

# *Gugud*: a Bukidnon Oral Tradition

By

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## INTRODUCTION

*Gugud* is a mythological oral tradition of the Bukidnon who are one of the remaining cultural minority groups in the province of Bukidnon in Mindanao, Philippines. It includes the creation of the universe, the regeneration of mankind through flood and drought, the flight of the exploited chosen people, and their immortalization and ascension to paradise. It is also called a historical narrative because it traces a people's development and struggle for survival through many generations. It is etiological because it explains the origin of human and supernatural beings, places and things.

Unlike the *ulaging* (folk epic) that is chanted in verse and in archaic Binukid, the *Gugud* is recited in prose narrative, making use of plot, character, setting, dialogue, and symbolism in weaving the historical past and preserving it. The *Gugud* is always recited in contemporary Binukid by a *palagugud* who is considered the official narrator, for he is well-versed in and knowledgeable of the tradition. Usually, he is a *baylan* (priest / ritualist) or a *datu*, for both underwent intensive learning of their oral tradition before they assumed their respective offices.

Unlike the *nanangen* (folktale) which can be recited anytime and to any one for entertainment and didactic purposes, the *Gugud* is recited only during significant events, such as ritual performances, political conferences, peace pacts, and wedding ceremonies. In fact, the three *Gugud* enclosed in this article were narrated and recorded during a conference of the members of the defunct Bukidnon Higa-unon Datus Association held in Malaybalay, the capital town of Bukidnon, on April 27, 1974. One of the issues discussed among the Bukidnon was their

ethnic identity since they are now scattered in small groups in the hinterlands. They have named themselves after the places where they live. Those who thrive by the Tagoloan river valley call themselves the Tagoloanon; those in Pulangi, Pulangi-en; those in the mountains bordering the coastal villages in the north, Higa-unon, derived from the word *ga-un* which means "removed from the water." The Higa-unon believe that their forefathers were displaced from their domains along the seashore when the Bisayans immigrated there long before the Spaniards arrived. It was the Bisayans who called them Bukidnon, which did not only connote people of the mountain (*bukid*) but also people with inferior culture, ignorant and uncivilized. (This is a generalization gathered with my life-long association with Bukidnon childhood friends and acquaintances.) Today, there are some Bukidnon, the old ones particularly, who can justify that their ethnic identity is not *Bukidnon* because the word Bukidnon does not belong to the Binukid language. Mountain to them is *buntod*. In which case, they argue, they should call themselves *ibuntoron*. But, no matter how they argue against this, they are already universally recognized as *Bukidnon* and their language *Binukid*.

Sensing that the Bukidnon groups were divided in their concept of group identity, Datu Kinulintang (Anastacio Saway) of Sungco, Lantapan on the western side of the province, felt obliged to narrate *Gugud I* in an effort to shed light on the profound origin, growth, and diffusion of the Talaandig, the early Bukidnon, and the development of their culture and society. In the same way, while waiting for the sacrificial chickens to be cooked (for there was a ritual of conferring the titles of *Datu* and *Bai* respectively upon the provincial commander of the Phil. Constabulary and the writer) Datu Sankuan (Federico Perino) of Mandaing Cabanglasan in the eastern side, narrated the post drought Bukidnon generation, their relationship with the Maranao, and their subsequent social development. Manuel Himaus of Maluko, Manolo Fortich in the central area of the province narrated *Gugud III* which reveals the plight of the early coastal Bukidnon when they were under the exploitative rule of the Spaniards.

All these three *Guguds* are presented here in the way they were narrated. *Gugud I* was tape recorded and transcribed at a much later date. *Gugud II* was narrated and instantly translated and written down in English (I ran out of tapes). *Gugud III* was transcribed, translated by the narrator himself and Leonila Onahon, respectively. English translations were edited to make them readable, but no serious alterations were made.

*Gugud I*, the flood myth, portrays the origin and history of the four

chosen kindreds of central Mindanao. Namely, the Magindanao, Maranao, Manobo and Talaandig who form a group of people characterized by birth relationship. Furthermore it speaks of the development of Bukidnon society through the *tulugan* (kinship community), *kagtulugan* (confederation of tulugan) and *lantung* (territorial guards) systems. It narrates the two wars which measured the capacity of the *Talaandig* (ancestral name of the Bukidnon) to fulfill their role as the peace makers and creative initiators of their traditional customs, laws, and rituals, many of which are still practiced today. It enumerates names of outstanding leaders who made vital contributions to the cohesion of the *kagtulugan* which grew into a larger district, covering the area from the northern shorelines of the present Misamis Oriental to the Salagappon Falls located in the southern part of the province now called Maramag.

In this text a number of Old Testament figures appears. I did not ask the narrator but I presume that the story of Noah's Ark is wide spread in that area since many Christians live there. However, there is reason to trace it to Muslim influence since other Muslim terms such as *nabis* (title of the patriarch saved from the flood) are used. It might also be added that the narrator lives close to the borders between the Bukidnon and Maranao territories and his story covers the origin of the people of central Mindanao which includes the Muslim Magindanao and Maranao.

On the other hand, *Gugud II*, the drought myth, projects the close kinship ties between the quarreling early Maranao and Bukidnon groups in an effort, perhaps, to establish their common origin and reinvoke brotherhood, peace, and unity. Like *Gugud I* it briefly traces the development of the post drought generations of Bukidnon which also developed through the *tulugan* and *lantung* systems. The present and past are linked by the recitation of a genealogy of the narrator's lineage.

*Gugud III*, the flight myth, starts where *Gugud I* and *Gugud II* end. It recounts how the flourishing people in the coastal villages were disturbed and displaced by the *dumagat* (people from across the sea), particularly the Bisayan immigrants whose superior culture and assertiveness threatened the natives who preferred isolation in the mountains to a shared life with them in communities. This condition was worsened by the coming of the Spaniards who imposed their political and belief systems upon the natives. Fearing that to leave behind the old beliefs would bring them illness and misfortune, they decided to avoid conversion and flee to the mountains. Their flight reveals their abiding faith in Magbabaya, the Supreme Being who wills everything good and protects them from the ever-pursuing enemies.

Moreover, these three *Guguds* illustrate the Bukidnon's belief that they are a chosen people. In *Gugud I*, Magbabaya descended to Nabis ha Panggulo and his four sons in order to save them from the flood. In *Gugud II* he sent his messenger, the *mulin-ulin* to instruct the brothers to find water and save themselves from the drought. In *Gugud III* he sustained the suffering people by his constant protection and at the end he bestowed upon them the gift of immortality and a happy and everlasting life in the Paradise called *Nalandangan*.

What therefore is the importance of the Bukidnon *Gugud*? First, even if it does not report the totality of their early social life and structure, nonetheless, it serves as a record and direct expression of the perception of their forefathers' capacity to survive the vicissitudes of life and their strong sense of history and cultural preservation. Secondly, it rationalizes their beliefs and their ethical behavior towards both supernatural beings and their fellowmen which, to a certain extent, govern their world view and vision of the future life. Thirdly, it reflects their cultural values and their determination to preserve their cultural integrity and superiority through sustained nativistic movements.

Surely, the *Gugud* does not meet the strict requirements of orthodox historical scholarship or the historiographic canons of validity (Vansina 1966) and credibility, but in the absence of written documents of a pre-literate society, the *Gugud* aptly serves as a significant source of a people's cultural values, aspirations and development.

