

A Structural Study of Bagobo Myths and Rites

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The Bagobo live in the interior of southeast Mindanao (west and northwest of the Gulf of Davao) on the southwestern, southern and eastern slopes of the volcano Mount Apo, the highest mountain in the Philippines. They are among many other tribes living in Mindanao which includes: the Manobo, the Mandaya, the Mamanwa, the Bukidnon, the Subanon, and others. This paper concerns the Bagobo and only occasionally mentions the other tribes or some close neighbours of the Bagobo who, like the Bagobo themselves, inhabit the region between Sarangani Bay and the western shore of the Gulf of Davao. These neighbours are the Kulaman, Tagakaolo, Bilaan and Ata, all relatively small tribes, except the Bilaan. Today, the Bagobo are not numerous either, perhaps not more than 2500 all together. In the past sixty years many have moved to the town or city; they have either given up their old customary way of life completely or have perhaps retained in these more modern communities a little of their dialect and a few of their religious customs and concepts only.

The Bagobo have come under stronger Western influence since 1850 A.D. Before this time they have been influenced to some extent by the Moslems and perhaps, before 1450 A.D., directly but slightly by the Hindu-Javanese. Words like "Di-wata," possibly borrowed from the islands of Sangi, Talaud or Jolo, once strongholds of Madjapait, or absorbed through contacts with the Tagalog who probably were under some sort of Javanese domination before 1450 A.D., seem to indicate such Hindu-Javanese influence.

Of the anthropologists who lived with the Bagobo at the beginning of this century and collected anthropological data, Laura Estelle Watson Benedict¹ (1861) should be mentioned first. She worked there from 1906 to 1907. Most of her data were gathered in the Talum area and in Santa Cruz, at the time a settlement with a Bagobo character. Benedict was an anthropologist of the school of Fr. Boas.² She was also familiar with the ideas of G. A. Wilken, A.W. Nieuwenhuis, Alb. C.

1. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 7.

2. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 134 (footn. 208), p. 188 (footn. 294), p. 288 (footn. 362), Lowie, *Ethnological Theory*, p. 134, 131, 132.

Kruyt, P. and F. Sarasin, Johann Warneck and others³ who had studied the land and people of the Indonesian Archipelago. At that time its peoples were a test case for theories of the Bagobo dialect well enough to check on the translations⁴ prelearned by the interpreters. She described⁵ the religion of the Bagobos neatly (though in some respects somewhat scantily) in her book: *A Study of Bagobo Ceremonial Magic and Myth*. This appeared on 15 May, 1916, in the annuals of the N.Y. Academy of Sciences in Vol. XXV, pp. 1-308. In that year Wilson issued his famous peace policy, was re-elected to the Presidency and soon the U.S.A. participated in World War I. The turbulence of these events may explain why Benedict's work remained largely unnoticed, and after World War I the interest of the U.S.A. in the Philippines was not the same as before. L.W. Benedict also published a collection of myths in the *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 26, pp. 13-63 Jan.-Mar. 1913, Philadelphia. The title of the article is "Bagobo Myths."

Another author who came to the Philippines during the same period was Fay Cooper Cole.⁶ He arrived in Davao in July, 1910 and worked in that area for seven months. He wrote about the Bagobo in his book: "The Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao," which was published in Chicago in 1913. He too was a student⁷ of Boas. Besides the Bagobo, other "Gulf-tribes"—the Tagakaolo, the Kulaman, etc.—were also described by Cole. Previously, he had studied the tribes in Bukidnon,⁸ but he published the results of this study only in 1956. His chapter about the Bagobo mentioned earlier remained a sketch⁹ and hardly discussed the religion of this tribe. In contrast to Benedict, who treats principally of Bagobo religion, Cole¹⁰ describes the material culture of these people. Still, the few data he was able to adduce about their religion, especially the need they felt to offer sacrifice, are important.¹¹

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3. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 279-282.
 4. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 8.
 5. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 7.
 6. *Wild Tribes*, p. 49.
 7. Lowie, *loc. cit.*, p. 129, 50.
 8. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 49.
 9. Cole, *loc. cit.*, p. 50.
 10. Cole, *loc. cit.*, p. 51-90.
 11. Cole, *loc. cit.*, p. 105-120, 61-63, 125, 118.

Benedict and Cooper Cole were not the first to write about the Bagobo. A missionary, Fr. Matteo Gisbert, S.J., discussed the Bagobo in his letters edited in the "Carta de los Padres de la Compañía de Jesus" in Manila, 1889, translated and reprinted by Blair & Robertson in Vol. 43 of the *Philippine Islands*. Twenty years later, the American ethnologists mentioned earlier continued what Gisbert had begun.

Although Laura Watson Benedict noted that Bagobo religion would soon die out,¹² she herself and Fay-Cooper Cole were able to collect a treasure of data. Benedict also systematized (externally) the data concerning Bagobo religion. In the first part of her book she discussed myths and beliefs; in the second, the major rites or the formal ceremonial; and in the third, every day forms of religious response. This scheme hardly reveals the internal connection between the elements of Bagobo religion although it keeps the valuable objects together as a unit. As far as the character of Bagobo religion is concerned Benedict only briefly suggests that it is based on a simple spirit or demon worship to which the Bagobo have clung steadfastly. They would have, however, permitted Hindu and Buddhist elements to fuse with their own old ideas, thus constituting a new religious complex that was not at all Malay and far from pure Indian in any phase.¹³ She noticed that the Indelible Elements play somehow a role in Bagobo religion.¹⁴

Benedict appears to be correct in her opinion that the Bagobo have absorbed some Indian lore and may have clung to what she calls their underlying simple spirit or demon worship. The question, however, is what that simple spirit or demon worship may be, and/or how the data collected by her would constitute a religious "complex" which is not a mere accidental unit of many elements lying on top of each other or in juxtaposition, but one that supposes an underlying principle of order manifested by a mutual interrelationship of these elements that form perhaps a pattern, a system, a structure, though not necessarily a completely logical or a perfectly conclusive one. This system might be defective or imperfect, but still something formative in itself the Bagobo could "cling to."

12. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 188 (footn. 294).

13. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 274.

14. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 25.

It should only be a pattern of thought, original or adopted, flexible yet strong enough to absorb and determine e.g. new elements that came from abroad later. Benedict did not dwell long upon what the structure of that "complex" could be, what the character of the Bagobo spirits probably was, in which relationship they stood to each other or what the function of the many symbols might be.

In this study an attempt will be made to disclose further the underlying pattern of Bagobo religion and this by making use of the Bagobo data mainly collected by the two anthropologists, Benedict and Cole. Only if a structure can be discovered can the elements that constitute the "complex" get the place and emphasis they have in the Bagobo mind. It presupposes indeed that such a pattern lies beneath the data that on the surface look quite often inconclusive and disconnected. It will be necessary therefore to have the data mentioned compared time and again with those collected from other perhaps more extensively studied tribes, predominantly from Malay ethnic units of similar cultural development. The Archipelago constitutes one ethnological field for study and the data on the Bagobo should, if necessary, be compared with those of a similar or identical kind and if possible with those where a pattern was supposedly discovered.

The writer discusses here only three greater Bagobo spirits: "Tuglibong," "Mebuyan," and "Lumabat," although other spirits are mentioned occasionally. These spirits like "Mandarangan," "Buso," and others will find a place in another article. The writer has chosen these three spirits first because they are seemingly more clearly interconnected and seem to reveal best something of the structure of Bagobo religion. The spirit "Tuglibong" is the first to be discussed (see Chapter Two). She will gradually though hazily appear as the "mother" of the primeval beings associated with the earth and with the symbols of pestle and mortar. Through her scolding, while pounding with the pestle, she forces the sky beyond the dwelling place of the primeval beings. Her daughter Mebuyan, discussed in Chapter Three, uses the mortar to open up a path to and to ride to the underworld to prepare there a dwelling place for the mythical beings who will now have to die and whom she will guide or send to her city in the Beyond. She is the ruler of the under-

world. Finally the two women, Tuglibong and Mebuyan, may turn out to be one and the same person. In that case she who was the chief of the mythical beings on earth, would today be psychopomp and chief of the dead who live in the Beyond, the old "paradise", transferred by her from the surface of the earth to the underworld.

Tuglibong and Mebuyan will appear to be associated with the centre of the earth. However, when Tuglibong placed the sky on top, she at the same time made the horizon the place where sky and earth still meet today. Thus the horizon would be today the Bagobo equivalent of tree, liana, scaffold, pole, formerly in the centre. There the situation that characterized the beginnings in the centre would still exist. This would mean that the source of life and all the power that was once found in the centre, is also available (today) at the horizon for those at least who can reach it. Another path to the source of life which originally was in the centre upon the earth would be the path of Mebuyan that leads from the centre into the underworld. Those who go there are the common dead. They will find there the black river (in the Beyond) that they have to cross and in which Mebuyan bathes them and bestows new life on them. The source at the horizon mentioned above can be reached today also, but by those (dead) only who take the hazardous path of Lumabat, the brother of Mebuyan, which will be discussed in Chapters Four and Five.

In reality, however, the "two" sources, center and horizon, eventually underworld and sky-world, will appear to be probably the same, "the Beyond," although the Bagobo seem to have attached some elements of their culture (social classes) to the two different mythical personalities and regions. Thus their basic identity would not exclude the possibility that the "myths" have again distinct functions within the society of the Bagobo about whose structure unfortunately not enough is known yet. If the myths would have such distinct functions in society this again would not yet mean that the "religious" scheme must be earlier than the social structure of the society or the other way round. This last question, can as of now, only be touched upon in a cursory fashion in the article that follows. If finally centre and horizon would turn out to be identical in significance, much in Bagobo religious customs and rites would fall in line

and would get the correct emphasis.

The Bagobo are of Malayan stock although Cole¹⁵ thinks that some individuals show Negrito influence. This would not be surprising. The Bagobo language, however, which belongs to the Filipino branch of the Malayan Polynesian languages, points to a close cultural relationship between the Bagobo and other Malay tribes living throughout the Malay Archipelago. Bagobo material culture also shows this relationship. Rice, corn, bananas, cassava, sugar cane, etc., are the main Bagobo agricultural products grown by shifting cultivation or *kaingin* (slash and burn method). The Bagobo raise pigs and fowl. To earn some money, they used to plant coconuts. For clothing they use the abaca, later cultivated extensively by foreigners for Manila hemp. Like many other Malay tribes, by ca. 1900 A.D., they still wove and embroidered their cloths and dyed them with colors extracted from native woods roots.¹⁶ The men cast bells and armlets out of bronze.¹⁷ War¹⁸ was also of social significance for the Bagobo; it gave rise and admission to the highest social class of the warriors: the Bagani.¹⁹ The Bagani, perhaps best translated as Peers, were clothed in a claretred or dark red waistcoat, the darker the red the higher the rank and the more the victims. Whatever religious meaning there may be in Bagobo warfare will be discussed elsewhere; here it suffices to suggest in a general way that the Bagobo, like other Malay tribes, extolled warfare. The instruments for agriculture, defense, fighting and hunting,²⁰ are all of the usual Malay varieties.

Woman's place in society is not much lower than the man's. Women often officiate at religious ceremonies²¹ but they rank lower than successful warriors.

The Bagobo still prefer to live in small communities scattered over the countryside in houses built on high stilts and preferably on hills.²² Settlements of a few families, even as few as two or three only, are quite common. It is true that a

15. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 56.

16. Cole, *loc. cit.*, p. 57.

17. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 83 (footn. 167).

18. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, pp. 93-97, Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 10.

19. Benedict, *ibidem*.

20. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 68, 72, 74, 90, 92.

21. Benedict, *Ceremonial* p. 76-77, 180.

22. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 63; plate XLIX.

blood-feud would make close and real community life difficult, but Filipino families have for ages loved for one reason or the other to live apart, and larger barrios of a hundred families were a rarity noticed already by the Spaniards.²³

In 1910 women were still "bought."²⁴ This could point to a (former) clan or exogamous system, but it does not appear among the Bagobo of today.²⁵ Blood relationship (incest) up to the second cousin²⁶ bars from marriage.

In all these features of environment, language, material culture, social relationship, art, customs, etc., one recognizes a Malay cultural variety. Bagobo religion may be expected to be of the same nature as the other cultural features, that is: basically Malay and thus comparable with the religions of other Malay tribes.

