding and difficult negotiations to fulfil conditions set by the bride-to-be’s family. In the Ilocano epic “Lam-Ang” much of Lam-Ang’s adventures have to do with his efforts to impress and win the desirable Doña Ines Cannoyan. The Ifugao Hudhud recounts the hero Aliguyon’s adventures in war and courtship. But apart from the romantic aspect of this, betrothal and marriage had social and legal repercussions, as seen in the practices and customs narrated in the sources. One of these was the giving of the dowry, sometimes interpreted by the early Spanish chroniclers as a bride-price. Unlike in western and other societies in which the bride’s family gave a dowry to the husband, the opposite was observed in the Philippines. Morga, writing of the Luzon area:

The dowry was furnished by the man, being given by his parents. The wife furnished nothing for the marriage, until she had inherited it from her parents. The solemnity of the marriage consisted in nothing more than the agreement between the parents and relatives of the contracting parties; the payment of the dowry agreed upon to the father of the bride and the assembling at the wife’s parents house of all the relatives to eat and drink until they would fall down.1

Francisco Colin SJ, writing of the Tagalogs in 1663 noted that there was even a special payment called panhimuyat which was a present given to the mother of the bride, in return for the bad and watchful nights (puyat?) that she had experienced in raising the daughter. It is also for the breast milk that she had fed her and often amounted to one-fifth of the dowry. He concludes that “That was the custom that well shows the harshness and greed of these nations, since the mothers wished to be paid even for the rearing of their daughters.”2

They have for a custom in this land regarding their marriage for the man to give a dowry to the woman, the opposite of ours… It is likewise customary for the man to give a larger dowry by

paying something to each of the nearest relatives of the woman; which is a sort of bribe for them to consent to the marriage; without this and without the dowry, they very rarely marry, because women consider it as a big insult even if they be of the most wretched kind.\(^3\)

Father Juan Plasencia also notes this as he writes of his experiences in Laguna, the tingues and the Tagalog speaking area in his famous Customs of the Tagalogs.

Dowries are given by the men to the women’s parents. If the latter are living, they enjoy the use of it. At their death, provided the dowry has not been consumed, it is divided like the rest of the estate, equally among the children, except in case the father should care to bestow something additional upon the daughter.\(^4\)

It was also customary to give a gift to a daughter upon her marriage. Also writing of the Tagalog culture areas, Francisco Colin, S.J. relates:

…whenever a chief married any daughter of his and asked a large dowry of his son-in-law, as for instance eighteen or twenty taes of gold, the father was obliged to give his daughter certain gifts called pasonor, such as a gold chain, or a couple of slaves, or something proportional to the dowry. It was very shameful to ask for a large dowry without giving a pasonor.\(^5\)

A dowry was not so much a purchase of the woman but more as recognition of the woman’s social status and her individual worth. The use of the dowry differed from the way it was perceived in Spain where the dowry was property the bride brought into her marriage to be enjoyed by her husband whereas for the early Filipinos the bride price was shared within the woman’s kin group.\(^6\)

\(^3\)The Manners, Customs and Beliefs of the Filipinos of Long Ago”, ca. 1604, referred to as the Boxer Codex, Readings in Philippine Prehistory, 307-357, ed. Mauro Garcia (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1979), pp. 350-351


\(^5\) Colin, pp. 97-98.

\(^6\)Scott, Barangay, p. 140.
Among the Zambals, the practice was noted by Fray Domingo Perez writing in the year 1680. He noted that among the Zambals, not only did the man “give the dowry to the woman, but also another kind of dowry to all the relatives of the woman. They call the latter dowry *sambon*. Among the Tagalogs, it was formerly the custom and was called *sohol*.”

This is an interesting term since it now means to bribe but was defined by the San Antonio dictionary as *Dadiva que se da a los parientes, de aquella que tomo por mujer as in Pasoholin ang manugang.*

Another variation of the dowry payment was observed by Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga, an Augustinian who was assigned to Batangas, Hagonoy and Calumpit in Bulacan as well as in Pasig and Parañaque from 1786 to 1806, when he became provincial of his order. This suggests that the practice persisted even up to this late time period even in the more Hispanized areas of the country. Zuñiga observed the same things seen by other chroniclers such as having only one wife but also concubines. He also noted that there were two kinds of dowry and a practice which may be termed paninilbihan in Tagalog.