Finally, a word on Binukid terms: In the following texts some Binukid terms are given their corresponding meanings, however, there are other terms, such as titles of spirits which could not be translated because the narrators themselves refused to elaborate on the matter for fear that the spirits concerned will be slighted and will punish them for that. I have to respect that.

## THE TEXTS

### *GUGUD I: THE FLOOD AND THE ORIGIN OF THE TALAANDIG*

*Narrator:* Datu KINULINTANG (Anastacio SAWAY)

*Translators:* Carmen C. UNABIA and Danilo dela MANCE

Before the great flood, the people of the earth were the kindred of Adam and Eve. The wisemen say that when they had multiplied in great numbers and had scattered throughout the earth, they neglected God's laws. They became less faithful and they sinned grievously against

Him. To punish the sinners and to wash away their sins, Magbabaya, the Supreme Being who wills all things, caused the great flood. But before the flood, He ordered Noah, who lived in another part of the world, to build a boat in order to save himself and other creatures from the flood. In Central Mindanao, however, Magbabaya descended upon Nabis ha Panggulo, the holy patriarch, and his four sons, namely, Nabis ha Andadamen, Nabis ha Upak, Nabis he Lumbu Bulawan and Nabis ha Agbibilin. He commanded that all of them, except Nabis ha Agbibilin, ascend to heaven and witness the purging of the people. Agbibilin was ordered to climb Dulang-dulang the highest mountain which was given different names at different times: Lumuluyaw, Hugal-ingan, Kiabansag and now Kitanglad.<sup>1</sup> He obeyed Magbabaya's command and went up the mountain.

Soon the rains fell and the face of the earth was covered with water. While the strong currents swept all over the place and drowned the people, Nabis ha Lumbu Bulawan looked down from the gate of heaven and, through the dictation of Magbabaya, he sang the first *sala*<sup>2</sup> in which he recounted the dreadful event and the harrowing ordeal of the people. One part of the song expressed this:

Pinakaamin-amin hu buyad	Full of consuming grief,
Sa kahilawan binewad	The poor creatures,
Na hinakay ha bangkit	Dying of the great catastrophe,
Ha pinakatumaglase	The most painful suffering,
Sa kulagma hu binukalad	The people who were created,
Nalung hu tikesa.	The poor creatures.

Resting on top of Mt. Dulang-dulang, Agbibilin listened to his brother's song. Through this experience, the succeeding generations learned that Mt. Kitanglad was never covered by water.

When the rains had ceased and the waters had receded, Magbabaya spoke to Agbibilin, "I know how lonely you feel for you are alone. Go, climb that other mountain, for there a woman has survived the flood." Agbibilin went to the mountain top and found Ginamayun who had saved herself by riding on the *kalatung*.<sup>3</sup> Henceforth, that mountain was called Kalatungan. Agbibilin and Ginamayun lived as husband and wife and they had eight children four boys and four girls. They settled in a place called Bulan-bulan.<sup>4</sup> They constructed their *tulugan*<sup>5</sup> at Palintauwan which is now called Balila, a barrio of Lantapan, Bukidnon.

When their children had grown up, Magbabaya said to Agbibilin, "In order to increase the population, let your children marry each other by interval to prevent the curse of *sumbang*."<sup>6</sup> Then he taught

them the *pamalas*<sup>7</sup> ritual. The four sons of Agbibilin were Saulana, Alauya, Saguntuan and Sabuntung. Their number multiplied and soon spread everywhere. Alauya's offspring went to the west and settled in what is now Lanao; Saguntuan's went to the south to Cotabato; Sabuntung's scattered throughout the eastern borders in Butuan; but Saulana's kindred remained in Bulan-bulan.

Among Saulana's sons were Aplidu and Ampidu. Ampidu's children established themselves around the Bulan-bulan area. They developed several *tulugans*, namely, the *tulugan* at Mayuntudog now called Songco; the *tulugan* at Gutungnganun, now called Victory; the *tulugan* at Balimbingan now called Kibuntung; the *tulugan* at Landang, now called Malinaw; the *tulugan* at Lumangtalubu, now called Cosina. Famous leaders rule the *tulugans* around the Bulan-bulan, namely, Nangeletay and Dignanawan in the *tulugan* at Palintauwan, Manlapag and Man-eteb in the *tulugan* at Sinungguran; Sandigan in the *tulugan* at Lumangtalabu, Manalubing and Manuyapa in the *tulugan* at Balimbingan and Sumasagayon in the *tulugan* at Mayuntudog.

On the other hand, Aplidu's descendants spread in the central plains and the area between the Tagoloan River and Macasandig in Lambago now called Cagayan de Oro City. His entire *tulugan* was called Dunggu-an. From this district emerged the great leaders such as Mambalahuba, Mangkingkatel, Mangkingkakeb, Limbubungan, the famous beautiful Gawhanen, her brother, Bekbekan, his grandson, Mansikiabo, the father-in-law of the famous Katandeg.

Finally, Agbibilin became very old and weak. He could no longer eat. His bones became as soft as pillows. His body became so thin that it could be hung on the fence as clothes on the clothesline. He then sent for all his children and, as they gathered around, he said, "Children, I am now very old. I have served enough and it is time to go. But before I leave, I want you to learn some healing rituals. Go and gather all kinds of roots and leaves of grasses and trees."

The sons went all over the place and gathered the various leaves and roots that they could find. Then they went back to their father's side. Agbibilin said, "Learn how these can serve as your medicines." Then he explained to them the medicinal functions of those leaves and roots. He specified which ones should be boiled and which ones should be heated over the ember and placed over the different parts of the body. Finally, he taught them the *panawal*, a brief ritual which entails blowing and mock spitting accompanied with whispered prayers or spells.

Having done all these, he entrusted the jar of oil to the eldest son, Saulana, and addressed his other sons, "You, Alauya, Saguntuan,

and Sabuntung, listen and remember this: I shall name your eldest brother Talaandig."<sup>8</sup> Then he turned to Saulana and said, "You Saulana, your generation will increase, so with those of Alauya, Sabuntung and Saguntuan. Whose hair shall be entangled, go to them, put oil and comb their hair. This is your *tulugan* and since the jar of oil is kept here, we shall call it Liib." It is now called Alanib.

As the years went by, Alauya's children, who became the ancestors of the Maranao, increased in the west; Saguntuan's children flourished in the south, and they became the ancestors of the Magindanao; Sabuntung's spread in the east and they became the forefathers of the Manobo; and Saulana's people, the Talaandig, thrived in Bulan-bulan and spread over the north-central area up to the northern seacoast of Central Mindanao.

After many, many years, people increased in big numbers. Two great wars rocked Central Mindanao but Bulan-bulan was spared from violence and devastation for, being a sacred territory, no one could kill nor be killed there. In fact, it was a common practice that whenever warriors set foot on the land, they would stop by the surrounding rivers and prepare for themselves some sign indicating acknowledgment of the sacred nature of the place. Thus, Maranao warriors from the west would stop by the rivers Pininanga and Linundong near Sungco where they sheathed their spears, combed and knotted their long hair. Those who came from the east did the same before they crossed the Babahagon River near Bantuanon, while those who entered from the south did the same before they crossed the Manupali River.

### *The First War*

At the time of Malengmeng, the famous *datu* (chief) of the *tulugan* at Palintauwan and a direct descendant of Saulana, a great war occurred in Central Mindanao. To fulfill the duty as peace maker as sanctioned by Agbibilin to the Talaandig, Datu Malengmeng initiated to settle the dispute. To do this, he went up to Mount Kitanglad and gathered the rattan which he called *balagun ha lintukan*.<sup>9</sup> He tied a *kedaw*<sup>10</sup> which he called *balighut hi Saulana*.<sup>11</sup> He sent this to the chieftains of the Maranao, Magindanao and Manobo through his trusted and respectable emissary, Datu Pigtailan who is known for his eloquence, wisdom, honesty, and bravery.