Compared with the data H. Schaerer collected by himself and from the Ngaju Dayak only, the materials provided by Benedict, Cole and others about the Bagobo are scanty and often not clear enough. Comparison with other tribes and peoples is necessary. The grade of certainty, therefore, H. Schaerer could claim for his interpretation of the Ngaju Dayak and of the structure or system of their religion he discovered cannot be expected here, while the danger of subjectivism because of the necessity to compare when clarifying or interpreting data is greater. A Bagobo who had acquired enough formal education and who fully understands and could love his religion would have been a great help in writing this paper. As it is now it is difficult to have such a person at hand. The data on which the writer of this article had to rely were data collected by others—non-Bagobo either—who have necessarily chosen what they considered valuable sixty years ago and from what the occasion at that time provided. It seems however that the results of the inquiry offered in this paper would justify at least, and perhaps encourage, a new and broader investigation among the Bagobo that would also include language and society. This would, according to reliable information and the writer's own knowledge, be still possible to a satisfactory degree. And there still are the

23. Phelan *Hispanisation*, p. 45.

24. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 101, Benedict, *Ceremonial* p. 180, 185, 245.

25. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 95.

26. Cole, *ibidem*, p. 95.

26. Cole, *ibidem*.

less known and more numerous Bilaan, close neighbours of the Bagobo, who could be the subject for a similar study.

As was mentioned before, only a part of Bagobo religion, and the quest for a possible structure of this said part (that would suppose an underlying principle of order) will be discussed in the following pages, in the course of which the writer will also try to give to some Bagobo spirits more familiar features and a meaning to some major rites. As only three spirits are discussed here in their interrelations, associations, and antagonisms or polarity, and since a structure only begins to appear, it would be too early to express a definite opinion about the conception of "god" among the Bagobo as H. Schaerer could afford to do for the Ngaju Dayak.

The data used in this article are mainly Bagobo myths and rites supposed to constitute a unity. They are suggested here as the externalizations of the Bagobo mind with the help of which it communicates, thus revealing the internal pattern of this mind in matters of religion. Wherever it seemed possible the writer will try to show that myths and rites, if recited and performed in what the Bagobo consider the right attitude, activate for them the sacred beginnings.

The meaning of a number of symbols is generally agreed upon today. The writer will occasionally try to demonstrate how the Bagobo make use of them.

The authors who influenced the writer most, are mentioned in the short bibliography attached to this article. Also found at the end of the article is a glossary of some Bagobo, Malay and Javanese words.

The "Malay Archipelago" includes Indonesia (except Irian), Malaysia, and the Philippines; but not Polynesia, Micronesia or Melanesia.

CHAPTER TWO: TUGLIBONG

I. Tuglibong or the Woman

The Bagobo myths noted by Benedict are rather concise and perhaps only condensed reports of much longer stories. The first myth tells us about a mythical woman called Tuglibong

whose activities seem to bear on primeval events. It describes how the sky and the earth took the shape they have today, and consequently, how the Mona (or mythical beings) began to live upon the surface of the earth. As the myths are short, the author has decided to present here the text of the following myths, A, B, C, D, E, F, as included in the report of L.W. Benedict in the *Journal of American Folklore*.²⁷

1. Bagobo Myths about Tuglibong

A

In the beginning Diwata made the sea and the land and planted trees of many kinds. Then he took two lumps of earth and shaped them like human figures; then he spat on them, and they became man and woman. The old man was called Tuglay, and the old woman, Tuglibong. The two were married and lived together. Then Tuglay made a great house, and planted seeds of different kinds that Diwata gave him, etc.

B

Long ago the sun hung low over the earth. And the old woman called Mona said to the sky, "You go up high, because I cannot pound my rice when you are in the way." Then the sky moved up higher. Mona was the first woman and Tuglay was the first man. There were at that time only one man and one woman on the earth. Their eldest son was named Malaki; their eldest daughter, Bia. They lived in the center of the earth.

C

Tuglay and Mona made all things in the world; but the god made the woman and the man. Mona was also called Tuglibong. Tuglay and Tuglibong got rice because they could see the god. But the snake was there also, and he gave the fruit to the man and the woman saying to them: "If you eat the fruit, it will open your eyes." Then they both ate the fruit. This made the god angry. After this Tuglay and Tuglibong could not see the god anymore.

D

In the beginning, when the world was made, the sky hung

27. Benedict, *Myths*, p. 15.

too low over the earth. At this time the poor families called Mona were living in the world. The sky hung so low that when they wanted to pound their rice, they had to kneel down on the ground to get a place for the arm. Then the poor woman called Tuglibong said to the sky: "Go higher up! Don't you see that I cannot pound my rice well?" So the sky began to move upwards. When it had gone up about five fathoms, the woman said again, "Go higher up still more." This made the sun angry at the woman, and he rushed up very high.

E

In the old days when the sun as well as the sky were down, the Mona had a deep hole in the ground as large as a house into which they could creep to keep themselves from the fierce heat of the sun. The Mona were very old; but after the sun went up very high, they began to have babies.

F

In the beginning the sky hung so low over the earth that the people could not stand upright, nor do their work. For this reason the man in the sky said to the sky, "Come up." Then the sky went to its present place.

2. The Name of Tuglibong

In the myths quoted above the primeval beings were all called "the Mona"²⁸ which means "the first." There were many of them, male and female,²⁹ the first called "Tuglay" or "Todlay (also called Tuglai and Todlai)," the second "Tuglibong". The second syllable of "tuglay" or "tuglai" is "lai", a common word throughout the Malay Archipelago for "man". In the Malay language, the equivalent of "man" is "laki", which is of the same root as "lai". In Visayan and Javanese, the term for man is "laki"; in Pampanga it is "laqui".³⁰ In Flores, Sicca, the term used is "la'i". The "tug" of "tuglay" is a prefix. The meaning of the word "Tuglibong" is probably "woman" or eventually

28. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 16.

29. Benedict, *ibidem*.

30. Rahmann, *Quarrels (Folklore 14)*, p. 206.

“virgin”. “Libon” can mean “virgin” in Visayan. According to the *Bisaya Español Diccionario*, the Visayan word “Libon” means first of all something that is without holes or stain, as a tree can be. In the *Diccionario Waray Español* of A. Sanchez de la Rosa, “libon” means: enclosure, something without entrance or exit. This meaning will be very useful for describing and interpreting some Bagobo rites in another paper. But it also simply means; virgin, virgin-forest or/and virgin-earth. The addition of the final “g” in “libong” is not unusual in languages of the Southern Philippines (cf. Opon, Opong). Among the Mona, Tuglibong seems to mean “the” virgin or “the” woman. Benedict says indeed that “Tuglibong” is the wife of Tuglay, yet a goddess ever virgin, and the two instituted the Bagobo way of life.³¹ She is also called “Mona”, the first one. “The first” or “the woman”, may be vague “names”, but they have the advantage of signifying a type in which all female undiversified mythical characters can be included. This makes it possible that the two first beings, whether they are made or not made, can be called “Tuglai and Tuglibong”, “the Man” and “the Woman”, or simply “Mona,” “the first”. Also the Creators themselves, if they are two and as such known to the Bagobo, could be called “Tuglai and Tuglibong.” The creator god of the Toradja,³² e.g., is called “Ilai,” which is etymologically similar to the Bagobo Tuglai, and this Toradja Ilai seems to stand outside Nature indeed. The Bagobo do not categorically state that the two, “Tuglibong” and “Tuglai”, are co-creators. Myth C seems to point to the latter and in another text is told how the two were assisting the “creator” in making plants and stones.³³ It would seem that the two immanent co-creators participate in a mysterious way in the power of eventually an extraneous or transcendent Creator, and so would the Creator participate in the worship by man of the co-creator, which topic being of great importance, cannot be discussed here yet, as was mentioned in the Introduction. It can happen that in one myth of the same tribe the transcending (?)

31. Felix de la, *Diccionario Bisaya, Encarnacion, Español*, p. 201, A. Sanchez de la, *Diccionario Waray, Rosa, Español*, p. 184, Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 29 (footn. 66).

32. Downs, *Toradja*, p. 12.

33. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 65.

creator accomplishes almost everything; in another the immanent co-creator appears much more active and responsible. In myth A the two seem to be only "cooperators."

The whole first mythical period in the story of the Bagobo is vague. It is here and there (Myth C, A) influenced by Biblical ideas. Tuglibong's treatment of the sky, however, seems genuinely Bagobo and less or not at all influenced by historical religions from abroad. The intrigue as well as the choice of the instruments: pestle and mortar, and the scolding are also rather original, although within the range of what is found in other myths of kindred Malay tribes. A further investigation of this aspect may reveal in extenso a genuine Bagobo picture of the beginnings. The word "Mona" itself also does not indicate immediately and clearly whether it means "first" in an absolute or in a relative sense, nor whether it bears on "creation" or only on the beginning of a new era.

II. The Mythical Beings

1. The Mythical Beings and the Scorching Period

The myths cited above seem to have been intended to reveal something about a powerful ancestress who appears as the head or the chief of the mythical beings called Mona, who differed from man as man is today, and who were struck by a disaster that threatened them.³⁴ They were scorched by the sun and the "sky" and could not live a human life. It is normal to find in Malay myths that the "sky" is considered the source of good, but it is not necessarily (always) absolutely good. On the contrary, the "sky" is often described as a bit pretentious,³⁵ or fickle. The scorching related in the Bagobo myth is equivalent to a disaster caused by a flood, a more familiar disaster to us because of Biblical associations or by "darkness" as we find in the Northern hemisphere. In mythical stories cataclysms often follow creation stories and sometimes the two integrate into one story. For instance, one may call to mind the myth of the Ngaju Dayak³⁶ in which two primeval beings float upon the

34. Benedict, *Myths*, p. 16.

35. Fischer, *Paradies Myths* (Z. f. E. 64), p. 208.

sea. Perhaps we have here originally two myths, a creation and a flood myth, which were contracted into one. The same may be true of a myth which supposes that creation started from heat or fire and later this same heat or fire almost destroyed everything. Then the process of creation would start again and probably after the same or a similar pattern. It seems clear also that in case of a disaster from heat or fire salvation comes not through a boat, an ark or a mountain, but by pits and crevices in the earth. The boat or crevices may be considered as the womb of life into which life retreats for a new birth or a new start. In the Bagobo myth E the pit is compared with house,³⁷ another equivalent to boat or mountain and also to centre³⁸ as in myth B. Finally, the powerful woman, Tuglibong, was able to force the sky (associated with the Indelible Element fire or heat) to retire higher up and to end the torture, just as in other myths some spirit would stop rain and flood. After this disaster of the firebrand type, a better period, approaching a golden age, began for the mythical beings.³⁹

2. The Aftermath of the Firebrand Period

In mythical times life had no stable forms or divisions. It seems that "life" was a "substance" (?) that could adopt, even here on earth, any form any time, be changed or transformed into something else. One could be a squirrel today and a great hero tomorrow.⁴⁰ The spirit Buso,⁴¹ today an evil spirit associated with death, was not then a spirit of "evil." Things were undetermined. In the *ulits*, stories of the Bagobo about mythical times, the heroes sometimes die but they always resurrect. The sort of "death" described in these Bagobo stories was obviously not the death we know today. Indeed, it seems that for the Bagobo there was no real death, since there was no country for the dead. The country for the dead came into existence only after this paradisiac period, when seemingly the "centre" was transferred to the underworld. Its creation will be told in the myths of

36. Schaerer, *Gottesidee*, p. 196.

37. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 67, *Myths*, p. 16-17.

38. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 65.

39. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 67-69.

40. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 65, 72.

41. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 67.

Lumabat and Mebuyan to be discussed further in the next two chapters.

If there was no genuine death, there was also no genuine birth. Very cautiously the Bagobo relate that the Mona began to give birth to children "by and by";⁴² thus insinuating that it was still something strange and far from being an established custom. The neighbours of the Bagobo, the Bilaan, say so explicitly.⁴³ They believe that the god of the sky provided personally for additional creatures, but when men and women began to raise children on their own, he retired and left them alone. The Bagobo first chased away their god of the sky, then they began to raise children. On the other hand, the Bilaan raised children and then their sky god left them. There is consequently in both the myths some indication of a connection between the raising of children and the retreat of the sky.

Food⁴⁴ is a classical problem in "paradise" stories. The Bagobo recall that under Tuglibong, the mythical beings lived in an "earthly" paradise. The fruit trees grew low enough for everybody to reach easily their branches and fruits. It is suggested that agricultural work (like death and birth) was not known in that period or was different from what it is today. The women⁴⁵ wove cloth and the men cast bronze but these were artistic labors, not menial work. Everything was a pleasure. Other tribes⁴⁶ say that weaving was learned directly after man had become "man." There were, according to the Bagobo, Mona who were rich and more progressive than the others; this may mean that differences in social standing and degree of culture appear to the Bagobo of primeval origin or "developed" during primeval times. It was perhaps not so with the other tribes just mentioned.