One kind was called *bigay suso* and was the payment for the milk which the mother had given to the damsel, by which he obtained her completely. The other was called *bigay caya* and was the real dowry…Besides the bridegroom giving that dowry, he had to serve the parents of the bride for some years; to feast them on certain days; to assist in the sowing of the rice and the harvest and to carry food to the laborers.

This suggests to us that in addition or in lieu of the dowry a man could simply give his labor. This meant that the dowry requirement may not have been as onerous and would have made marriages between those of different social standing quite possible.

But what exactly constituted the dowry, various payments to relatives, and inherited wealth? In the area under study, it was made up of movable property like gold, jewelry,

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7 Domingo Perez, O.P. “Relation of the Zambal Indians of Playa Honda, Their Situation and Customs, 1680”, *BR* Volume 47: 290-332, p. 315.
8 San Antonio, 1624, p. 243.
heirloom jars and plates, and most importantly, slaves. This was of great importance in a world of abundant natural resources and land but scarce labor. Antonio de Morga observed that “These slaves comprise the greatest wealth and capital of the natives of these islands, for they are very useful to them and necessary for the cultivation of their property.”

The dowry was apparently a matter of concern not only to the couple but to their respective families as well. Negotiations for the marriage always included those for the dowry to be given to the bride’s family. This is seen in the Ilocano epic The Life of Lam-Ang, in the episode in which the negotiations for the hero’s marriage to the powerful and beautiful Doña Ines Cannoyan are conducted. Cannoyan’s parents tell Lam-ang that he may marry their daughter if he is able to fulfill the requirements that they list.

“Let the footpath be of gold
At the middle of the yard;
The butchering blocks, too.

And my son, Lam-ang
Look at the entirety
Of the front yard;

There are two carved roosters;
Four carved hens, two shrimps,
Swimming upstream, as it were.

Let these be all of gold.
Now my son, Lam-ang,
Cast your gaze now
And imagine two pomelos
Also of pure bulaoan gold—
These are Cannoyan’s playthings.

And also these spinning paraphernalia
The tectec and gagan-ayan
And the gong, the laggangan too,
And all the clotheslines—
Let these all be
Of bulaoan gold.”

10 Morga, p. 299.
Note that the parents of Doña Ines request for objects that are in their own house to be matched by Lam-ang with gold ones. It is apparent that these are to remain with her family. To this long list of golden objects, Lam-ang not only agrees but even assures the parents that their requests will not even exhaust his inheritance, not to mention what he has taken from the Igorots he has conquered and his two boatloads of gold. A fitting match indeed since it would give the woman’s family much gold as well as assure her of wealth and prominence as wife of Lam-ang.

**Marriage as a Social Institution**

After the marriage had been agreed upon, the bride price paid and the relatives given gifts, the man and woman were recognized as a married couple after the requisite feasting and ceremonies. Most early chroniclers observed similar customs in this regard, many of them distastefully noting that it was made up “of racket, of reveling, of dancing and singing, until they fall asleep with fatigue and repletion, all helter-skelter, without any distinction.” The clergy decried the participation of the traditional spiritual specialists such as the catalonans and babaylans and the rites that they officiated over such as the sacrifice of pigs and the blessings and prayers of the babaylans. Moreover, the friars especially decried the persistence of the traditional societies in continuing with these customs. “The greatest vigilance of the father ministers is insufficient to stop these wrongs, and there are no human forces (although there ought to be) which can banish these pernicious ogalis.”

Despite the clergy’s cries of polygamy, what was actually practiced in most Philippine societies was one of serial monogamy. “It is however, not a general custom in the Filipinas to marry more than one wife; and even in the districts where this is done, the practice is by no means general. The most common and general usage is to marry one woman.”