Prior to Pigtailan's departure, Datu Malengmeng instructed him to bring back the *balagun ha lintukan* as soon as the four knots were tightened. At that time, the Sultan of the Maranao was Bagunsaribu. The Sultan of the Magindanao was Maliwanag while the Datu of the Manobo was Gepaw. Finally, the fourth knot was tightened and com-

pleted in the Manobo territory near Kalilangan. When the *balagun ha lintukan* was brought back, Malengmeng was happy, for it meant that the three chieftains were receptive to a peace settlement. His next move was to send a *panawag*<sup>12</sup> through the *balagun ha lintukan* with the *kedaw* which indicated the date of the proposed peace conference and through which he would know who would come to attend it. The condition was that those who promised to attend would tighten the knot; while those who disagreed would untie it.

True to the indications in the *kedaw*, the three *datus* with their spouses arrived in Palintauwan on the appointed date of the peace treaty. They brought with them their *bihagun*.<sup>13</sup> The occasion was marked by the celebration of the *tampuda hu balagun*<sup>14</sup> ritual. Then the *balagun ha lintukan* was given another name—*balagun ha malayhay* which means, the rattan which is the way to peace. It is said in verse:

Balagun ha malayhay	The rattan which is the way to peace,
Ta iyan pigluan-luan	It has the power to unite
Maluan-luan sa kagsuled	The unity of brothers.

But before the formal ceremony began, Datu Malengmeng stood and said, "It is not good for us to fight against each other since we all came from the same parents, Agbibilin and Ginamayon."

Sultan Bagunsaribu answered, "Datu Malengmeng, I will agree to your proposal for unity if my wish will be granted."

"What is your wish?" asked Datu Malengmeng.

"I want to own the greatest and the most beautiful of all your women, Bai Kamayungan."

Bai Kamayungan was then seated at the center of the ceremonial circle. For being a *bai*<sup>14</sup> at an early age and with a single status, she was given the privilege of holding on her lap the ceremonial *pasagi*<sup>15</sup> jar. Her greatness and unique ability in settling disputes won for her the name Gawhanen. She was the daughter of Datu Limbubungan of the Dungguan *tulugan*. Datu Bekbekan, Kamayungan's brother, who was present during the ceremony, gave his consent.

Likewise, Sultan Kuyaguwa, the representative of Sultan Malivanag of the Magindanao stood up and said, "Datu Malengmeng, I will also agree with your proposal of peace if you will give me Bai Mayebeg."

Bai Mayebeg was a woman of great beauty and the sister of the fierce warriors Patileken, Salanayun and Dalabahan. Her father, Datu Kisalem, who was present gave his consent. The wedding took place immediately. Since it did not follow the traditional marriage procedure it was called *kasal ha dulugan* (wedding violating the tradition of



*kagon*, wedding arrangement, and *taltag*, bride price).

After the wedding ceremony, the *tampuda hu balagen*<sup>16</sup> followed. The chieftains and their wives gathered around the wine jar planted with eight reeds which symbolized the laying down of weapons<sup>17</sup> and the giving of pledge for a lasting peace. As they sipped the *pasagi* wine, Datu Man-eteb and Datu Manlapag who were known for their exceptional intelligence and wise judgment, named the eight persons *walu ha pasagi* for all of them could not be called datu or bai. Today, all the four groups understand the meaning of *walu ha pasagi*.

Then the *walu ha pasagi* sat down to trace the source of the conflict. They discovered that the reason for their dispute was the absence of well-defined territorial boundaries, and the immediate incidents were the bloody battles between two groups of hunters who chased the same game and farmers who fought over the same *sakum*.<sup>18</sup> They therefore agreed to draw up and declare their boundaries. Each group assigned a *lantung*<sup>19</sup> who will guard each boundary. Sultan Bagunsaribu was made the *lantung* of the Maranao boundary; Sultan Kuyaguwa, who married Bai Mayebeg served as the *lantung* of the Magindanao boundary; Datu Gepaw was made the *lantung* of the Manobo boundary; and Datu Malengmeng was the *lantung* of the Talaandig boundary. As the disputes were settled, the four groups in Central Mindanao lived in peace for a long time.

### *The Second War*

After many, many years passed another big war broke out. During this conflict the Maranao and Magindanao joined forces and fought against the Talaandig-Manobo alliance. The Maranao-Magindanao forces fiercely attacked the fortress of Datu Kisalem which was situated behind the present site of Mountain View College near Lorogan, Valencia. This war claimed the lives of the high ranking leaders of both sides, namely, Sultan Maliwanag, Datu Suliyaw, Kinulungan, Salangayun and Patiluken. Only Dalabahan survived the war. The second war began with the following incident.

One planting season, Sultan Kuyaguwa, the son-in-law of Datu Kisalem and the brother-in-law of Patiluken was clearing his *sakum*. But the handle of his axe was broken and he needed to make another one. He needed a huge chisel to make a hole into which he could insert the huge blade of his axe. So he sent his wife, Bai Mayebeg, to her brother to borrow the chisel. The next morning Patiluken was surprised to see his sister coming so early. "How now my sister, what big problem brings you here so early?"

"I am sent by your *bati*<sup>20</sup> to borrow your chisel for he has to make

a new handle for his axe," answered Bai Mayebeg.

Patiluken sarcastically said, "Ah, what is the matter with my *bati*? He is the head of a fortress and the *lantung* of the Magindanao and yet he does not own a simple chisel. Go back and tell him that he'd better use his penis."

Bai Mayebeg was gravely insulted and she went home crying. As she reached home she told her husband every word her brother said. Kuyaguwa remained silent. Instead, he went to his fellow-Magindaonon and borrowed a chisel. He made the handle of his axe, cleared his *sakum*, burned the logs and planted the corn seeds. Then he "opened the doors"<sup>21</sup> of the Magindanao and the Maranao. This started the second war.

Kuyaguwa did not make public his involvement during the early part of the war. The Maranao and Magindanao forces attacked the fortress of Datu Kisalem and fought against his sons, Patiluken, Salangayun, and Dalabahan. At the height of the fierce battle Dalabahan evacuated the women and children to a mountainside across the Tagoloan River. Suliyaw saw them as they fled and, leading his men, he chased them. But as soon as Dalabahan had secured the women and children he rushed back to a certain bend and hurriedly constructed a trap. Then he waited for the approaching enemies. As soon as they turned at the bend, Dalabahan and his men released the big logs they had suspended and killed Suliyaw and his men. The women and children saw all this and they danced the whole day to celebrate the victory of Dalabahan. (Thus, the place was named Sayawan. It comes from the word *sayau* which means *dance*. Today, it is a barrio of the municipality of Impasug-ong.) Dalabahan went back to the fortress of Kisalem and joined his brothers who were still fighting the fierce Maranao-Magindanao forces.

Conditions during the war became worse. Thousands perished; much property was ruined; the fields were left uncultivated; and diseases spread all over the place. The chief *datu* of the Talaandig then was Dignanawan of the *tulugan* of Palintauwan. Since it was the bounded duty of the kindred of Saulana to settle disputes among the descendants of Agbibilin, Dignanawan took it upon himself to find the best way to put an end to the war.