But the Bagobo changed and eventually deteriorated gradually.⁴⁷ As was already mentioned, children were born now and then⁴⁸ and in consequence, quarrels arose, bringing about enmity and hatred. The situation called for a solution. It was

42. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 66.

43. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 136.

44. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 67, 69.

45. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 69, 68.

46. Jensen, *Drei Stroeme*, p. 121.

47. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 68.

48. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 67, 68.

at this stage that Lumabat and his sister, Mebuyan, appeared. They also quarreled and ended mythical times by introducing the period of "mortal man", a new order of things where transformation also takes place but in the Beyond only. Bagobo myths conceive of mythical times as a period during which Mona were protected by the Earth, perhaps personified in Tuglibong. In this aspect the Bagobo differ from other tribes who think of the sky as their protector.

III. Tuglibong and the Sky

1. The Sky and Evil

The feeling that the sky is a seat or source of evil may be ascribed to the Bagobo in particular, but quarrels of terrestrials with spirits in the sky, resulting in the pulling up of the sky by sky spirits (Myth F) or the pushing up of the sky by terrestrials, are widely known among the tribes of the Archipelago. A Rotinese⁴⁹ myth tells of a similar situation but while the Bagobo refuse to give credit to the sky, the Rotinese consider it a source of good things in the beginning. These people of Rote, an island of the Lesser Sunda Islands about 1500 Km. south of Mindanao, have a myth explaining how primeval beings first got their food and all they needed from the sky. The sky was hanging quite low, until some girls, forgetting the benefits they had been getting from it, noticed that when they pounded their rice, the pestle struck the sky. They hired a strong spirit to push the sky higher up, which he did, but unfortunately he pushed it too high. For the Rotinese the sky was the "paradise" from which they got their food and other needs. For the Bagobo the earth was the paradise while the sky was only an obstacle.

That the sky took offense at the behaviour of man and put the "paradise" beyond his reach by retreating, is mentioned several times in the much quoted article of H. Fischer "Indonesische Paradiesmythen". The Toradja,⁵⁰ the To Mori,⁵¹ both in

49. Fischer, *Paradies Mythen*, pp. 227-228.

50. Fischer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 209-213.

51. Fischer, *loc. cit.*, p. 213.

Celebes, the Olu Ngadju⁵² in Borneo, some tribes in Flores, in Timor⁵³ and in Nias,⁵⁴ an island off the West coast of Sumatra, etc., have myths in which the sky figures prominently, but there, too, the sky is never wholly right. There are suggestions that it is too touchy, too demanding, too intolerant or careless, though it does not exactly endanger life as the Bagobo sky did.

In myth F of the Bagobo, "the man in the sky" orders the sky to come higher up; this it also does without exactly being forced to do it. It is difficult to decide what opinion is more generally accepted by the Bagobo but it seems that myth D offers a clearer indication of forthright Bagobo thought. In myth D Tuglibong is the heroine and the saviour of the Bagobo. The question whether the "sky" is "Mandarangan" and whether the two principle spirits in the Bagobo sacrificial rite, Mandarangan and Darago (virgin?), are identical with Tuglibong and "the sky", must be discussed in another article.

2. The Quarrels and Progressive Creation

Tuglibong's quarrel or her action of pounding, or both, may be considered now as a creative action, because it made the sky retreat. The surface of the earth became safe and the mythical beings could slip out of the (house) womb of the earth and live on its surface. Another Bagobo myth⁵⁵ tells that the sun and the moon quarreled and decided on traveling at different times, consequently bringing about the separation of day and night and perhaps also the seasons. In the next chapter, part of the discussion will be about the myth of Mebuyan which relates that after a quarrel, the underworld was created and the mythical beings were made mortal men. It is clear enough that the three myths are interdependent and very simply teach a "truth." This truth is probably the gradual process of creation, first of the sky and the earth and the birth of the Mona on the surface of the earth, and later, the creation of day and night, stars and seasons, or eventually the other way round (space

52. Fischer, *loc. cit.*, p. 217.

53. Fischer, *loc. cit.*, p. 225-227.

54. Fischer, *loc. cit.*, p. 223-224.

55. Benedict, *Myths*, p. 18.

and time); and finally, the making of "mortal" man with the possibility of another life in another country. The mythical quarrels which characterize the three myths form the link among them. Quarrels, disputes or dialogues lead, so it seems, to a definite settlement of things, and this must mean perhaps the creation of the order we see in the universe.

The belief that dialogue was necessary as a foundation of the universe could easily lead the Bagobo to conceive some of their own domestic or local quarrels as ritual procedures representing the primeval quarrel and thus sharing in its effectiveness to settle things for ever⁵⁶.

3. Pestle and Argument

Tuglibong was pounding and scolding the sky at the same time. According to the Bagobo myth, it was the scolding that made the sky rush higher up, but the Bukidnon⁵⁷ say that the woman struck the belly of the sky with the pestle and thus forced it to go higher up. This means perhaps that the rhythmic pounding is equivalent to the repeated scolding. The one who can not reply would lose in such a contest and retreat, just as the one who is beaten escapes further hits by flight. Schaerer⁵⁸ found that among the Ngaju Dayak in Borneo quarrels can indeed be rituals based upon the famous Ngaju Dayak myth of the two rival birds who pounded the sacred tree with their heavy beaks in rhythmic repetition. In so doing they destroyed the tree but out of the destruction the world and man arose. It is quite possible that a similar idea underlies the Bagobo myth of the pounding woman. The creation of space, of the sky and the surface of the earth, would be the result of a primeval dialogue involving a woman who, because she could not pound her rice and because her "children" had to live in crevices and holes, grumbled and demanded that reason prevail. And reason prevailed as additional creation. The symbol of the dialogue would be the pounding, just as the pecking of the two mythical birds, one associated with the upperworld and the other with

56. Schaerer, *Gottesidee*, pp. 18-20, 126.

57. Cole, *Bukidnon*, p. 123.

58. Schaerer, *Gottesidee*, p. 126.

the underworld, is the symbol of competition and of creative action among the Ngaju Dayak. The pestle, which is the instrument for pounding, may be taken now as the visible symbol for the creation of the surface of the earth, of the vault of heaven, and of space, while, as will be discussed in the next chapter, the mortar, the counterpart of the pestle, may be admitted as the instrument for creating the underworld. To the Bagobo the pestle and mortar together could symbolize the old as well as the new universe. Around these two symbols of pole (or pestle) and mortar the Bagobo would have spun their more or less elaborate stories, tales and myths. In the Bagobo myth of the sun and moon mentioned before it is told that the sun took his bolo and cut the body of the daughter of the moon to pieces. Here the daughter was also the link between the two, but when the sun and the moon quarreled they eliminated the link and got separated. By travelling now at different times, they created night and day. Cutting, pounding and pecking are rhythmic actions that may symbolize argument, quarrel, discussion, dialogue. The result would be a tolerable and reasonable equilibrium that permits life on earth. The cut liana, the broken down tree, the destroyed scaffold, the killed daughter, all former links between sky and earth, or sun and moon (that are easily identified with sky and earth), could be conceived now as equivalent to the pestle that, like the cut liana, caused or occasioned the separation of sky and earth.

IV. Rituals Connected with Pounding

1. Bagobo Ritual Music

It has been pointed out that pounding in the myth of Tuglibong could eventually be the symbol or the equivalent of scolding and argument. At present the Bagobo seem indeed to attribute to rice pounding a certain solemn and sometimes an almost sacred character. Days or weeks before a festival starts, the community gives notice of this coming event by pounding rice. The^m spirits may also be understood to take rice-pounding

59. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 100.

as a symbol and harbinger of good things, if, for instance, during a seance, they order the community to pound day and night without interruption before the festival starts. This will be easier to accept if one thinks of the festivals for which rice is pounded as religious events celebrating the past (the creation and formation of man), as the Bagobo seem to do. Further creation started with rice pounding.

As a matter of fact, the Bagobo rely mainly on one kind of music to go with their festivals, that produced by the women on the *bolang bolang*.⁶⁰ These are simple instruments made of a mortar with a board on top to cover the hole, and a stick. The fact that these instruments, simple and improvised as they may be, are given a generally adopted name (*bolang bolang*), shows that they are a conventional thing and may have a meaning for the Bagobo. These instruments and the music, to which the crowds dance, symbolize strikingly the movement of the mythical woman and the pestle when the mythical beings were allowed to appear on the surface of the earth. Hence, the ritual could celebrate the beginnings of the world and mankind. Dances also are often celebrations of mythical times. Such a dance is that found among the Wemale, a tribe of Ceram, Moluccas, Indonesia. Jensen states that their ceremonial⁶¹ dance, the Maro,⁶² is a continuation of the dance of the mythical beings through which they danced Hainuwele, a miracle girl, into the ground. After this mythical event, the beings had become mortal. Today, the Maro is obviously a representation or celebration of these mythical events and their result, death. This interpretation may be applied to the music on the *bolang bolang* and the Bagobo belief about Tuglibong. As a matter of fact, the Bagobo⁶³ say that Mandarangan, the god of the sky, rushes to the feast when he hears music and dancing. If even the gods "come", the mythical era is celebrated, so it would seem. Some Bagobo⁶⁴ believe that the sacrifice they offer today to the spirit Mandarangan is the same as the sacrifice Salingolop offered this

60. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 110.

61. Jensen, *Drei Ströme*, p. 114.

62. Jensen, *ibidem*.

63. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 146 (footn. 213).

64. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 252.

spirit in mythical times. Salingolop was a hero and a giant. When he fell under the blows of the "Spaniards", the land of the Bagobo was formed out of his body which is certainly a mythical event. A ceremony like that of the Bagobo in which a dance is carried out to the music of the *bolang bolang* could well be a celebration of a mythical event also. But there are more indications to this effect in Mindanao.

2. Subanon Ritual Music and Dance

Later it will be seen that the Wemale have much more in common with the Bagobo and that an argument constructed with the help of their lore may well have a special value in the case of the Bagobo dances and music. In Mindanao however, evidences can also be found to support the suggestion that the *bolang bolang* music of the Bagobo is possibly the celebration of the sacred rhythm of mythical times that occasioned the creation of space. One may e.g. observe the "buklug" dance of the Subanon,⁶⁵ a tribe in the northwestern region of Mindanao. The dance was described as follows: "The festival of *buklug* is prepared by raising a structure of some 10 to 18 feet high, consisting of a highly resilient platform supported at the corners by upright beams. A beam passes through the middle of the platform, which above extends like a Maypole and below reaches to a short thick log laid in the ground. This log is hollowed out as much as is practicable and lies almost immediately over a number of large earthen jars sunk in the earth which serve as resonators. A few leaves and sticks are interposed to prevent the jars from breaking. A crosspiece that joins the long central pole or beam to the platform makes it go up and down with the latter as the Subanon dance on the platform. The long beam as it comes down strikes the hollow log and makes a booming sound, which animates the dancers and is usually their only music. This dancing platform gives the name to any festival or ceremony in which it is used but the dancing is only an incident (*sic*). The more important features of the occasion are the feasting, drinking and religious ceremonies. The dancing is done by joining hands in a ring, alternately closing in and

65. Christie, Subanon, p. 73-74.

jumping backward around a sort of May pole in the centre, all pressing down on the platform at the same moment. This causes the lower end of the pole to strike forcibly the hollow log beneath, thus making the deep booming sound. The clank of the women's brass anklets can be heard coming just before the boom boom of the hollow log."

One can recognize a similarity between the Bagobo kettle drum music (*bolang bolang*) on festive occasions and the Bukluk of the Subanon which appears to be a dance and a mechanized apparatus where stage, music, and even dance are combined in one instrument. Because the *buklug* reminds us of the Bagobo kettle drum music, it at the same time recalls to us the Bagobo myth of Tuglibong. The pole and the jars easily attract attention. Their going up and down, thus producing the booming sound in log and jars, looks like the pounding with pestle and mortar described in the myth of the Bagobo. The "stage" represents the world. This could be the spot where Tuglibong stood when her action separated the sky from the surface of the earth. From this centre the wide horizon would have been created and this is perhaps represented by dancing to and fro around the central pole. Indeed, it will be difficult to deny the similarity between the pounding in the myth and the *bolang bolang* rite of the Bagobo and this ceremony of the Subanon.