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then only the wealthy chiefs practiced it. Perhaps what was more evident was that most people tried to marry someone of similar social and economic status.

Chiefs with women chiefs, *timaguas* with those of that rank; and slaves with those of their own class. But sometimes, these classes intermarry with one another. They considered one woman whom they married as the legitimate wife and mistress of the house and she was styled, *ynasaba*. Those whom they kept beside her they considered as friends. The children of the first were regarded as legitimate and whole heirs of their parents; the children of the others were not so regarded and were left something by assignment.14

However more than the arrangements for marriage what shocked the early chroniclers more was the ease with which Filipinos undid them and the laxity of the rules on celibacy and chastity within marriage. “These marriages were annulled and dissolved for slight cause, with the examination and judgment of relatives of both parties, and of the old men, who acted as mediators in the affairs.”15 The dowry now becomes a problem since it must be redistributed depending on the circumstances of the divorce. Plasencia goes into this in great detail for the Tagalog and especially the Pampanga area.

If the man separated from his wife, he lost the dowry which he had given her. If she separated from the man, she returned double the dowry which she had received, even though she had children. The property acquired during the marriage, they always divided equally… When anyone became widower and no children had been born to the husband and wife, the whole dowry was returned. But if any sons or daughters had been born to them, even though these were dead at the time of bereavement, not more than half the dowry was returned.16

There were also injunctions as to relations between husband and wife which reflect the egalitarian nature of indigenous society. An Ifugao man, Ngidulu recounts the words often told to him by his father:

> When you have married, if you should quarrel with your wife, do not slap or kick her. Keep only to words. In case you get some meat somewhere, don’t cook it till she comes home from her hill-farm, lest

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14 Morga, p. 299.
15 Morga, p. 300.
she think you might have eaten more than your share. If her *tudung* basket leaks, repair it or get her a new one. She will appreciate that. If her skirt is worn out, trade chickens and get her a new one. Otherwise, she will say, “I have no husband.”

**Children and Inheritance**

Contrary to popular belief, indigenous Filipinos did not traditionally desire to have as many children as possible. This may seem ironic in a society of abundant resources and scarce labor where it would be expected that the norm was to procreate profusely. Miguel de Loarca, writing in 1582 notes a pragmatic reason for having fewer children. Unlike most chroniclers who attributed this to savagery, Loarca saw this as related to inheritance and wealth: “They say that when the property is to be divided among the children, they will be poor, and that it is better to have one child and leave him wealthy.”

Family size was controlled through various means, including prevention, termination of pregnancies and infanticide: all of which were considered sinful and barbaric by the Spanish observers.

Plants and herbs were the most commonplace and available forms of birth control that could effectively prevent pregnancies. Terminations of pregnancies or abortions were practiced with the help of professional midwives.

Women dislike to give birth many times, specially those who inhabit the towns near the sea, saying that in having many children, they are like pigs, for which reason, after having one or two [children] the next time they are pregnant, when they are already three or four months [with child], they kill the creature in their body and abort. There are women for this calling and by massaging the stomach and placing certain herbs the creature later dies and the pregnant woman aborts.

The means through which family size was controlled was well-known to early Filipinos through their *catalonans* or *babaylans* who often acted as midwives themselves. The means needed for this were often readily available so much so that it suggests that they were often resorted to by early Filipinos. With the arrival of Spanish morals and American organized

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17Barton, p. 55.
19Boxer Codex, pp. 328-329.
medicine, the old means may have been submerged. These however are still practiced among the Mangyan and other indigenous communities.

Para hindi na manganak ang babae: batay sa pagkakatuklas ng mga matatanda, mula pa noon, ang panglunas ay maraming uri... Ang isang uri ay tinatawag na pinangalap; pinagasama-sama ang iba’t-ibang uri ng mga halamang nahalap. Ang mga ito ay tatlong uri ng damo, na ang mga pangalan ay sarimasa, tagulanggang at kalyaman.20

In the village of Bacnotan in Pangasinan, the Augustinian Fray Pedro de la Cruz chanced upon a woman carrying a very recently-born baby girl. To the horror of the Augustinian, the woman was on her way to commit infanticide. This was apparently another method by which the early Filipinos controlled the size of their families and the number of their children.