One day he went to the Maranao territory and brought with him seven slaves, loaded with clothes, money, and different kinds of weapons. As they reached the place, he immediately asked for the sultan who was then Lambituun. Since he was out waging war, Dignanawan asked for the sultan's wife. The people pointed to him the sultan's house. When he reached there, he ordered his slaves to construct a

stair leading to the window. He went up into the house through the window and talked to the sultan's wife. "Since your husband is not around, you will have to answer my questions."

So the sultan's wife allowed Dignanawan to live with her. The months passed by and the woman became pregnant. "It is time for me to go," Dignanawan declared. "When Lambituun returns tell him to place his spear into its sheath and stop fighting until that child you are bearing grows up. I shall leave with you the seven slaves, money, and gold. Tell him not to give a name to this child, for he will have to claim it at Palintauwan. He is a *datu*, therefore, he should know what this means." After he said this, he left.

Not long after, Lambituun came home. He was disturbed by his wife's pregnancy. He counted the days he had been away and he was sure that his wife should not be pregnant by him. But he kept silent about it. Instead, he went to the river and took a bath. Since he was a brave and mighty warrior, his sweat was poisonous and it killed the fish in the river. Then he went home cooled and refreshed.

"Who came here while I was away?" he sternly asked his wife.

"Then you are no longer tired since you are already inquiring." She smiled and explained, "The *datu* of Palintauwan came and, since you were not around, he had to direct his questions to me. I did not want to embarrass you, my *datu*, by not answering the questions correctly. There were seven slaves, sacks of cloth, and weapons. He said that you should put your spear into its sheath and stop fighting until the child grows up. Moreover, you are not to give this child a name for he must claim it at Palintauwan. You are a *datu*, and you must know what this means."

True indeed, Lambituun understood all these and he placed his spear into its sheath and stopped fighting. When the child was born, he was not given a name. Since he was half red and half white,<sup>22</sup> everyone in the community called him Pikas Indahag. Soon he became a grown up man and he began to wonder about his name. One early dawn, he waited for Lambituun to wake up. When he woke up and started to prepare his betel chew, Pikas approached him. Lambituun noticed him and asked, "Why are you up so early?"

"I would like to know my real name." Pikas answered.

"Now you are really a big fellow, for you are asking for your name. Very well, if you want to know your name, go to Palintauwan and ask for it from Datu Dignanawan." Then he let the young man wear his *limbutong*<sup>23</sup> and asked him to hold an unsheathed spear. "Go down for I would like to see you in that warrior's attire."

Seeing all this, Lambituun smiled and said, "You have the mak-

ings of a strong warrior because you have twice the strength of a man. Now you know what it means when the spear is unsheathed. You proceed to Palintauwan and ask for your name. But be sure to come back before seven days. If you are not back before the seventh day, that means you were not recognized and accepted by the people of Palintauwan and I will go there. Then I will begin to strike my *bolo* from this house and will not stop until I shall have reached Palintauwan."

Pikas Indahag left and upon reaching Palintauwan, he asked for Dignanawan. Someone said, "Climb up that house. When you see a big fellow sitting on a chair, that's him." He went up to the house, and he saw a man reclining on his chair, snoring. He hurled his spear straight to the sleeping man. Strangely enough, the blade went through the back of the chair but the man was not hurt.<sup>24</sup> Dignanawan woke up and saw the young man. Then he began to count the years, and he knew that the youth was his own son who came to claim for his name. "If your purpose in coming is to ask for your name, then I'll tell you this. My son, tell everyone that your name is Aliga.<sup>25</sup> You are the *aliga* of the four groups and like the fallen *balite*<sup>26</sup> no one can step on you." Then he asked the young man to remove the *limbutong* of Lambituun and let him put on Dignanawan's clothes. "From now on, you shall be respected by the Talaandig and the Maranao for you will be the *lantung* of the door which was destroyed by Kuyaguwa." Despite Dignanawan's plea that he should stay longer, Aliga left Palintauwan and brought with him the gifts for the Maranao which consisted in seven carabaos, seven slaves, and others.

Meanwhile, Lambituun waited for the return of the young man. It was the seventh day and he felt that he should be back. Before dawn, he ordered his wife to butcher and cook the chicken and pack his things. He muttered, "In case he will not be back, in the morning, I shall begin to strike my *bolo* from this house until I shall have reached Dignanawan." But before the sun peered over the rim of the mountain, the house shook. Lambituun looked towards the east and he saw a figure of a man but he could not recognize him. But when the figure drew nearer to the house, he knew it was Pikas Indahag, who wore the clothes of one from Palintauwan. Upon arriving, the boy announced.

"My name is Aliga for I am the *lantung* who will guard the door between the Maranao and the Talaandig."

Again, Dignanawan made a visit to the Maranao sultan, Lambituun, and sought peace and forgiveness for his sin against his wife. Now he is called *pananaw*<sup>27</sup> for he became the beloved of both people.

Soon the leaders of the four tribes gathered together to settle their disputes. They tried to trace the cause of the war and discovered that Bai Mayebeg, wife of Kuyaguwa and daughter of Datu Kisalem, was the cause. For her punishment, she was imprisoned in a dark cave near Manupali River where only her eyes could be visible until her death. After she died, the place was called Kimatahay. Since then, until the Spaniards came, no big war among the people of Central Mindanao took place.

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*GUGUD II: THE DROUGHT AND THE ORIGIN OF THE BUKIDNON*

*Narrator: Datu SANGKUAN (Teodoro PERINO)*

*Translator: Carmen C. UNABIA*

Long, long time ago, there was a long drought. It lasted for forty three months. There was a widow who lived with her two sons on an island somewhere in the west. The older of the sons was Belen or Bala-us, while the younger one was Bala-oy or Bala-as. In a dream, the two brothers were instructed by the Mulin-ulin<sup>1</sup> to construct a boat which they could use in sailing towards the east. They were to find their fortune in an island across the sea. So they asked their mother if she could allow them to take the journey. She could not refuse her children's request. So she prepared the provisions they needed. She gathered yam and corn. She roasted and pounded the corn and mixed it with honey. Meanwhile her sons constructed the boat out of tree barks glued together with resin obtained from bees wax and tree sap. It did not take long until the boat was completed.

The world was calm and quiet. The sea was shallow due to the long drought. The forest of the islands had turned brown. The sounds of the birds and animals could no longer be heard. But before they sailed, their mother cautioned them to chart their course towards the east and to anchor by an island at night time. She ended by saying: "When you reach a large island, immediately search for water. Whenever you come upon a junction of two dry riverbeds, follow them for at their sources, you will find a spring."

The sons bade her farewell and they left. After sailing for several months, they finally landed on the shore of an island. Upon disembarking, Bala-us instructed his younger brother, Bala-as, that they take separate ways. He chose to follow the seashore to the left, while Bala-as took the direction to the right. They agreed that whoever would find water first would notify the other. But before they parted they planted a palm tree where they stood to serve as landmark of the start-

ing point of their journey on the strange island.

After a long walk, Bala-as came upon a junction of two dry riverbeds. He remembered what his mother said. So he followed the course of the river until he reached the source. True enough, he noticed the moist stones at the foot of the mountain. He saw this as a good sign. So he hurriedly climbed the mountain and upon reaching the top, he found a lake below and he smiled for he was happy at what he saw. He went down and drank as much water as he could to quench his thirst. Then he went back to the mountain top and named it Ngisawan.<sup>2</sup> Up to this time the mountain still bears that name and it lies beyond the Balambangan River, a tributary of the big Pulangi River.