The Wemale danced a girl into the ground, as will be explained later extensively. This caused the opening up of the underworld and the start of universal death. The Subanon seem to dance the underworld into existence when they perform the *buklug*, but at the same time they also push the sky higher up. The same pole which the dancers move up and down accomplishes both. The Bagobo stress in their first myth of Tuglibong and the pestle the creation of room between sky and earth. They reserve the creation of the underworld for a second myth, the myth of Mebuyan and the mortar, which is quite similar to the Wemale myth and will remind us also of the jars in the Subanon rite. During their sacrificial rite the Bagobo men and women, like the Subanon, dance to and fro also around a pole to which they have tied a victim. Regardless of some differences, dancing, pounding, pole and jar, sky and underworld, the universe, etc., are, so it seems, for the people in Min-

danao and some other places, related concepts. Was it the power of the symbol (pounding rice with a pestle) that placed the Woman in the centre of the Bagobo creation myths, or was it the dominant character of the Woman in Bagobo religion that created the eminently female symbol of pounding rice? Actually the Bagobo have also a rite where the Bagobo male handles a ritual device used in a ceremony that perhaps reminds one of the movements of the pestle.

3. The Palakpak and the Pestle

The *buklug* of the Subanon is performed in times of sowing, harvesting, illness and death, while the *bolang bolang* dance of the Bagobo seems to be connected with harvesting only. There is, however, another Bagobo instrument and dance that perhaps can be considered a counterpart to the *bolang bolang*. This is the *palakpak*,⁶⁶ a clapper made (following a precise ritual) from bamboo and put on the top of a planting stick. The *palakpak* is embellished with feathers, while the stick itself is partially blackened with soot. The stick ends below with an iron point used to dig a shallow hole by thrusting it into the ground. The action produces a pleasant noise because the clapper, shaken by the thrust of the pole, vibrates. The Bagobo use these sticks for planting because they believe that the spirits of the fields are fond of this sound.⁶⁷ We are reminded here of the *buklug* of the Subanon. In the *buklug* dance, though, the jars that make the sound are in the ground while the clapper (*palakpak*) of the planting-sticks is on the top. But the "thrusting," the "music," and the "automation", are all there, while the rhythmic movement of the planters over the field is a sort of dance. Although the *buklug* works the other way round (the *palakpak* has the source of music on top) the similarities are too striking to be overlooked. As the Bagobo do not have a *buklug* like the Subanon that combines stick and mortar for more general purposes, they need perhaps a counterpart to the *bolang bolang* (mortar) in the planting ceremony where the "stick" would come to the foreground. This would mean that the Bagobo harvest feast emphasizes the mortar (a

66. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 87.

67. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, pp. 172-179.

symbol for rice and the female) while the planting ceremony could stress the male by giving importance to the stick that was associated with primeval scorching. Both ceremonies (planting and harvesting) would be aptly symbolized now by two instruments that belong together as closely as man and woman: the mortar and the pestle. One could admire this attempt to bring to a common denominator a multitude of things in the cosmos: pestle and mortar, man and woman, upper and lower regions, sky and earth, planting and harvest, rain and seed, etc.

One should consider the circumstances in which the *palakpak* appears, that is, during the ritual planting which goes from North to South, the "orthodox direction" for the Bagobo⁶⁸ and in the midst of a religious place. The Bagobo field is a clearing out of the jungle. A small spirit-house or a *tambara* (a religious item that should be discussed elsewhere) is put up in the centre of the field. It seems to serve as an altar which represents the centre of the world or the cosmos. Around this centre the rice-mother⁶⁹ is planted together with all the "magic" plants that must impart their special qualities to the rice. The Kulaman⁷⁰, neighbours of the Bagobo, also plant a pole in that centre together with a sugar-cane stalk. The sugar-cane stalk appears in a myth of the Bagobo⁷¹ as the only plant that had survived the scorching period and thus points to the end of this scorching period. This happened in mythical times in the place where the Bagobo village Sibolan was. One could even say that the sugar-cane stalk is the plant of Sibolan, the equivalent of the central tree, and thus the centre where the Bagobo settlement and people started, and also where Tuglibong must have pounded her rice. Because of this sacred plant, the clearing to be cultivated would have all the likeness with the earth at the end of the scorching period, as the fields are actually made at the end of the dry season. It is in the environment just described that the up and downwards moving *palakpak* appears. One must think here of the mythical pestle. One might object that the Subanon *buklug* requires one stick only while all the plan-

68. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 86, 173.

69. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 173, 174.

70. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 154.

71. Cole, *loc. cit.*, p. 54.

ters have their individual sticks. All these sticks can perhaps not possibly represent the centre, as the pole does in the *buklug*. In this connection the custom of the Tagakaolo,⁷² also neighbours of the Bagobo, can perhaps shed some light. When the work is done, the Tagakaolo take some rice and form it into a heap. Then they collect all the sticks used during planting and plant them on the heap of rice. The sticks have now been made to form a bundle in the centre, from where the whole field has been cleaned, sowed and planted and the assembled sticks are thus made to look like one pole. Next, the Tagakaolo pour water over the sticks and the rice. Rain is the only thing lacking for a prosperous growth and for ending the scorching or dry season.

The *palakpak* is cut several months⁷³ before planting is to start and it must be a bamboo joint of a fixed size, exactly the distance from a point of one's arm to a certain point of one's wrist. When work is over, the sticks and the *palakpak* are not discarded⁷⁴ but are stored in the house. Sticks whose size are related to the individual man and sometimes ornamented with feathers are also found in other places.⁷⁵ The feather can symbolize the spirit (wind, breath) of a sacrifice especially of a chicken offered to the gods. The sticks may well symbolize the tree in which everybody has his personal limited share (life-span) since man became mortal.⁷⁶ The tree that Mebuyan holds and shakes is a tree of limited life for mankind on earth.⁷⁷ The *palakpak* made out of bamboo could represent this central tree, and so can a bamboo growth. Even if the bundle of planting-sticks placed by the Tagakaolo on the heap of rice would not be the central "tree", it could represent a growth or a garden of bamboo trees on a mountain top, which would mean the same. Not only a tree but bamboo growths are sometimes associated in the same way with the allotted life span of man, of which a mysterious monkey is said to keep the record.⁷⁸ (See Chapter Four, III, 4, page 58). The planting stick of the Bagobo is

72. Cole, *loc. cit.*, p. 160.

73. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 173.

74. Benedict, *ibidem*.

75. Demetrio, *Death* (Ph.S. 14), p. 382.

76. Demetrio, *loc. cit.*, p. 377.

77. Benedict, *Myths*, p. 20.

78. Demetrio, *Death*, p. 377

blackened⁷⁹ with soot perhaps to remind us of the scorching heat on earth which made Tuglibong push the sky higher up with the pestle. The sound made by the *palakpak* on top may represent also the noise created by the pestle of Tuglibong as it struck the low hanging sky which, according to the very similar myth of the Bukidnon, was as hard as rock.

The *palakpak* must have the exact size of one's arm.⁸⁰ It is well to point out that arms play a role in several myths. The Wemale associate the arm of Hainuwele with death (see Chapter III, sub 7 page 36) and thus with the life span of everyone on earth. The arms of Mebuyan shake the tree on which everybody "hangs." The Bukidnon⁸¹ associate the arm directly with agriculture. Here the arm of primeval man hanging down was cut off by one of his magic knives because primeval woman (his wife) violated a taboo while he was asleep and his (magic) knives were busy making a clearing (centre). The two quarreled as usual and the man migrated to the sky, the woman to the ocean. This "man" in the sky is still interested in agriculture. Every year his arm appears in the sky as a constellation to remind people that the right time has come to clear the fields. Hainuwele of the Wemale, whose arm was cut off, is associated with "the tree" (Chapter Four, 3) just as the man of the Bukidnon may also be (knife and liana). The cut off arm would represent the cut or destroyed central tree or liana, the symbol of agriculture and the life of man in mortality.

It is difficult to interpret the *palakpak*. It seems though to remind us of the central pole of the Subanon but here it would strike the sky, thus also severing and separating it from the earth and creating space for new life to arise out of the crevices of the earth after the dry season (the equivalent of the primeval scorching period) has ended. Therefore it would aptly serve in a planting rite. The stick could be handled as a pestle by the woman as it does in the Bagobo myth and as a planting stick by man as it does in the Bagobo rite, and it would be associated with the beginnings, the creation of the sky and the surface of the earth as well as with life and its origin on the earth. The cutting of the liana, the destruction of tree or mountain,

79. Benedict, Ceremonial, p. 172.

80. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, pp. 172-173.

81. Cole, Bukidnon, pp. 123, 124.

would be the same as the moving up and down of a pestle or stick, thus striking sky and earth and separating them.

V. Quarrels and Rites

The separation of sky and earth brought about by Tuglibong is also the result of a quarrel between Tuglibong and "sky". H. Schaerer,⁸² who had to deal with an analogous quarrel in mythical times narrated by the Ngaju Dayak, i.e., the altercation of Mahatala (the sky or the upperworld) with Djata (the earth or the underworld), thought that the quarrel and its stabilizing result has remained typical since then of all stable accord in the future among the Ngadju Dajak.

The quarrel and the settlement between Sky and Earth, or Tuglibong and Tuglay (?), could also be the proto-type of all settlement of disputes among the Bagobo of today. Actually most people throughout the Archipelago prefer to settle things after much chiding and scolding. If there is no opposition, a "ritual" opposition is put up to show a semblance of scolding, and when two parties are unable to quarrel (e.g. the lovers in a marriage contract), the respective families do the chiding. The Javanese⁸³ are skilled and accomplished in this verbal duel; the more the abuse, the better. The same phenomenon occurs in the Lesser Sunda Islands, in Bali, in Flores, etc. It is true that Benedict did not report anything of this sort about the Bagobo, but it is not likely that they should differ from their neighbours, the Manobo,⁸⁴ who are notorious for their yelling and abuse at such occasions and for their implacable and atrocious diplomacy. The desire for a settlement is serious however and an agreement is always arrived at. According to H. Schaerer,⁸⁵ the chiding and scolding would be the representation in time of the same chiding employed by the primeval deities and has become the prototype of all arbitration today. Perhaps it may be an outlet for pent-up feeling, a primitive but effective medi-

82. Schärer, *Gottesidee*, p. 126, 196, 108-109.

83. *Rassers*, Panji, pp. 41-43.

84. Garvan, *Manobo*, p. 101-103.

85. Schärer, *Gottesidee*, p. 126.

cine that helps to prevent or even cure a pathological case; but it would be religion as well.

“Court cases”, as Schaerer gives them, are also missing from Bagobo data, but Benedict⁸⁶ writes a few words about the ordeal. In a way, all discussions can be considered ordeals. The one who is victorious in an ordeal is regarded right, because the gods have aided him. It would then be blasphemous and useless in such a case to investigate further. Usually the ordeals are performed exactly because human wisdom has not been able to cope with the situation. H. Th. Fischer⁸⁷ says that the person who fails in the repartee is considered the loser in common quarrels. According to Fischer, Adriani⁸⁸ also says that among Malay tribes, the person who has the last word in a discussion or case is the winner. One should remember that Tuglibong had the last word when she quarreled with the sky; thus the latter gave in to her by rushing up high.

The great deities of the Ngaju Dayak,⁸⁹ the woman Djata and the man Mahatala, quarreled with each other when both tried to eat of the fruit of the tree they had created. Their envy led them to destroy the tree. Out of its remnants arose cosmos and man. In this way their quarrel took the form of a creative competition. The Bagobo used to recite a hymn, the Gindaya-song,⁹⁰ during their festival of *ginem* and also during the killing of a human victim. The hymn was in praise of competition and mentions explicitly racing and fighting. On the second day of the Bagobo festival, horse racing took place. Benedict⁹¹ thinks it possible that this racing was a mere diversion; however, this is not likely to be true. Games were held everywhere in the world during festivals and many found their origin in religion. As the cosmos of the Bagobo arose out of a competition between sky and earth, the horse race or other competitive games could well be the celebration of this event, although the element of diversion and relaxation is there, too.

86. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, pp. 222–223.

87. Fischer, *Paradiesmythen*, p. 241–242.

88. Fischer, *ibidem*.

89. Schärer, *Gottesidee*, p. 196.

90. Benedict, *Ceremonial* p. 163, 101.

91. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 101.