The Indian woman answered that she was on the way to take the baby and bury it alive, for it had been born blind. She said that they had the custom of immediately burying alive any child born who was incapable of serving its parents for is such case, the latter had no interest or hope in its living.21

Recollect missionaries observed the same thing. Writing in 1624 from the Mariveles, Bataan area, they commented that the native indios they encountered practiced infanticide. “When they had more children than they desired or than they could support as they wished, they generally buried them alive.”22 This was normally done because of genetic defects and not because of sex or gender preference as it was practiced in other societies. It also indicated that the early Filipinos did not want to have excessive numbers of children.

The same practice was also observed by the Dominican Fray Francisco Antolin who arrived in the Philippines in 1769 and remained here until his death in 1796. He held

20Postma, Kultura Mangyan, p. 50.
22Andres de San Nicolas, Luis de Jesus and Juan de la Concepcion, “Early Recollect Missions in the Philippines, 1624” BR Volume 21: 111-318, p. 140.
various positions among the Dominicans but spent many years in the Dominican mission areas in what is now Nueva Vizcaya. He observed this practice among the Igorots.

If they have many children, they kill them for whatever bodily defect they may have, or in the manner of their delivery...they kill those who are born weak, one-eyed or one-armed because they presumably would not be able to take care of their parents. If the delivery is difficult or transverse, they usually kill the poor creature because it wanted to kill its mother!"23

The Zambals who inhabited the marginal areas of Luzon also did the same. This was observed by another Dominican Domingo Perez OP, writing in 1624:

…we see an evil and perverse custom which is worse than the most bloodthirsty beasts, namely that the Zambals are not accustomed to have more than two children, one a male and the other a female. Consequently, if they already have a male child, thy kill all the sons at birth until a daughter is born. Then after they have said daughter scarcely is the woman pregnant when they already arrange to kill the son or daughter as soon as it emerges from the womb of the mother.24

The desire for a manageable number of children was apparently practiced widely and may suggest relative equality in early Philippine societies since women had control over their reproductive function. The number of children that one could have was under the control of the individual, man or woman alike. There seemed to be no stigma attached to abortion or birth control among prehispanic peoples and traditional indigenous communities today. However, with the arrival of the Spaniards and the Americans this too becomes the site of a power struggle between the parents’ desired number of children which was dependent on their wealth, ability to support them or simply their inclination and societal pressures to have more children, religious guilt, and the transformation of a natural act into a sin.

Variations of Family

24Perez, p. 311.
Another notable aspect of indigenous Filipino families would be the fact that there was room for other family structures aside from the traditional Western nuclear family. Single parents and blended families were common.

In Luzon society, the death of one or both parents was also subject to legal remedy. The general rule seemed to be that all legitimate children inherited equally regardless of sex or age. However, the easy dissolution of marriages which so discomfited the early friars gave rise to very complex family relations of half-siblings, step-children and parents. Customary law provided for these in inheritance. “They never disinherited the children in life or death, even though they were born of many women, if they had been married to these…The other children born of other women, whom we call bastards, they call asiao yndepat. These did not inherit but they always gave them something.”

This was also seen among the Tagalogs:

If one had had children by two or more legitimate wives, each child received the inheritance and dowry of his mother, with its increase and that share of his father’s estate that fell to him out of the whole. If a man had a child by one of his slaves, as well as legitimate children, the former had no share in the inheritance, but the legitimate children were bound to free the mother, and to give him something—a tael or a slave, if the father were a chief; or if, finally anything else were given it was by the unanimous consent of all.