Meanwhile, Bala-us found a lake at the head of a river. After drinking as much as he could to quench his thirst, he climbed the mountain on his right for he remembered that he must call his brother. As he reached the top, he heard his brother's call, "*Amin danao dini*" (There is lake here)! Bala-us answered, "*Amin danao daan dini*" (There is also a lake here)! Hence, even long before the Spaniards came, this island was already called Mindanao. Bala-us summoned his brother to live with him. But since Bala-as also found water, each agreed to live and build a house where each found water. Bala-us named the mountain Kapay,<sup>3</sup> for it is there where he heard his brother beckon him to join him. This mountain still bears the name Kapayagan in Lanao.

Bala-us constructed his house and lived there. One day he saw someone walking towards him. This person had overheard the two brothers call to each other. He asked, "Who are you?" The person replied, "I'm a person like you. But I'm a woman. My name is Bai Baboy Bagunsaribo.<sup>4</sup> I reside beside the lake because there is no water to drink elsewhere. My parents are all dead. So are the rest of my kinsmen. They died of hunger and thirst. I had not drunk water for a long time until I came upon this lake."

Then he invited her to come to his house and take a rest. From then on, they lived as man and wife and they became the ancestors of the Maranao.

Meanwhile, Datu Bala-as who built his own house by the lake also saw a woman walking towards him. He inquired, "Who are you? What is your name? What are you doing here?"

"I am Bai Nanginlayanen. I reside nearby. I no longer have parents. They died of hunger and thirst. My elder sister went to another direction to look for water," the woman replied.

So Bala-as invited her to live with him. From then on they lived

as man and wife and they became the ancestors of the Talaandig, Higa-unon, Tagoloanon and Pulangi-en.<sup>5</sup> They called the lake Migkalbog because of the tree that grew in its center. The name of that tree is Salumayaw because its tip continuously sways from one side to another and its leaves endlessly splash water up to the sky where it becomes a rainbow.

In due course, Bala-us and Bai Baboy Bagunsaribu begot a son whom they named Namaliga. On the other hand, Bala-as and Bai Nangilayanen begot a son whom they named Maputi. He resided at the head waters of the Pulangi River. This place was known to all as "one that is based on the rock pressed by a solid golden rock," because it cradles the ancient customs and traditions of the people. Namaliga had a son whom he named Bagani. Maputi also had a son whom he called Migtawaga who was assigned to guard the junction of the Balambagan and upper Pulangi territory. Another son was named Nananheg who was made to rule and guard the boundary at the Salagapon Falls in the lower Pulangi region. The third son was Kuwabuwa who was made to guard the Sinakongan area which lied along the boundary between Bukidnon and Agusan. He was the ancestor of the Banwason and the Higa-unon of Agusan. The fourth son was Kumbalan who was made to guard the central plains of Bukidnon. He resided on the top of Mount Palaw-pao with his younger sister, Kamayungan or Gawhanen who was not only beautiful but intelligent and clever. The fifth son was Dalabahan<sup>6</sup> who was made to guard the headwaters of the Cagayan River situated in the Talaandig territory in the west. The sixth son was Ubatling who was the guard of Kalambaguhan now Cagayan de Oro City. According to the old folks, he was made to swim the wide sea and landed in the plaza of Manila at the mouth of Digkaaldaw River, because there the sun never shines. There, he was given the cane which was considered the *sanggulaan ho mga batasan ha taga Manila*.<sup>7</sup>

#### *The Courtship of Bagani*

Ubatling (the ruler of Kalambaguhan) and his wife had a very beautiful daughter named Bagaybay. She had many suitors from far and near. One among them was Bagani, the eldest son of Namaliga, a Maranao. Bagani wanted to marry Bagaybay. But she did not like him because his canine teeth were so long and pointed that they looked like a pair of wild boar's tusks. His rivals ridiculed him and called him *sampilingan* (*sampiling* means cheeks) or *tanguhan* (*tangu* means long canine teeth) because of the two round mounds on his cheeks and the tusklike teeth which were prominent on his countenance.

In one of his visits, Bagani, wounded by deep disappointment and humiliation, went to the house of Bagaybay. He slew all his rivals with his *kampilan*<sup>8</sup> and went home to Lanao. He swore to come back after four days and kill all the rest of Bagaybay's suitors. So the suitors agreed to band together and ambush Bagani and his men at the bend of a narrow passage. In this battle, Bagani's men were killed while Bagani who survived the massacre, escaped and went back to Lanao where he recruited hundreds of warriors and they constructed many rafts needed to ferry them across the wide and swift Cagayan River.

On the other hand, many warriors joined Ubatling. Instead of waiting for Bagani's force in Cagayan, Ubatling and his men moved forward to Kabula to anticipate the Maranao warriors. Soon, Bagani came with a big band of warriors. But, alas, they were hit hard by the surprise attack of Ubatling's forces. Hence, Bagani and his men suffered a third defeat.

Nonetheless, many days later Bagani was able to marry Bagaybay because his parents went to Kalambaguhan to arrange for their son's earnest intention to marry Bagaybay. After the wedding, however, all the *datus* advised Bagani and Bagaybay to live in a territory between Kalambaguhan, the home of Bagaybay, and Lanao, the home of Bagani, because she was so embarrassed of her husband's countenance. Since then, Kalambaguhan was called Cagayhaan, which means shame. They became the ancestors of the Suban-on, the people of Iligan and Zamboanga del Norte.

On the other hand, Ging-ging-na-ging Bagani, the younger son of Namaliga planned to attack the fortress of Datu Kumbalan who lived on the top of Mt. Palawpao which towers over the central plains of Bukidnon. He had a beautiful daughter named Gawhanen. He was prosperous because he was industrious. His granary was always filled with palay and corn. His home was heavily fortified by a four-layered wall of round timber. No one could enter the gates unless someone from within would open them.

Armed with *kampilans*, bows and arrows and stones for big sling shots, Ging-ging-na-ging Bagani and his men attacked the fortress. But he never succeeded in capturing it, for Kumbalan's forces fought back in a strange way. Instead of shooting arrows at them, they shot *linepet*.<sup>9</sup> This went on for three months. Soon the enemies grew tired and hungry for they did not eat the packed rice hurled at them fearing that it was poisoned. But at the end they decided to bring home the *linepet*.

As they crossed the river, they took a bath, enjoyed the cool water, ate the *linepet* and exchanged jokes. Ging-ging-na-ging Bagani's as-



sistant narrated his adventures during the battle. He revealed that while the warriors were busy fighting in the front lines, he went up secretly on the other side of the fortress for he was hungry and he tried to find out how he could secure food. From where he was hiding, he saw a beautiful woman commanding the women to cook rice, pack it in banana leaves and hurl it to the enemies below. Ging-ging-na-ging Bagani made him swear that all of what he said was true. The warrior swore.

Ging-ging-na-ging Bagani considered the matter seriously. Finally, he decided to return to the fortress but commanded his men to leave all weapons behind, for he decided to marry the beautiful Gawhanen. He asked his assistant to go to the fortress and act as the *kagun*.<sup>10</sup> As they reached the gates, the *kagun* called, "Open the gates, for we are visitors of goodwill and with honorable intentions." They were admitted to the fortress, for no one knew that they were the former attackers. They were received as guests and they were offered betel chew, a customary gesture of hospitality. Soon Ging-ging-na-ging Bagani proceeded to present his intentions of marrying the beautiful Gawhanen.<sup>11</sup> But Kumbalan required him to bring his parents and grandparents so that a formal arrangement of the wedding could be made.