VI. Tuglibong and some Spirits in other Tribes

1. Female Spirits in other Tribes

The phenomenon of a female spirit in the creation myths is not particularly Bagobo. There are other tribes in the Archipelago where similar characters appear. Those closest to the Bagobo, about whom some information is available here, are their neighbours in Northeastern Mindanao, the Manobo. Personalities with similar features as Tuglibong are also found in Celebes, Borneo and Ceram. The short description in this section of these deities will perhaps make the picture of the Bagobo primeval woman more vivid. The deity that appears in the first myths of the Bagobo as a co-creator is associated with fertility because she appears with the rice, and perhaps she is the person who sits now in the underworld and is associated with death. The possibility of associating Tuglibong with death would make her similar to the Manobo female deities.

a) *Female Spirits in Mindanao*

The Manobo⁹² believe in a goddess who is queen of the afterworld and their chief of the dead. She lives at the pillars of the world. Her name is Ibu, which means "mother." The pillars remind one of the central tree, pole or pestle. Another spirit of the Manobo is Dagau.⁹³ She lives with a python also at the pillars of the world and causes earthquakes by ordering the python to writhe around the pillars. She is the Manobo goddess of rice, and she can make the soil infertile and diminish the amount of rice in the granaries if the conduct of man does not please her. Both Ibu and Dagau are associated with pillars and rice and neither of the two is necessarily identical with Tuglibong. It seems however, that the Bagobo character Mebuyan can be identified with Tuglibong, and Mebuyan, as will appear in the next chapter, is definitely associated with the underworld. The snake could be the symbol of the horizon.

92. Garvan, *Manobo*, p. 192.

93. Garvan, *loc. cit.*, p. 191.

If there is really some identity between the Manobo women Dagau and Ibu and the Bagobo Tuglibong, the underworld would be the place where she lives today. The Mandaya, neighbours of the Bagobo, have a goddess Manamoan who is associated with the earth and presides over childbirth,⁹⁴ which makes her really Ibu, the mother.

b) *Female Spirits In Celebes*

The word Dagau makes one think of the Toradja spirit Ndara⁹⁵ or I-ndara, the antagonist of the sky-spirit I-lai and a goddess of rice and fertility. Indara's hair consists of rice ears. It will be recalled that Tuglibong is also associated with rice and is the antagonist of the sky.

The myth of the Minahassans (North East Celebes, Indonesia) is different. It shows belief in a spirit called Lumimuut,⁹⁶ who arose out of a stone scorched by the heat of the sun. In a way, she is a daughter of the earth and the sky, and as a woman she also represents the earth. Being made pregnant by the four winds, she gave birth to mythical beings who were groups of seven and nine. After a flood she and a son were the only survivors. Both planned to travel around the earth in search of partners. In order to recognize each other and not to commit incest they took sticks of the same length with them. After they had traveled around the world they met again and married because the stick of Lumimuut had grown long and their relationship could no longer be traced; the two thought they were not relatives. This last part of the myth corresponds to a myth about the ancestress of the Mandaya, neighbors of the Bagobo. Here also a woman was rescued during a flood together with her son whom she had to marry. The first part, however, reminds us directly of Tuglibong who had been scorched.

The word Lumimuut also reminds one of scorching, the closest Visayan equivalent for it being "alimuut" which, with the infix, "um", would make "lumimuut" the scorched one. It is remarkable that the name of a great male spirit of the

94. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 178.

95. Downs, *Toradja*, p. 12.

96. Wilken, *Animisme*, p. 214-215.

Bagobo, "Mandarangan", seems to mean "the scorcher," and is associated with the sky. In the Minahassan myth, a scorching myth and a flood myth would have been combined. Lumimuut holds the magic stick in her hands in the way that Tuglibong holds the pestle. She has more discernible characteristics than Tuglibong but the stories about her discuss the same items as those associated with the latter, i.e., scorching, rescue, sky and earth, mother, stick, etc. Her association with the stone may also remind us of the Visayan word: *libon*, the stone, the virgin.

c) *Female Spirits in Borneo*

The Dusun⁹⁷ in Northwest Borneo have a deity called Warunsasadun, the consort of Kinorohingan who is associated with the sky. She killed her own child and buried it in the earth, thus making the soil fertile and productive. The body of her child is in a way her own body, thus suggesting that she is associated with the earth.

The spirit Djata⁹⁸ of the Ngaju Dayak, South East Borneo, Indonesia, like the Manobo Dagau, lives below the world. She gives life to the people in the form of health and wealth derived from a good harvest. Like the Dagau of the Manobo, Djata withholds the harvest if the order of the cosmos is violated. Like Tuglibong, Djata used to be considered the creatress or co-creatress of the world. This may be the reason why she is interested in the order of the cosmos. This may also be the case with Dagau of the Manobo.

d) *Female Spirits in Ceram*

The Wemale⁹⁹ in Ceram, Indonesia, have a much discussed deity called Mulua Satene. She was formerly the queen of the mythical beings and became the queen of mankind in the Beyond after death had been introduced. The first part would certainly correspond to the former task of Tuglibong. In the Bagobo myth however Tuglibong's task would later be taken over by a female spirit Mebuyan, Tuglibong's daughter, who belongs to

97. Evans, Dusum, p. 15.

98. Schärer, Gottesidee, p. 18-20.

99. Jensen, Drei Ströme, p. 114, 157-159.

the same category as Tuglibong, since she is a female spirit and associated with earth and rice. Association with the dead today would be understandable because the old "paradise" has been removed to the underworld. This will be discussed later. The Bagobo consider Mebuyan the "queen" of the "dead," but since she is likely to be the same person as Tuglibong, she may have affinity with Djata and Mulua (and perhaps with Dagan and Ibu).

2. The Bagobo Tuglibong

Like Tuglibong, the female spirits of the other tribes mentioned are also hazy, but since their characteristics show some similarities any idea of the personality of each will make that of Tuglibong clearer to us. Both Tuglibong and Mulua Satene of the Wemale are chiefs of the mythical beings, but Mulua Satene is also the chief of the dead in the underworld. Ndara of the Toradja is the antagonist of Ilai and a powerful co-creatress or creatress. Djata is also a creatress and as such co-responsible for the destruction of the central tree. Today, she rules in the underworld. The associations of Djata and Mulua with the underworld make them similar to Dagan and Ibu of the Manobo, and especially to Mebuyan of the Bagobo who, like Mulua Satene, made the underworld and rules it today. In order to make Mebuyan or Tuglibong the equivalent of Djata and Mulua Satene, one has only to add the characteristics of Tuglibong to Mebuyan or those of Mebuyan to Tuglibong, because the great spirits Djata and Mulua Satene suggest that being co-creatress and later ruler of the underworld are complementary. If this were done to Tuglibong, she would become a great spirit, the principle founder of the Bagobo way of life (cf. note 31), and a co-creatress whose real importance nowadays still appears if one would admit that part of her function is given to another character, her daughter, with whom she is in reality one. The reasons for this separation of functions can become more or less apparent only after the discussion of the remaining myths.

It is also important to arrive at a fuller understanding of the symbols of the two (or one) Bagobo women, Tuglibong and Mebuyan: the pestle and the mortar. It was with these in-

struments that the sky and underworld were made. The actions and intrigues of the spirits will necessarily differ if a tribe places pestle and mortar in the center, or a tree, a scaffold, or a mountain. These items have probably all the same function of beginning, and the spirits that are believed to operate or handle them will be in function identical as well, although the intrigues will differ.

Mebuyan will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. Discussing here both characters, Tuglibong and Mebuyan, has been unavoidable if either is to be made clearer and better understood.

VII. Summary

Tuglibong, "the" woman or virgin, seems to be the chief of the mythical beings who were brought to the verge of disaster or had not yet been able to appear on the surface of the earth during a scorching period caused by a careless sky. Tuglibong was able to avert this, and she led the mythical beings into a golden age when death, as we know it today, or work and fatigue did not exist, and when "by and by" children began to be born. What happened later will be dealt with in the next chapter.

The Bagobo think of the sky as a source of harm, while other tribes regard it as a source of good things, though rarely, if ever, of good only. Tuglibong was able to make the sky go up higher by scolding it while pounding. The Bukidnon believe that the striking of the pestle against the sky caused the sky's retreat. Since the Ngaju Dayak hold similar ideas, the possibility must be considered that repeated arguing could be identical in the myths with physical actions such as pounding or pecking, etc., and eventually with dancing, music and all rhythmic movements. In that case the pestle could symbolize the creation of sky, space, surface of the earth, and horizon. The use of the pestle would be identical in effect with the cutting down of the "tree" or the destruction of the "mountain" or the "scaffold" in the centre. Some ritual practices of the Bagobo and others in Mindanao seem to strengthen this possibility.

Among these are the Bagobo *bolang bolang* and the Subanon *buklug*. Since the *buklug* is a rite for general purposes, while the *bolang bolang* is played mainly during harvest feasts, it is possible that the *palakpak* used in the Bagobo planting ceremony is the counterpart of the *bolang* which is perhaps also the instrument in the rites for Mebuyan, the deity of the underworld. It should be borne in mind that Tuglibong and Mebuyan are probably identical. If this were so, it would also be more understandable to say that Tuglibong is the goddess that instituted the Bagobo way of life as it supposes mortality. Much would then be clarified but it is not possible to do so with certainty. On the other hand, it is quite certain that quarrels, as they are elsewhere also, are part of the Bagobo idea about creation, either of sky and earth, sun and moon, upperworld and underworld. They lead to separation which could explain the origin of time and of space in the meaning of sky, underworld, and surface of the earth. In quarrels the more personal contribution of creating spirits is emphasized above eventually more mechanical activities or movements. Guided by H. Schaerer, the author attempted to inquire whether the Bagobo know of ritual quarrels in their social life. Very little data on this point could be obtained; hence, it was not possible to settle the question. However, the Bagobo customs of ordeal and of competition in songs and practice during their celebrations seem to suggest so. The female spirits of Bagobo and other tribes have something in common and their characteristics seem to overlap. One can admit that Tuglibong and Mebuyan are most probably identical. In that case Tuglibong would be a great co-creatress and protector comparable to the female deities of those other sometimes better known tribes in the archipelago. Her pestle and her mortar are the symbols for the upperworld and underworld as well as for the centre and horizon. What in other myths is achieved by cutting or demolishing, is done by bumping and scolding here. It is around symbols, like these instruments, that the intrigues of the spirits are actually woven, or in other words, the symbols often determine the character of the creative personality and its action. In Bagobo mythology it is a primeval dissatisfied Woman who argues and thus "creates" while she pounds rice with a pestle.

CHAPTER THREE: MEBUYAN

I. The Myths of Lumabat and Mebuyan

1. Introduction

The myth of Tuglibong tells us how an abode for the mythical beings came to be created or how they appeared from the womb of the earth upon the surface of the earth. They began their existence on earth in a protected and undiversified state; they were not yet "man". They lived in what can be called a kind of paradise at the expense, perhaps, of the woman who had saved them from torture and disaster in the hands of their antagonist, the sky. The following myth relates how these mythical beings became "mortal men", the last step in the development of the being that we call "man" today.

There were two beings, Mebuyan and Lumabat, who announced the arrival of a new period, the period of death or mortality. The old abode was breaking up and a new one, far away and difficult to reach, had to be established. The two mythical beings discussed the proper site for the new abode. They quarreled when they suggested diametrically opposed solutions. Neither gave in to the other, so the myth divides itself into two sections of adventures and intrigues.

The two myths seem to suggest "why" man is mortal, where he will go after death, "what" he may expect there, and perhaps what man's function and significance in this new system of mortality may be. The first of the two solutions to be discussed is the one given and worked out by Mebuyan.

2. The Text of the Myths

The quarrel of Lumabat and Mebuyan¹⁰⁰ is related as follows: "Long ago Lumabat and his sister had a quarrel because Lumabat had said, "You shall go with me up into heaven." And his sister had replied, "No, I don't like to do that."

Then they began to fight each other. Soon the woman sat down on the big rice mortar and said to Lumabat, "Now I am

100. Benedict, *Myths*, p. 20.

going down below the earth, down to Gimokudan. Down there I shall begin to shake that lemon tree. Whenever I shake it, somebody up on the earth will die. If the fruit shaken down is ripe then an old person will die on earth, but if a green fruit falls, the one to die will be young." Then she took a bowl filled with pounded rice, and poured the rice into the mortar as a sign that the people should die and go down to Gimokudan. Presently the mortar began to turn round and round while the woman was sitting upon it. All the while, as the mortar was revolving, it slowly sank into the earth. But as it began to settle in the ground, the woman dropped handfuls of the pounded rice upon the earth, with the words "See! I let fall this rice. This makes many people die, dropping down like grains of rice. Thus hundreds of people go down; but none go up into heaven." The mortar kept on turning round, and kept going lower down, until it disappeared in the earth, with Lumbat's sister still sitting on it. After this, she came to be known as Mebuyan. Before she went down below the earth, she was known only as Tube'ka Lumabat (sister of Lumabat). Mebuyan is now chief of a town called Banua Mebu'yan (Mebu'yan's town), where she takes care of all dead babies, and gives them milk from her breasts. Mebu'yan is ugly to look at, for her whole body is covered with nipples. All nursing children who still want the milk go directly when they die to Banua Mebu'yan instead of to Gimokudan. They remain there with Mebu'yan, until they stop taking milk from her breasts. Then they go to their own families in Gimokudan, where they can get rice, and "live very well".