The Spanish chroniclers were upset by the habit of easy divorce which they observed. Apparently what is meant by having one or two legitimate wives stems not from the practice of polygamy which was very rare, as attested to by Father Pedro Chirino, S.J., but from the practice of divorce which was relatively common and could be resorted to by either the husband or the wife. A man or woman could have more than one legitimate spouse in his or her lifetime and all the children from these unions would be considered legitimate. Indigenous Filipinos had an orderly means to divide properties in the event of the dissolution of a marriage. The dowry, in particular was subject to legal remedies. If the man left his wife he was entitled to only half of the dowry, however, if they had children, the whole dowry plus a fine went to the children. If they were quite young, the

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25 Plasencia, *Pampangans…*, p. 239.
dowry was held for them by their grandparents or other responsible relatives.\textsuperscript{27} Thus this type of guardianship was intended to safeguard the property and future welfare of minor children who could not yet do this for themselves.

Children outside of wedlock were also provided for.

If besides his legitimate children, he had also some sons by a free unmarried woman, to whom a dowry was given but who was not considered a real wife, all these were classed as natural children, although the child by the unmarried woman should have been ō begotten after his marriage. Such children did not inherit equally with the legitimate children but only the third part. For example, if there were two children, the legitimate one had two parts and the one of the inaasava one part. When there were no children by a legitimate wife but only children by an unmarried woman, or inaasava, the latter inherited all.\textsuperscript{28}

If the man or woman had no issue, the dowry and property reverted to the father, or grandparents, or nearest relatives of the deceased. What becomes obvious is that property was inherited in the kin group and was not transferable from husband to wife. The couple could have wealth that they had made during their marriage and this could be bequeathed to each other but not the property or wealth inherited from their kin groups.

A further variant involved would be children by what the Spaniards called “adultery” but what in Filipino society was often simply the result of divorce or dissolution of marriage. The friars considered one an adulterer if he was living with a second or third spouse and the first one was still alive, even if the first one had no interest in the earlier marriage and was also remarried. The friar chronicles marveled at the treatment of adultery by Filipinos and wondered that it was not a reason for murder and mayhem as it was in the West. Most of the chroniclers put this down to the lack of moral development of the early Filipino, their lewdness and loose morals. It was thus an occasion of shock for them to find out how children of adultery were treated. In the West, these babies were

\textsuperscript{27}Plasencia, Tagalogs, p. 227.
\textsuperscript{28}Plasencia, Tagalogs, p. 226.
“conceived in sin” and sometimes exposed to the elements, abandoned in forests or given to some religious to rear.

The situation was different in the Philippines where “it was the child’s right to inheritance that the elders determined, not remedying any supposed aggrieved feelings of the husband.” 29 The rights to inheritance of the children were of paramount importance and were thus provided for in the manner detailed above. As to extramarital liaisons and birth, these were also provided for in customary law.

In the case of child by a free married woman, born while she was married, if the husband punished the adulterer, this was considered a dowry; and the child entered with the others into partition in the inheritance. His share equaled the part left by the father, nothing more. But if the adulterers were not punished by the husband of the woman who had the child, the latter was not considered as his child, nor did he inherit anything. It should be noticed that the offender was not considered dishonored by the punishment inflicted, nor did the husband leave the woman. By the punishment of the father the child was fittingly made legitimate. 30

As such, the children outside of wedlock could be legitimized by the payment of a fine by the wife’s lover. However, if a fine was not paid, the child only whatever the family chose to give him.

**Adoption: Fictive Family or Pragmatic Arrangement?**

To further complicate things, adoption was a common practice among the Luzon based groups where it was quite widespread and was seen as a contractual investment. Children adopted by childless couples were known as anak naboo and were considered sole heirs of the parents. But those adopted by parents with children were kalansak, or joint heirs together with the natural children or siblings of the adopter. 31

Adopted children, of whom there are many among them, inherit the double of what was paid for their adoption. For example, if

one gold tael was given that he might be adopted when the first father died, the child was given, in inheritance, two taels.\textsuperscript{32}

This was apparently a resilient practice as the same thing was observed by Francisco Colin, writing in 1663, almost a hundred years after Morga.