After a few weeks the groom's party arrived. Among them were Datu Namaliga and the grandparents, Bala-us and Bai Baboy Bagunsaribu. They were welcomed by Gawhanen's folks, Kumbalan, his father, Apu Maputi, his grandfather, as well as his great grandparents, Bala-as and Nanginlayanen. When they came together, they embraced each other, for Bala-as and Bala-us recognized each other as brothers. In the same way, Bai Baboy Bagunsaribu and Nanginlayanen recognized each other as sisters. They marked this happy reunion with an exchange of stones. Bala-us ordered his men to fetch stones from Lanao Lake. These stones were placed in the very place in Tagoloan River where the men of Bala-as took the stones which they gave to the Maranao. This was meant to remind the future generations of the peace pact and the bond of friendship they steadfastly sealed through the marriage between Gawhanen and Ging-ging-na-ging Bagani. The stone<sup>12</sup> from Lanao was placed at Dagayas Talaawan situated in the middle of Tagoloan River which flows straight to its outlet. It said in verse:

Paiyak ha linandang	Cloister of the beloved,
Pinto ha pignanawan	Room of the dearest.

This sacred pact meant that those hit by the *kalawit*<sup>13</sup> and those who

violate the law would be forgiven. Dagayas Talaawan is near the barrio of Dumalaging where the people are peaceful, generous and respectful.

Ging-ging-na-ging Bagani and Gawhanen begot several children. The eldest was Mantinawan who lived in the lower Tagoloan valley. The second son, Migtugbal, ruled the middle portion of the long river, and the third son, Dalugdalog, governed the head water of the Tagoloan situated at the junction of the Kibalabag and Kan-ayan near Malay-balay. He was founder of the proper procedure of datanship.<sup>14</sup> His son, Baklawan, had a son named Imbul-og who was known as the "bridge" whenever a datanship ritual was performed. Imbul-og's son was Magikan, whose wife was Lagikan who lived at the headwater of the Tagoloan River. Datu Malintupugan's son was Datu Manlipun, who was the protector of Sila-e, one of the oldest settlements of eastern Bukidnon. The second child was Yaga Lipuwan who became the wife of Batu Bensay. The third was Bai Filomena Lipuan who became the wife of Datu Payuk whose other name was Federico Payuk and who was popularly known in the vicinity as Dikoy. Datu Payuk and Bai Mina had a son whose name is Teodoro Perino, popularly addressed as Datu Sangkuan formerly the Superme Datu of Eastern Bukidnon.

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### *GUGUD III: THE FLIGHT OF AGYU<sup>1</sup> AND HIS FAMILY*

*Narrator:* Manuel HIMAUS

*Translator:* Carmen C. UNABIA and Leonla ONAHON

Golobatnon was the son of Agbibilin. He and his descendants lived in Salug.<sup>2</sup> As a proof to this, the big posts of their fortress can still be seen today. Since they were warlike, Golobatnon died during battle.

Let us go back to their own time. They searched for a place suitable for their *iliyan* (fortress) and they found Nalandangan<sup>3</sup> to be the best. So Agyu and his brother Banlak constructed a strong and formidable fortress. They used the hard molave timber obtained from Ilong-ilong (Iloilo) near Sugbo (Cebu). They reenforced it with iron to make it invincible during attacks. They built a *pintu*<sup>4</sup> for their women. They also built a sort of an armory where they safely stored their spears, bows and arrows, *bolos* and shields. It was important for them to have their weapons always ready for any ambush or attack from known or unknown enemies.

They also constructed benches. The seat of Banlak<sup>5</sup> was the

highest, a sign of his great power, bravery and forceful leadership. Over his seat was the ever present rainbow and lightning,<sup>6</sup> for Banlak was conceived in the depth of the sea by Pangaldan Diwataha<sup>7</sup> and his body was a mixture of iron and *galang*.<sup>8</sup> This is the reason why Banlak was very strong and an excellent undefeated wrestler.

Much later, Datu Bekbekan, then the chieftain of Kalambugan persuaded Agyu's family to help in making the community more prosperous. They agreed to be a part of Kalambagohan. At that time, Ondayag, Agyu's mother was already a *baylan*<sup>9</sup> through the power of a *mulin-ulin*<sup>10</sup> of the earth, whose name was Molalambad ta Kilat and Bulalakaw Imbagat.

Many years later, Bankal was named Nikolas; Agyu, Pedro; Ikwang, Monica and Tabagka, Casiana.<sup>11</sup> One time when Monica and Casiana were in school, Ondayag was told by her guardian spirit<sup>12</sup> that she should bring her family out of Kalambagohan, for otherwise, they would not be *baton*.<sup>13</sup> However, Ondayag's plans and preparations to leave the place were discovered by the authorities of the town. Consequently, Monica and Casiana were imprisoned in the church and were not allowed to go home until they were ransomed with thirty kilos of beeswax. So Agyu was asked to go to the east and he left immediately. In spite of the great distance he returned carrying the thirty kilos of beeswax, for he leaped over seven hills at one stride.

As soon as the girls were ransomed, the entire family, including Banlak's son, Palunganod and his wife, Sayagnaw and Agyu's son, Meghagaga ta Benglas, Manignasayen Lawingan and his wife, left Kalambagohan.<sup>14</sup> They were pursued by the Spanish soldiers under the command of Kabatlaw. It did not take long until the fleeing family reached Pabalen, a place still near the seashore. They went on until they reached Boklod and later Kalaw, where they saw a deer. Agyu ran after the elusive deer until he finally caught it. But they had to bring it with them for they had no time to butcher it because the soldiers were following closely behind them. They continued with their flight until they reached Lanao. There they had the chance to skin the deer, by first burning its hair. But since the soldiers were almost catching up with them, they had to flee, carrying the half-skinned deer.<sup>15</sup> Soon they reached Naloto-an where they were able to cook the deer and partook of the good meal.<sup>16</sup> After they ate the good meal they became strong and proceeded on their journey and it did not take long they reached Boyengen, where Ondayag gave birth to a stillborn child. So she placed the body in the *tankul*<sup>17</sup> and she spoke to it whom she had named *Tipuso ha dengan*<sup>18</sup> and expressed her regrets that it could not be included among those who will be taken up into paradise.

After this the group walked on until they reached Tigbengan. There Ondayag's *tumanod*<sup>19</sup> instructed her to leave behind her *babalaen*,<sup>20</sup> for it is a rule that no material or earthly possessions or beliefs shall be allowed to be brought up to paradise. So she left all her ritual instruments and they continued on their journey. In less than an hour they reached Kibalwa and there Ondayag instructed the men to construct a *kamalig*.<sup>21</sup> When it was completed the Makadingding<sup>22</sup> appeared to them right there near the *kamalig*. Then Ondayag cried, "Agyu, do not hesitate for the *baylan* is being challenged." Instantly Agyu charged at the mighty Makadingding and said, "You pray, O Makadingding, so that the *baylan* will not be tempted." Instantly, the Makadingding fell and rolled on the ground; and upon touching the ground it became as small as a man's leg. Then Agyu butchered the small pig, cooked it, and shared it among all members of the group. While they were partaking of this good meal,<sup>23</sup> they heard a loud thunder and the earth shook. The reason was that the holy ones<sup>24</sup> in heaven were pleased and were looking down upon Ondayag and her family who were in the process of becoming immortal and would soon make their trip to paradise. Suddenly, a rainbow appeared that served as the bridge on which they walked towards Nalandangan, for the spirits who made them immortal lived there.