All the spirits stop at Mebuyan's town on their way to Gimokudan. There the spirits wash all their joints in the black river that runs through Mebuyan's. They wash the top of their head, too. This bathing (*pamalugu*) is for the purpose of making the spirits feel at home, so they will not turn away and go back to their own bodies. If a spirit could return to its own body, the body would get up and be alive again."

There are two stories about Lumabat, the brother of Mebuyan, one recorded by Cole,¹⁰¹ the other by Benedict. The

101. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 126.

102. Benedict, *Myths*, p. 20.

one told by Benedict¹⁰² is given first.

"Tuglai and Tuglibong had many children. One of them was called Lumabat. There came a time when Lumabat quarreled with his sister and was very angry with her. He said, "I will go to the sky, and never come back again." So Lumabat started for the sky country. Many of his brothers and sisters went with him. A part of their journey lay over the sea. When they had passed the sea, a rock spoke to them and said, "Where are you going?" In the beginning all the rocks and plants and the animals could talk with people. One boy answered the rock: "We are going to the sky country." As soon as he had spoken, the boy turned into a rock. But his brothers and sisters went on, leaving the rock behind. Presently a tree asked: "Where are you going?" "We are going to the sky," replied one of the girls. Immediately the girl became a tree. Thus, all along the journey, if any one answered, he became a tree, a stone or rock, according to the nature of the object that put the question. By and by the remainder of the party reached the border of the sky. They had gone to the very end of the earth, as far as the horizon. But here they had to stop, because the horizon kept moving up and down (*supa-supu*). Sky and earth would part, and then close together again, just like the jaws of an animal when eating. This movement of the horizon began as soon as the people reached it.

There were many young men and women; all tried to jump through the place where the sky and the earth parted. But the edges of the horizon are very sharp, like a *kampilan*. They came together with a snap whenever anybody tried to jump through and cut him to pieces. The parts of his body then became stones, or grains of sand. One after another of the party tried to jump through, for nobody knew the fate of the one who went before him.

Last of all, Lumabat jumped quick, quicker than the rest. Before the sharp edges could snap shut, he was safe in heaven. As he walked along, he saw many wonderful things. He saw many *kampilans* standing alone, and fighting, without any man to hold them. Lumabat passed them all by. Then he came to the town where the bad dead live. The town is called "Kilut." There, in the flames, he saw many spirits with heavy sins on them. The spirits with little sins were not in the flames. They

lay, their bodies covered with sores, in an acid that stings like the juice of a lemon. Lumabat went on, past them all. Finally he reached the house of Diwata, and went up into the house. There he saw many diwata who were chewing betelnut. One Diwata spat from his mouth the *isse* (betelnut) that he had finished chewing. Lumabat saw the *isse* coming from the mouth of the god; it looked to him like a sharp knife. The Diwata laid hold of Lumabat who thought the god held a sharp knife in his hand. But it was not a knife; it was just the *isse*. Diwata rubbed the *isse* on Lumabat's belly. With one downward stroke he opened the belly and took out Lumabat's intestines (*betuka*). Then Lumabat himself became a god. He was not hungry anymore for his intestines were gone. Yet if he wanted to eat, he had only to say, "food, come now!" and at once all the fishes were there, ready to be caught. In the sky-country fish do not have to be caught. And Lumabat became the greatest of all the Diwata."

The myth of Lumabat recorded by Cole differs from the myth recorded by Benedict. It will be presented and discussed in the next chapter which is about Lumabat.

3. Antagonists in the Bagobo Myth

In Chapter Two: Tuglibong, we discussed in passing two antagonists, Lumabat and Mebuyan, who quarreled about the future fate of the mythical beings. The element heat had been restricted to the sky and the mythical beings had become terrestrials on earth, happy children of mother earth. After the creation of the sky, the underworld, for one reason or another, was created. The creation of this new abode included the necessity of having the mythical beings leave the earth at some time, which would mean "death" as we know it today. The Bagobo have preserved this spiritual truth in the form of a myth of antagonism difficult to unravel. However, the first part, which pertains to Mebuyan, is less obscure and logically connected with the preceding chapter. Discord concerning the location of the new abode and the path to it, led to a fight between the founders of this new abode. The man Lumabat intended to guide the mythical beings to the sky, while Mebuyan, the woman, wanted to have them in the underworld. Possessed of

greater determination, the woman Mebuyan seemingly gained victory over her opponent. She became the founder of the underworld to which most, or all, of the "souls" will go.

4. Antagonists in the Myth of the Ot Danum

The myth of Mebuyan and Lumabat and how their quarrel started man's mortality, is a composite myth. Not all Malay myths on the same subject matter are particularly difficult. Sometimes they are transparent or almost as simple as a fairy-tale. H. Schaerer has quoted the myth of the Ot Danum,¹⁰³ a Dajak tribe. The myth will tell how Pahatala had created everything. However, since nobody could enjoy all the good things, Pahatala's co-creator, called Pahatara, decided to make man. He found some eggs (a common symbol of creation) which he molded into a male and female form. Then he went in search of stone-bones and stone-breath for these forms. When he had left, a certain Peres (note the antagonism implied in the name: pe=good, res=bad) who is associated with the underworld, happened to pass by the place where Pahatara had left the two incomplete beings under the care of his wife, Andin Bamban. Peres asked for her husband. She answered that he had left to find stone-breath and stone-bones for his people. "That is not very good," Peres said in words to that effect, "because if you give them stone-breath and stone-bones, they will have eternal life and cannot die. Soon your earth will be too small. It would be better if they would live for a short time only, then die and come back afterwards". "Is that possible?" Andin asked. "Of course," Peres answered. "The body of each of these people is already earth. You have only to add some wind-breath, some bones from wood, and blood from water." Andin agreed. She started to scoop wind and haul water while Peres made the bones. Soon the people were breathing. When Pahatara came home, he was surprised to see that the creatures were alive. His wife explained that Peres had visited her and given his advice. "It is good," Pahatala said. Then seeing that the beings still had no nails or hairs, he took from the stuff he had found and gave them nails, teeth and hair. Since then nails, teeth

103. Schärer, *Gottesidee*, p. 25.

and hair have not decayed after death.

The story of the Ot Danum and the Bagobo version are not incompatible with each other. The myth of the Ot Danum is less complicated however and seems more familiar to us. Some differences between the two myths may be pointed out. First of all, in the Ot Danum myth, the question of mortality or immortality seems to be simultaneous with creation. There is no mention made of a woman who had rescued the mythical beings from scorching or a flood; nor of a woman and a man who try to lead the mythical beings to another abode if the first had to be abandoned. Man is according to the Ot Danum a puppet in the hands of two stronger beings who are the antagonistic co-creators. Neither is much said about the future abode of the "souls," although Peres and Andin Bamban are probably both associated with death and the underworld, while Pahatara looked for help in the sky, which seems to be here a symbol of unchangeability, while earth and material things are symbols of decay. At the same time the belief in a come back is nevertheless given expression to. In the Bagobo myth Mebuyan and Lumabat have the power of co-creators but they are also mythical beings and potential "men" who precede mankind and lead them to the new abode. One remark in the Ot Danum myth is to be considered carefully. Peres says that "man" should disappear and come back later. Peres speaks here of introducing a system which, based on the fear of "over-population", includes the preservation of "souls" in the Beyond, and of their return to earth after some time. It should be noted that a strong similarity between children and father or grandfathers actually exists and that the tribes did not visibly increase by much. That could mean that there is, for the Ot Danum, a constant exchange of "souls" between the Beyond into which the dead disappear and the surface of the earth on which they reappear again. The existence in myths of such an exchange can help us to understand the myth of Mebuyan. She appears as the guard of children who have to be "sent forth." A myth of the Wemale, as will be shown later, also speaks of sending children back from the Beyond to the earth.

II. The Character of Mebuyan in Bagobo Myths and Ceremonies

1. Mebuyan and the Mortar

The exact function of Mebuyan among the mythical beings before she began to play her particular role is not clear but she is supposed to have been a powerful being. She must show traces of Tuglibong and she is the sister of Lumabat, the son of Tuglibong. Her "sinking into" the underworld seated on the mortar resulted in the location of the underworld just as the hitting of the sky by the pestle was the occasion or cause of the sky's moving to its present location and of the appearance of the mythical beings on the surface of the earth. It also changed the condition of man because it introduced death or at least the city for the dead. The instrument Mebuyan used to travel to the underworld is the mortar, whose shape and function make it a fit symbol of womanhood and the underworld. It seems that mortar and death are associated in many places in the Malay Archipelago. In Laos, Java, the little Sunda Island (Bali), in Alor and the Kei Island, there are "kettle drums" or bronze "mokko." In Laos¹⁰⁴ these drums are still buried ceremoniously and unearthed later during festivals when people contact the spirits of the dead. In Java big drums were once used for a similar purpose. They were taken to cemeteries or hung in the *serambi* in front of the mosques. Here the drums are no longer buried but they still suggest death. The kettle drums look like mortars and some are covered with symbols, geometrical figures, or figures of animals and human beings. In Central Celebes¹⁰⁵ big stone vats are found half buried in the ground and were probably used for burials. It seems that burial jars found throughout the Archipelago reveal a relation between (death) jar and drum. The body of the round burial jars of the Manobo in Mindanao are often similar in form and decoration to the ceremonial drums of the Ifugao in Northern Luzon.

104. Dubois, Alor, p. 32; plate XVI, XVII, v. Heekeren, *Bronze Age*, p. 14.

105. V. Heekeren, *Bronze Age*, p. 59-63; plate 24, 25.

On the cover of one of the Manobo burial jars a female figure appears in squatting position, and on another a similar figure seems to sit upon something that could be a drum or a mortar.

Mebuyan's trip into the underworld represents a widespread motif. The three female deities of the Wemale¹⁰⁶ tribe called Rabie, Mulua Satene, and Hainuwele, all disappear into the earth. The first two persons descend alive, the last one dead. Jensen admits that all three are ultimately one and the same person with a lunar character. Mebuyan's name could also be reminiscent of the Malay "bulan"—"moon", and the whirling movement of the mortar is perhaps a lunar characteristic. J. v. Baal¹⁰⁷ mentions a whirling top in the island of Flores. It would do exactly the opposite of the whirling mortar of the Bagobo, because it climbs the mountain Inerie and there treasures are bestowed upon the boy (who perhaps (?) rode on the top) by his "father." From that time on this boy grew up very fast, a lunar symbol.

In the previous chapter the pestle was the center of discussion. It was the instrument that forced the sky higher up and thus freed the earth from the heat of the sky. In this chapter, the mortar appears as the instrument with which the netherworld was made, was reached, or came to be known. Pestle and mortar are associated with and may therefore symbolize to the Bagobo the upper-world and netherworld or the universe as a whole. They can perhaps also symbolize now man and woman or life and death; the totality.

2. Mebuyan and Rice

In the myths wherein the sky was considered the source of good, it is sometimes said that the retreating sky permitted some seeds to fall into the hands of man so he would live. In the Bagobo myths, where the earth is the source of good, seeds and food are expected not from above but from below. And indeed, it seems that Mebuyan, having decided to leave the earth, also intended first to pack the rice and take it down with her. She emptied the jar of rice into the mortar but it seems she changed her mind. As she whirled down into the earth, the rice dropped

106. Jense, *Drei Ströme*, p. 157.

107. v. Baal, *Wegen*, p. 176.

out of her hands, enabling man to survive on earth for a while but suggesting also that man, like his food, is earthly in origin and destination.

The concept of a deity who descends into the earth and drops rice, or later produces rice out of her dead body, is commonly held in the Malay Archipelago. Sometimes this rice-woman must be killed and dismembered. Jensen¹⁰⁸ tells the story of a woman who cooked rice every day while her husband wondered where the delicious food came from. One day he discovered that she would rub her hands above a cooking pot and the dirt of her hands (earth) dropping into the pot changed into rice. He was upset and scolded her. In resentment, she went into the ground and became the rice plant. The deity of the Wemale, Hainuwele, did not descend into the earth alive, but was killed, dismembered and buried. Out of her body camotes sprouted forth. These are seemingly just variations of the same motif, all telling us that a woman later identified with the earth, feeds the terrestrials from below. During her life,¹⁰⁹ Hainuwele produced precious things which were found in her excrements. Benedict¹¹⁰ records the Bagobo myth in which the sun and the moon quarreled and killed their celestial daughter. The sun then dismembered the shiny girl and tossed the pieces out of the window. These became the stars. As moon and stars are usually symbols of treasures or precious things, this recalls to mind Hainuwele. It would mean that what the Wemale associate with one figure, Hainuwele, the Bagobo associate with two, Mebuyan and the daughter of the sun and the moon in the myth just cited. The important thing is that the women mentioned are producers of treasures and food scattered in abundance all around or of vegetable plants that "sprout out" in great numbers of their dismembered bodies. In the myth of Srivijaya rice also turns into treasures.¹¹¹ The sun and the moon are often associated with the sky and the earth. This would bring us close enough to Mebuyan, the daughter of Tuglibong, who represents the earth. Jar or mortar on which she sits would be identical with the body of Mebuyan.