The one adopted bought his adoption. For the natural parent gave a certain sum to the adoptive parent in order to have his son or daughter adopted. It was done only to the end that the adopted child, if he should outlive the one adopting him, should inherit double the sum that had been given for his adoption.\textsuperscript{33}

This was only one of the ways in which adoption was contracted and was called \textit{ibayiw}. Other arrangements were the \textit{talinduwa} in which the inheritance was half of the adoption fee and the \textit{mulaying}, in which the child could receive more contingent on increases in the family fortune.\textsuperscript{34}

The contractual aspect of this transaction was evident in the fact that adoption was only good for one generation and the inheritance cannot go on beyond that. The children of the adoptee were not considered part of the kin group which adopted him or her. This was observed by Morga: “But if the adoptive parent outlived the adopted child, the adoption expired, as well as the right to inheritance.”\textsuperscript{35} Colin echoes this: “But if this child should die first, his children do not inherit from the second father for the arrangement stops at that point.”\textsuperscript{36} It would thus seem that adoption was like a gamble on the part of the biological parent to ensure that his child would get double the amount paid for his adoption as his inheritance. But the question arises of how then was the adopted child treated by the adoptive parents. Was he seen as a kind of slave since this seemed like a form of dependency? What would motivate one to adopt a child? Practical reasons would dictate that the adoptive parents at least be able to gain something from the child’s labor. Or was

\textsuperscript{32}Morga, p. 227.
\textsuperscript{33}Colin, p. 91.
\textsuperscript{34}Scott, \textit{Barangay}, p. 219.
\textsuperscript{35}Colin, p. 91.
\textsuperscript{36}Morga, p. 227.
this resorted too in cases of childlessness or in desiring a child of a certain sex? The practice raises many questions and issues.

Scott theorizes that it adoption was mutually beneficial to all parties involved. The child gained entry into a well-to-do family while the adoptive parents enlarged their family. Despite the contractual and investment aspect of the arrangement, there must have been some sentiment involved. Rajah Soliman of Manila adopted the three children of his deceased brother after his own son was executed by the Spaniards. But if anyone begs said son or daughter, even while yet in the womb of its mother, it is given to such person. But the one who has asked for it must pay its mother all the time that the said mother is occupied in suckling such boy or girl; and afterward it is considered as the child of that person at whose account it was reared and kept alive.

Prehispanic inheritance patterns were thus complex given that the standard was not one monogamous couple having only their genetic children. The complexity of family composition necessitated customary laws which were applied to different situations and permutations of marital and family arrangements. However, although marital arrangements might change over a lifetime, the children of the marriage remained secure in their positions in their respective kin groups. This may suggest that the child belonged not only to the nuclear family but to the larger one as well, so that when the nuclear family was broken up, the child still retained his membership and position in the kin group. This position was guaranteed not only by customary law but also by case to case decisions made by the old people of the community. As such, there was none of the later stigma of illegitimacy or being adopted since these were all considered children of the family or kinship group. The situation also suggests that children had autonomy in their own right. In a society that valued labor and manpower, the child himself had intrinsic value as a possessor and

37Scott, Barangay, p. 218.
38Domingo Perez, O.P. “Relation of the Zambal Indians of Playa Honda, Their Situation and Customs, 1680”, BR Volume 47: 290-332, p. 312.
dispenser of this, thus giving the child power in the kinship group, regardless of the marital arrangements of his parents.

**Conclusion:**

The chronicles of early Spanish church and civil officials, the lives and oral lore of indigenous communities today reveal much about early Philippine betrothal, marriage and family. What comes to the fore is the agency and relative equality of both men and women in choosing a spouse, as well as in dissolution of marriage if it was deemed unsatisfactory. Communities often had customary legal means to protect the inheritance of the individuals and their children, whether they were legitimate, born out of wedlock, or adopted. Both women and men kept their distinct kinship group memberships, as did their children; and bilateral kinship ties were strong and lasting. Much of these stemmed from the context of prehispanic society. However, Spanish colonization and Christian conversion imposed a new moral order on native societies, and this often struck at the very basis for society: the family. Thus, just as we are seeing prehispanic marriage and family through the Spanish chronicles, they are already in the process of change under the pressure of colonization.

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