Henceforth, Ondayag and the group had no worries for it was easy for them to obtain whatever they desired and there was no more death to be feared.

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#### NOTES

##### *Gugud I*

1. Kitanglad mountain range stands 2,380 meters (Mariano 1955: 5) towards the western side of the province of Bukidnon. It is a common belief among the Bukidnon that during the deluge only the *tanglad* (lemon grass) was seen at the tip of the highest peak of the mountain, hence it is called Mt. Kitanglad. The *tanglad* is known to be a universal curing herb. It is also used as spice in soup for it gives an appealing aroma.

2. *Sala* is chanted lyric poetry.

3. *Kalatung* is a percussion instrument made out of hallowed round timber two to three feet long, both ends of which are covered by dried deer's skin.

4. *Bulan-bulan* is a place considered to be situated in the middle of the world. It is regarded as a sacred place because it was chosen by Magbabaya as the dwelling place of Agbibilin and Ginamayun and their children. Hence, no one could kill or be killed there.

5. *Tulugan* is a huge tribal house that could house more than a hundred people or around twenty families. Its sunken middle space is the tribe's common stove where they cook, dine and share stories. The sides are divided into rooms, one for each

family. These *tulugans* are no longer found today.

6. *Sumbang* is a term for an incestuous relationship which is punishable by death and a curse by the spirits which includes the entire community to which the offenders belong.

7. *Pamalás* is a ritual meant to wash away the curse incurred by the incestuous offense. In this ritual, the blood of a sacrificial chicken or pig is made to drip on the hands or heads of victims to symbolize the washing or cleansing process.

8. *Talaandig* is a combination of two rootwords: *Talaan* (marked) and *andig* (worth emulating).

9. *Balagun ha lintukan* is called the rattan of mystery because in any way it is measured, it comes out eight inches, or eight handspans, or eight armspans long.

10. *Kedaw* is one of several knots made in a rattan or a string. A knot symbolizes a specific meaning. It may indicate an agreement as to time. In this story, it has two meanings. The first is the agreement for a peace conference. The second indicates the pledge to attend at an appointed time. In a first message a positive answer required the respondents to tie a knot; in a second, after the knots had been loosened, if they agree to come, the knots were again tightened; but if they disagree, they simply untie the knots. Subsequently, the *kedaw* became an official or formal system of communication respected by all Bukidnon.

11. *Balighut Saulana* was the name given to the first *kedaw* to remind the succeeding generations that its origin was inspired by Saulana's sanction that the *Talaandig* should serve as the peacemaker of the four groups.

12. *Panawag* is an invitation. In this case it is an invitation for a conference.

13. *Bihagun* are chickens reserved as sacrificial animals for a ritual. In this story, the *bihagun* was meant for the first peace pact ritual.

14. *Bai* is the title for a female chieftain.

15. *Pasagi* is fermented rice wine and a necessary ritual material.

16. *Tampuda hu balagen* is a peace pact ritual which is held after the settlement of disputes. It entails the bleeding of the sacrificial animals (chicken or pigs) and the cutting of the rattan each end of which is held by a representative of the groups involved. The rule is, if the rattan is not cut in a single blow the warriors of the disputing parties can kill each other because it is considered a sign that one of the parties is not sincere in the celebration of reconciliation. However, when the rattan is cut in a single blow, both parties jump with joy and embrace each other. Moreover, no violation to the peace pact terms should be committed otherwise the violator will be subject to the curse of the spirit called upon during the peace pact.

17. Weapons used here are the slightly curved sharp *bolos* called *pinuti* commonly used as war weapons. It is believed that these weapons were symbolically tied together to represent the union of the four groups and they are still being kept in a sanctuary guarded by the Tagoloanon, who are considered the keeper of the Bukidnon ancient customs and traditions.

18. *Sakum* is the *Binukid* term for a patch of clearing cultivated by a slash-and-burn method. *Binukid* is the language of the Bukidnon.

19. *Lantung* is the boundary guard who is responsible for the safety of his territory. No one can enter without his permission. Any person who wishes to enter the territory must present his intentions to the *lantung*. Otherwise the intruders can be rightfully killed by the *lantung's* warriors.

20. *Bati* is a term for brother-in-law.

21. Sultan Kuyaguwa made the necessary negotiations with the Magindanao and

the Maranao chieftains and sought their alliance in attacking the Talaandig.

22. Half red and half white is a term for half breeds or *pikasan*. It comes from the word *pikas* which means half. In this story, Pikas Indahag was half Maranao, half Talaandig.

23. *Limbutong* is a warrior's attire made of cloth thickly padded with cotton mixed with powdered glass. The purpose is to prevent the spear or *bolo* from penetrating into the body of the warrior.

24. It is believed that every *datu* who underwent the various rituals for datuship is closely guided by his guardian spirits who do not only protect him, but punish those who show him disrespect. Any act of disrespect committed against the datu is considered committed against the guardian spirit and can be inflicted with a serious curse in the form of illness, misfortune or death. This explains why the man sitting on the chair was not hit by the spear.

25. *Aliga* is more than a *lantung*. He is also the bridge that would reach out to the four tribes and make the necessary connections conducive to unity and peace. As such, he is respected by all the four tribes.

26. The *balite* tree is a wide spreading tree considered as sacred because it is the home of the *diwatas*. Some claim that at night you see it as a well-lighted palace.

27. Pananaw comes from the word *nanaw* which means beloved.

### *Gugud II*

1. *Mulin-ulin* is the spirit guardian who guides man's thoughts. Some consider this as conscience, others as wisdom. But in the older days the *mulin-ulin* is considered Magbabaya's messenger who is sent to every person. Whenever He wants to reveal a message, He speaks through it. In this story, the contact with the *mulin-ulin* was revealed simply through a dream in which the sacred instruction was revealed.

2. *Ngisawan* comes from the root word *ngisaw* which means smile.

3. *Kapay* means to beckon with hand gestures.

4. Bai Baboy Bagunsaribu in this account is a female Maranao. However, in other stories Bagunsaribu is a famous male chieftain. In another version of the Drought Story, Bangunsaribu is the chieftain of Kalambagohan who married Gawh-anen. In *Gugud I* he is the chieftain who attends the first peace pact conference. This name comes from the word *begun* (rattan) and *libu* (thousands). It means that his strength and power is compared to that of a thousand rattan vines. Bagunsaribu is widely noted for his piglike countenance, that is, with long canine teeth and rounded cheeks.

5. The narrator was referring to the composition of the present Bukidnon cultural minorities in the province of Bukidnon. The Talaandig thrive in the western side, although Prof. Samuel Briones of Mindanao State University claims there is a small isolated group of primitives in the borderlands between Agusan and Bukidnon who call themselves Kalin Talaandig. When I referred this to Datu Kinulintang, the narrator of *Gugud I*, he was not surprised because he recalled that at the height of the fierce battle Dalabahan evacuated the women and children across the Tagoloan River. After the war, some of them remained there and went to the inaccessible mountain fastnesses everytime the *dumagats* (immigrants from across the sea) would reach their domain. So, by now they must have been pushed deep into the wilderness where Dr. Briones found them. The Higaunon are those who lived by the sea coast and were displaced by the Bisayans who migrated to northern Mindanao long before the Spaniards arrived. Since they were displaced from the seashore they call themselves Higaunon which comes from the root word *gaun*, which means "removed from the water." The Tago-

loanun are those who occupy the Tagoloan River valley and the central plains of the province. The Pulangien are those who dwell between the mountains beyond the Tagoloan River and the west bank of Pulangi. All of these subgroups are universally called Bukidnon, first by the early Bisayan migrators and later by the Spaniards who called them Buquitnons or Monteses (Blair and Robertson: 1903, Vol. 47: 289), which means people from the thicket or mountains. Bukidnon is not a Binukid (Bukidnon language) term. Rather, it is a Bisayan term which comes from the word *bukid* which means mountains. Mountains in the Binukid is *buntod*. Clearly, the term Bukidnon did not originate from the primitives themselves. The new generations who do not know their history and who grew up being called Bukidnon know no other group name except Bukidnon.