108. Jensen, *Prometheus*, p. 151.

109. Jensen, *Drei Ströme*, p. 124.

110. Benedict, *Myths*, p. 17.

111. Benedict, *Myths*, p. 17.

They are all earth or underworld now.

In her myth Mebuyan sometimes resembles the Wemale Mulua Satene who descends without being killed and dismembered. Jensen, in fact, considers Hainuwele and Mulua S. identical. Nevertheless, Mulua Satene is not directly associated with rice or edible plants, whereas Hainuwele's dismembered body gave forth camotes.

In Java, too, there is a story about a "rice-girl," Ken Tisnawati,¹¹² who dies on the knees of the god Bhattara Guru. Soon after she is buried, edible plants grow out of her body, particularly rice, which grows out of her genitals (rice is associated with fertility). Bhattara Guru's legal wife, Dewi Shri, identifies herself with Ken Tisnawati and becomes the patron of rice and of agriculture in Java. The Bukidnon in Mindanao, the Dusun¹¹³ in Borneo, the Manggarai¹¹⁴ in Flores, even the Bagobo themselves, have stories or myths relating how rice or a miraculous harvest of rice grew out of the body of a buried woman, child, or higher being. These and similar stories thus associate food (fertility) and death (burial).

3. Mebuyan and Death

In the myth of Mebuyan death is explicitly linked with her gifts of rice when she says that this "dropping of the rice will make many people die, dropping down just like grains of rice." All the female spirits mentioned so far are linked to food, death, and disappearance into the earth. Mebuyan sinks into the earth alive but she speaks of death and her "trip" is the equivalent of burial. Ken Tisnawati dies and Hainuwele is danced into the ground violently; Mulua Satene does not die herself but announces death like Mebuyan and descends deep into underworld. The transfer of habitat, the mortar, falling rice and death, are obviously associated concepts for the Bagobo, just as birth, food, death and burial are. These related concepts probably point to the earthly downward character of all visible life. The normal course of all things is: dust you are, etc. It is the earth that attracts, not the sky. The story represents

112. Rassers, Panji, p. 17.

113. Evans, Dusun, p. 16, Cole, Bukidnon, p. 126.

114. Verheyen, Hoogste Wezen, p. 169.

this simple truth but suggests nevertheless that death came about through the decision made by a person, not merely as a law of nature.

4. Mebuyan and Fertility

The myth tells that Mebuyan receives the Bagobo dead at the entrance of the underworld and bathes them in the waves of a black river which flows through her realms. This bathing, called Pamalugu,¹¹⁵ recalls the ceremonial bath the Bagobo usually take when they celebrate the Ginem-festival or a wedding.¹¹⁶ As there is identity in word and ceremony between this *palugu* rite of the Bagobo and the *pamalugu* of Mebuyan, an identity in meaning seems to be suggested. This would mean that festivals and wedding are in reality somehow celebrated, or supposed to be celebrated, in or with relation to that realm of Mebuyan, the Beyond. For Mebuyan marriages on earth would result in a regular increase of inhabitants in her city. Marriage thus seems to be her institution, just as the festival (during which the spirits of the dead become active) could be considered as celebrations representing her house in the Beyond.

Mebuyan nurses the children in the underworld. She is the head of this special department over there. She feeds the children until they are strong enough to travel the tiresome path to Gimokudan, the residence of the souls. If Mebuyan and Mulua Satene (the goddess of the Wemale) were compared in this respect,¹¹⁷ one difference would be discovered. Mulua Satene sits at the end of the long journey which the souls have to undergo. When they arrive at her gate they are all children. She can send them back to earth to be reborn. The Bagobo put Mebuyan at the entrance of the Beyond to bathe all the souls, but especially to take care of the children who will be fed by her until they are adult "souls." That the myths of the Wemale and the Bagobo are somehow related is rather clear and, regardless of the differences between the myths, the two women—Mulua and Mebuyan—are associated with womanhood and motherhood. Mulua Satene is told to send children to earth

115. Benedict, Ceremonial, p. 117-124.

116. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 181.

117. Jensen, Drei Ströme, p. 155, 156.

and thus to control birth. Mebuyan, however, shakes the tree from which a green fruit falls, and nurses it until it is ripe. She thus substitutes for earthly motherhood. In the Wemale myth, earthly motherhood is in the service of Mulu; in the Bagobo myth Mebuyan seems to be in the service of earthly motherhood, but only apparently so. Mebuyan holds the tree upon which as upon a great mother all that lives grows and hangs. She also bears the symbol of fertility on her body, which is covered with milk glands. This is the reason why she looks so ugly. The goddess with the many breasts, who can eventually substitute for all the mothers on earth, holding the tree, not only suggests now that all motherhood finds its origin in her (so that earthly mothers are rather the delegates of the goddess) but also that all fertility on earth is dependent on her. She seems to be the great mother, the lasting source of all the partial and temporary fertility found in the beings on earth. Here, it may be pointed out that Manamoan of the Mandaya (neighbours of the Bagobo) is also associated with the earth and presides over childbirth.¹¹⁸

The descent into the earth and the use of water in the black river transform the dead. Earth, river, water and darkness are thus indelible elements under the care of Mebuyan. The goddess Djata of the Ngaju Dayak¹¹⁹ is also associated with rivers, and the Tinguians in Luzon believe that an "old woman" owns a pool over there whose water revive the dead and renew youth.¹²⁰ To go to Mebuyan would mean the return to the origin, the beginning. Mebuyan is also a psychopomp who guides souls or puts them on the right track, and thus the "apartment" of Mebuyan in the Beyond appears to be a womb that begets new life for man in a new country, but also controls life on earth, ultimately all life here and in the Beyond.

5. Mebuyan and the Tree

In the previous section the tree of Mebuyan in the underworld was briefly mentioned. On it all life depends or "hangs." Similar trees are believed to be found in other places in the

118. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 178.

119. Schärer, *Gottesidee*, p. 18-20.

120. Demetrio, *Death*, *Phil. Studies*, Vol. 14. p. 373.

Philippines.¹²¹ They are supposed to stand in far away and desolate places (equivalent of underworld). A mark is placed on the tree by the spirits in charge of every child that is born. As soon as the child reaches the mark, it dies. This would be the equivalent of shaking the tree done by the Bagobo Mebuyan in her underworld. The shaking of the tree must mean the plucking and the consuming of its fruits, the common image of earth or underworld first giving and then consuming life. Among the Bagobo Mebuyan is responsible for this process since she decided to go to the underworld and to abandon man. Perhaps she is supposed to have transplanted the "tree" into that realm. This tree, now sucking sustenance from and blossoming in the realm of death, produces fruits that have to die, fruits that live on earth but must return to the realm of death where the cycle is checked. Shaking a tree and sucking into a cortex are thus symbols of death. In this respect Mebuyan would be the great mother of life as life actually is, containing the germs of death, thus being mother and monster both, and very much qualified to represent the totality.

The Atchin¹²² also have a tree in the underworld. As soon as the dead man has eaten its fruit, he is really dead and supposed to be in the Beyond. Here the tree has more of the function of the river and of the bath in the myth of Mebuyan, and also shows how water and tree (vegetation) can be identical in Malay symbolism.

6. Some Rice and Branch Ceremonies

Mebuyan is associated with rice, tree, earth, underworld, life, marriage, and death. Death and rice are very closely related because Mebuyan herself has made the dropping of rice the "cause of death." No rice ceremonies of the Bagobo are recorded, but only some of the Manobo,¹²³ their neighbours. It is their custom to make a human figure out of cooked rice during the ceremonial after a burial and to let everybody take a bite. What this exactly means is difficult to guess but it seems to link rice and death also, the way it is in the Bagobo

121. Demetrio, *loc. cit.*, p. 377.

122. Demetrio, *loc. cit.*, p. 382.

123. Garvan, Manobo, p. 127.

myth. The Manobo¹²⁴ observe another rite during the burial dinner. They put rice and other food on a winnowing tray and jointly toss the victuals into the air. At the same moment, they retreat swiftly, for a particle falling on a person would be considered a foreshadowing of his speedy death. The anthropologist and narrator of this custom, Garvan, says he could not find out what the origin of this custom was. In the myth of the Bagobo rice, death and mortar (or winnowing tray), are associated items and the dropping of rice seems to be especially significant in it.

In Carcar, on the island of Cebu, a similar belief prevails during wedding ceremonies. Particles falling on young girls would signify a speedy marriage; hence, the participants are anxious to catch or to be touched by them. This custom exists in a more sophisticated form in many places in the southern part of the Philippines. Here the idea of future telling has replaced or superseded the element "death" unless death and marriage are both really and closely associated with the underworld, as well as wisdom in general.

In Java¹²⁵ a similar ceremony has degenerated into a children's game. The children make a doll and put it on a winnowing tray. Then they collect all kinds of utensils used for cooking and storing rice without the permission of the owners. Scolding and quarreling ensues—a very important feature in Bagobo myths. The items are then put upon the tray together with the doll. The relation with rice is unmistakable. Towards the end of the game, the children use the doll to foretell something of the future, thus showing that the custom had originally been the game of life and death. Surprisingly, the custom or its equivalent appears lacking among the Bagobo. A careful investigation should be made in Bagobo land to determine whether similar rites or ceremonies are observed by this tribe.

A certain Bagobo ceremony which makes use of branches recalls to us the tree of Mebuyan. Cole¹²⁶ tells how during a Bagobo festival, a planter at Santa Cruz saw the priestess take a palm leaf and some buds to divine and explicitly declare that

124. Garvan, *ibidem*.

125. Rassers, Panji, p. 44.

126. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 114.

the leaf represented streams, rivers, tribes and individuals. Although this is an inadequate division of things in the world, the leaf may be understood as the earth and all life upon it. The priestess held up the palm leaf and swung it over the buds in front of her. She gave a bud to the datu who opened it and read the message from the god. It is possible that this simple ceremony is a visual representation of the belief that the goddess Mebuyan holds the tree of human fate in her hands and drops "buds" full of information concerning the future and the fate of the individuals and the tribe. Life after all sprouts out of the earth and returns into the earth. Those that control all life from below must know what is in store for the Bagobo.

7. Why Mebuyan Descended into the Underworld

One often reads in myths of Malay tribes that mythical beings were allowed to travel to the sky and visit the gods, even to take home with them things they wanted most such as rice. It was also held possible for divine beings to come down regularly and visit the earth-dwellers. This was perhaps the custom of Melu,¹²⁷ a divine being of the Bilaan (neighbours of the Bagobo) whose mythical beings lived in a place where he could take care of them. Sometimes it was necessary for Melu to add some individuals to their number, since those beings did not marry. One day Melu discovered that two mythical beings had taken their fate into their own hands, and, after intercourse, had given birth to a child. When Melu saw this, he left his people, and they never saw him again. The mythical beings had to leave the place and begin their life on earth. It was not the direct release of death that caused the closing of the paradise here but marriage or intercourse and birth. (cf. Bagobo myth of Jizzard and Hunter, Chapter Four III, paragraph 4, sub b. page 81)

There is some similarity between Mebuyan and Melu. It has been mentioned that Mebuyan is perhaps associated with the moon. Melu may also be associated with the moon.¹²⁸ We are told how he made the world and man out of the dirt he collected from his own body. He cleaned himself regularly be-

127. Cole, *loc. cit.*, p. 136.

128. Cole, *loc. cit.*, p. 137.

cause he liked to shine. The Bilaan have probably the moon in mind, the object that regularly becomes dirty and is regularly cleaned. The place where it leaves its dirt is the earth; that would happen during the period of the three moonless nights. Finally Melu retired also into the earth, where he lives with a famous goddess Saweigh,¹²⁹ a Bilaan co-creatress. This goddess is possibly the equivalent of the Bagobo Tuglibong or Mebuyan.*

As there is no reason given in the myth of Mebuyan for the closing of the earthly paradise, it is quite possible that the Bagobo had in mind the explanation of the Bilaan. The latter think of birth and death as characteristic anomalies¹³⁰ in a paradise. The introduction of one of them entails the other and would necessarily end it. The Wemale,¹³¹ who have very much in common with the Bagobo, suggest this also. Their goddess Mulua Satene, who lives now in the underworld much the same way as Mebuyan, regularly sends little children to the earth where they are born of earthly mothers. Man is here the cooperator of the gods and contributes to populating the city of the spirits in the underworld, where each individual has finally to appear. In the section "Mebuyan and the underworld" it was suggested that Mebuyan could best be conceived as the great mother who gives children to the earthly women who bear children for her city and her kingdom in the Beyond, thus making them her cooperators and representatives on earth. The symbol of the tree in the myth of Mebuyan also seems to suggest the rhythm of birth and death directed from the underworld. By going into the earth and the underworld Mebuyan can feed life on earth and also shake the tree on which all life hangs, thus causing death on earth. So death seems to suppose fertility or birth, intercourse and marriage. As sure as the direct release of "death" could eventually end paradise, so the introduction of birth and marriage can do likewise, because the two seem to demand death, as Peres also stated in the myth of the Ot Danum. This could mean that the two women, Mulua Satene and Mebuyan, would originally have had the function Melu had in the paradise of the Bilaan—to increase the number

* *Sa* means Earth and Water.