6. Dalabahan in *Gugud I* is a brave warrior and one of the sons of Datu Kisalem. In this story, he is the son of Datu Maputi assigned as *lantung* of the headwaters of the Cagayan River which falls within the same area of Datu Kisalem. It is possible that both narrators are referring to the same person. In a report made by the missionaries, Dalabahan is a brave Bukidnon chieftain who helped the Spaniards fight against the Muslims (Blair and Robertson 1903, Vol. 46: 57).

7. This phrase means: The symbol that holds the customs and laws of the people of Manila.

8. *Kampilan* is a long *bolo* with a wide, tapered end used principally by warriors.

9. *Linepet* is cooked rice packed in banana leaves.

10. *Kagun* is a member of the groom's party who serves as the messenger who gives the announcement for the marriage arrangement and wedding date.

11. Gawhanen in *Gugud I* is the daughter of Limbubungan, chieftain of Duguan district. In *Gugud II*, she is the daughter of Datu Kumbalan also a chieftain of the same district. It is possible that they are talking of the same person. In both stories, and in another version of the Drought Story, she is made to marry a Maranao chieftain, Bagunsaribu.

12. It is believed that his stone grows larger and larger through the years. Now it can be seen as a huge rock in the very spot described in the story.

13. A long spear, the blade of which is hooked on both sides some six to eight inches from its point.

14. This procedure refers to the following succession of rituals that a chieftain undergoes throughout his rule.

1st rite: *Panomanoron-Panlisigan* where the *tomanod* is called upon to provide constant guidance to the aspiring *datu* and to *lisig* (remove impurities) from his thoughts and past sins or bad acts.

2nd rite: *Tagolambong hu datu* where the high spirits are called upon to grant all necessary graces, guidance and strength so that like a wide spreading tree he will acquire greater power and wealth. *Lambong* means wide spreading like a wide spreading tree that can provide shade to many people.

3rd rite: *Gulugundo hu datu* celebrates the lordship (*gundo*) of the chieftain, that is, when he has gained fame and power from his achievements.

4th rite: *Linangkeban-Ineleban* recognizes that the *datu* has reached the height or apex of his rank. Like a dome (*langkeb*) his growth stops for it is covered from above. *Eleb* means to treat with great respect for his wisdom and experiences had been tried and tested.

All these rituals required the red, black and white chickens for the spirit guardian of war (*talabusaw*), for the malevolent spirits (*sagulilong-sumisigbat*) and for the spirit

guardians of *datu* (*toanod* and the *dumalungdong*). The rituals become more extensive, intensive and expensive as the rank goes higher.

### *Gugud III*

1. Agyu is one of the sons of Golobatnon, a quick footed brave warrior. His tremendous prowess in battle and handsome personality won him the admiration of his kindred. After their immortalization, he became the epic hero of the *Ulaging* (Bukidnon Folk Epic).

2. *Salug* is a general term for river. In this account, it refers to the Cagayan River.

3. Nalandagan is the paradise where the immortalized family of Agyu was assigned to live after the dreadful flight. It is derived from the word *landang* which means 'the beloved.' Some believe that Nalandangan is situated in Kalambagohan, now Cagayan de Oro City, others on Mt. Kitanglad.

4. *Pintu* is a high tower, a cloister to keep their women. It was their custom to preserve the virginity of the women in order to command a high bride price. Moreover, it was their way of showing how they treasure their women and it kept them safe during enemy attacks.

5. *Seat of Banlak*—Some *Ulaging* chanters choose Banlak as their favorite hero and they refer to the Banlak cycles as *Banlaken*. In which case, the singer elevates his status as one higher than that of Agyu. One way of showing this is to assign him a seat higher than that of the rest of the members of the family.

6. The rainbow and lightning symbolize his greatness and supernatural powers for he was the son of Golobatnon and a *divata* (spirit) who lives under the sea.

7. *Pangaldon Divataha* the name of the *divata* who is Banlak's mother.

8. *Galang* is a poisonous mixture that solidifies.

9. *Baylan* is a ritualist or priest or priestess. A duly ordained *baylan* receives the gift of a powerful spirit called the *dumalongdong*, who constantly guides and protects him. In their rules of good conduct, no person should stand behind the *baylan*, especially when he is performing a ritual, because it is believed that the powerful spirit stands behind him. If a person bumps this unseen being accidentally by passing behind the *baylan*, he can suffer a serious reprisal.

10. The *mulin-ulin* here is not only the voice of conscience or wisdom that guides the *baylan*, but a special powerful spirit, usually the *dumalongdong*. In this account, however, it is named Molalambad ta Kilat and Bulalakaw Imbagat.

11. It was said that when the Spaniards entered Kalambagohan the natives were Christianized and were given Christian names. They were not allowed to practice their old rituals and they were required to attend classes held at the convent.

12. The *baylan* claims he/she can see the spirits and speak to them. These spirits reveal directly or in dreams what the *baylan* should do.

13. *Baton* is making mortals immortal through a prescribed good meal and bringing them to paradise. In this story the immortalizing food were the deer and the miraculous pig or the *makadingding*. This sort of belief is common in nativistic movements. The earliest recorded event of this kind was that performed by a *baylan* named Salur (Blair and Robertson 1903, Vol. 36: 188).

14. In another version of the same story, it is stated that they were caught by the soldiers as they were leaving the place, were severely punished, and tied together in a human chain. But through the assistance of their guardian spirits, they were able to free themselves and pass through the gates without being noticed by the guards.

15. In another version, their guardian spirit protected them from their enemies



by placing obstructions, such as thick clouds or by covering the trail they passed with dew.

16. Their first immortalizing meal.
17. *Tankul* is a musical instrument made out of a bamboo internode. During conferences, the *datu* beats the *tankul* to call participants to assemble.
18. *Tipuso* means young. *Dengan* refers to the spirit which is born with an infant. Some call it the soul.
19. Another name for guardian spirit or *dunalangdong*.
20. *Babalaen* are the instruments used when the *baylan* determines the cause of the client's illness and the kind of ritual that can appease the spirit, who, having been offended, may have caused the illness. This instrument may be in the form of a spear, a coin, stones, or bottles filled with charms.
21. *Kamalig* is a low roofed, wide and long building without walls. It can house hundreds of people. In another version, it states that continuous rituals were held in the *kamaling* in order to bid farewell to the patron spirits who had always guided and protected the people.
22. *Makadingding* is described in this story as a huge pig. It is so huge it can cover the sun. Its hair stands on end like long sharp needles with bicuspid and canine teeth as long as pointed as the *kampilans*.
23. The good meal of *makadingding* which can immortalize those who partake of it.
24. The holy ones are the major spirits in heaven called upon during major rituals. They are powerful intercessors for mankind.

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