129. Cole, *loc. cit.*, p. 137.

130. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 67.

131. Jensen, *Drei Ströme*, p. 155, 156.

of individuals. Today they would fulfill that task from below by blessing and recognizing the marriage of the tribal members. Through marriage a couple would represent Mebuyan on earth.

Once marriage and intercourse seemed to make the tribe autonomous and independent of the spirits. Still, the tribe remains subject to its queen in the underworld who holds and nourishes the tree, and who shakes it whenever she wants to consume some fruit (to call a member to her city), thus causing death on earth. Mebuyan is the Mother but also the devouring goddess.

8. Childbirth and the Mythical Abode

A Bagobo mother who is about to deliver a child sits in her regular dwelling and holds in her hand a rope hanging from the roof, the purpose of which can only be guessed at. The Mabalians, translated by Cole to "midwives," fulfill tasks during a delivery which may be rational or not. One of these seems to be religious in nature. Cole¹³² describes how a Mabalian spreads a mat on the floor in the center of the room where the partus will take place. Then she places on it all kinds of precious things such as cloths, weapons and gongs. After this she prays to the spirits to make the delivery easy and to make the child healthy. A similar ceremony is performed during Bagobo Ginem¹³³ but with great solemnity, it being one of the most important rites of the Bagobo. It is the so called Sonar¹³⁴ ceremony, which seems to be a reliving of mythical times since collections of precious things are always apt to symbolise paradise. Interesting too is what H. Breitenstein¹³⁵ tells about the Dayak of the Olo Ott tribe in Borneo. When a woman is about to deliver, all the doors of the house, boxes, etc., are opened, but coins are also poured into copper plates, or rice and money are placed between the feet of the woman in childbed "in order to bait the child."

If one regards this as a sensible and religious custom, a ceremony or a rite, one can appreciate it. The Bagobo or Olo

132. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 100.

133. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 93-166.

134. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 125-126.

135. Breitenstein, *In Indien*, p. 173.

Ott woman in childbed represents perhaps the mythical women in the realm of Mebuyan, at the moment they took over Mebuyan's task, left paradise, and became Mebuyan's arm or representatives on earth. At this moment of giving birth the women would be supposed to be in the paradise of mythical times or in what is its equivalent: the realm of Mebuyan, and the children would still be born in it. This way they would celebrate the wonder of birth, and at the same time the decision to become mortal men for themselves and for their children, with the prospect of the paradise of a Mebuyan in the future after death. Some may consider the ceremony merely a magic device but others might consider it as something pious or religious, as it perhaps originally was. To the latter, Mebuyan is willing to lend a helping hand and to save mother and child.

Perhaps the ceremony is a memorial of the paradise and the beginnings. The coins and the rice used in Borneo would produce the same effect as the gongs, cloths and weapons of the Bagobo. Heaps of coins and rice as well as cloth and other metalware represent abundant food and riches, the characteristics of paradise. By performing the ceremony one would at least show that he has, in a more general way, not forgotten the origins of this world but that he honours and respects them. If this supposition is correct, it is reasonable to expect that the ancestors who brought this about are willing to help those who "do not forget" but who commemorate it at the proper time.

III. Bagobo and Wemale

1. Related Female Spirits

The Wemale are a tribe in Ceram (Moluccas, Indonesia). Their principal myth will be discussed extensively in the next chapter, but since the Wemale and their mythology were mentioned several times already as having bearing on the Bagobo myths in which Mebuyan appears, it is necessary to present here more detailed information concerning the mythical heroes of the Wemale, especially Hainuwele and Mulua Satene.¹³⁶

136. Jensen, *Drei Ströme*, p. 114-115, 155-156.

The father of Hainuwele was a hunter who caught in the forest a wild hog that carried a coconut on its tusks. In a miraculous way, the coconut developed into a tree and out of one of its new nuts the girl Hainuwele was born. The girl's excrements were all sorts of precious things and she used to sit in the center of a crowd that danced the so-called Maro dance (a whirling dance), distributing her gifts to the participants. One particular night she was caught there by the vortex of the dancers who danced passionately. They thrust her into the ground and the crowd trod down the soil above her. Later her father unearthed the body and cut it into pieces out of which camotes and edible plants soon grew. The arms were taken to Mulua Satene, another great mythical woman. Mulua took the incident seriously and decreed death for everybody. With the arms of Hainuwele she beat the mythical beings who had to jump through her gate (symbol of death), and they were ordered to follow her later after she herself had blazed the trail to the underworld. Much reminds us of Mebuyan, and again: whirling, death, burial, food, and Beyond or underworld, are found together. Mulua Satene also announced a difficult path over mountains and valleys down, on which everybody would have to travel to the end of the underworld. Mulua S. will sit there not at the entrance but at the end of the underworld where she admits the newly arrived Wemale when they have become children after nine consecutive deaths and rebirths (in the underworld), and on whose arrival she releases a child to the earth. The underworld is like a womb that re-generates the dead within a period of nine months and in the reversed order from adult to child. (Lunar symbolism). Mebuyan is similar to Mulua Satene because she opened the underworld, but in the Wemale myth it is out of the dismembered body of Hainuwele that camotes grow, whereas the Bagobo mention that out of the hands of Mebuyan the grains of rice dropped. According to Jensen, the two Wemale goddesses, Hainuwele and Mulua S., are one and the same person; hence the Bagobo Mebuyan can eventually stand for both as well.

2. Related Rites

The tribes of the Malay Archipelago are generally considered

to be one field for study, but it is the Bagobo and the Wemale who show quite close similarities in their beliefs, myths and rites. It is the popular belief among the Wemale that the dance the Wemale mythical people performed when they conducted Hainuwele into the ground is the same as their Maro dance today, a whirling or circling ritual dance. If the Bagobo have a dance similar to the Wemale dance for occasions when the beginning and thus Mebuyan—who has so much in common with the goddesses of the Wemale and their deeds,—is celebrated, it is reasonable to suppose that the Bagobo dance concerned is also as such intended to “celebrate” an event mentioned in the myth of Mebuyan and similar to that of the Wemale goddess. The Maro dance is a group dance since the crowd danced Hainuwele into the ground. The Bagobo, especially the drummers, perform their dance more individually while many only look on, but the drums used during this dance are the mortars called *bolang bolang*. In the Wemale dance the crowd was compelling, while the dance of the Bagobo would be an imitation of Mebuyan moving her mortar so that it virtually sucked the crowd behind her into the underworld. F.C. Cole¹³⁷ describes it thus: “The music goes faster, emphasizing certain beats, until it becomes a compelling rhythm that makes the feet of the onlooker move and suddenly a man or woman begins to dance. At first she keeps time to the music by raising toes and heels, bending the knees and twisting the body from side to side, but soon she becomes more animated; the feet are raised high above the floor and brought down with a sort of shuffle that reminds one of the sound made by the feet of a clog-dancer. Still swaying her body she begins to dance clockwise, around the gongs, and soon she is joined by others until all the dancing space is filled. The scene is most picturesque because the dances generally occur at night in rooms illuminated only by the flickering light of the torches. The rich clothing of the dancers loses nothing of its beauty in this dim light while the bells and rattles with which each dancer surrounds arms and legs and ankles add to the din and the weirdness of the occasion. Before the dance has progressed far the musicians begin to keep time with their feet and frequently dance away

137. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 113, 110.

from their instruments, circle, and then return to continue the music." Here is the dance's compelling character, the fascination (animation) and the circling in a spiral around the drums which make it almost impossible not to think of Mebuyan or eventually of Hainuwele and the mythical crowds of the Bagobo and Wemale. The popular Bagobo belief is that their ceremonial music and dance has effects beyond the visible world of man indeed. Even Mandarangan, on hearing the music, rushes to the feast.¹³⁸ If the gods come, the other world is present.

3. Bagobo Celebrations of Mythical Times

According to Benedict, the Bagobo attribute a meaning to their dances indicated by the names given to these dances. Benedict thought¹³⁹ that the names were taken from nature and the dances imitations of phenomena in nature. As an instance, she cited the bamboo dance. This however seems almost as unlikely as "history" would be among the Bagobo. For them, "nature", like everything else, has a strong religious aspect. If they celebrate "the bamboo" by a bamboo dance, it is probable that bamboo appears somewhere in one of the myths or in a wonder or fairy story. The dance dedicated to such a mythical bamboo would be part of the Bagobo celebration of their beginnings. The Bagobo are accustomed indeed to dedicate such dances to spirits¹⁴⁰ whose names are loudly announced by a *balian* (priestess). Remarkable also is the fact that the ceremonial dances of the Bagobo and the Wemale¹⁴¹ both follow after their ceremonial bath. For this reason also, one may believe that there is an identity in meaning in the Bagobo and Wemale dances. The Bagobo start their festival with the Pamalugu,¹⁴² a ceremonial bath in a river bed. This is the bath which Mebuyan will give to the Bagobo when they arrive in the underworld. The ceremonial bath of the Wemale¹⁴³ is at least sometimes associated with the underworld also. The Bagobo even

138. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 146, footn. 213; 139, footn. 210; 129.

139. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 85, 27.

140. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 113.

141. Jensen, *Drei Ströme*, p. 92.

142. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 117-124.

143. Jensen, *Drei Ströme*, p. 92.

seem to extend this bathing ceremony to a whole day by placing a bowl¹⁴⁴ with water on the floor of the ceremonial house. This bowl is an inverted *agong* and they regularly sprinkle the dancing participants with the water which is taken from the river together with the same bunches of fragrant twigs that were used for sprinkling during the bath in the riverbed. The metal drum with the water appropriately symbolizes Mebuyan's mortar as well as her riverbath in the underworld. This way the Bagobo would remind themselves the whole day of Mebuyan's house. The Bagobo positively know of other ceremonies and customs that have come to them from mythical times like the Maro dance of the Wemale. Weaving and bronze casting are some of them.¹⁴⁵ More important is the fact that their ritual sacrifice to Mandarangan is considered to have existed already at the time of the "giant"¹⁴⁶ Salingolop who was killed by "the Spaniards," as was mentioned before. From this mythical person the Datu family of Sibulan (a sacred Bagobo centre) descended in eleven generations.¹⁴⁷ In Salingolop's time the sacrifice was, so they say, offered "in the same manner" they offer it today. This shows that celebrations of mythical events by ceremonies believed to be of mythical origin are not foreign to the Bagobo mind. So it is quite possible that the Bagobo dances would at least celebrate the exploits of Tuglibong and Mebuyan. It is also a fact admitted by the Bagobo that dances, gifts and colors attract the spirits of primeval times (cf. note 138), thus making the Beyond present.

The story of Salingolop shows also that the Bagobo consider their history "sacred" and the old mythologem of quarrel, struggle, and sometimes violence as the basis of new creative acts that now and then brought about new situations. Finally the Bagobo believe that their way of life, which almost certainly must include their principal ceremonies and rites, was instituted and founded by the primeval mythical beings themselves, as was mentioned before. The mythical beings of the Wemale danced "passionately." Had they invented sex like the Bilaan, Bagobo, and others?

144. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 113.

145. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 69.

146. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 54, Benedict *Ceremonial*, p. 252.

147. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 54.

IV. Summary and Suggestions

Mebuyan is a female deity who lived in mythical times and whose decisions gave definite shape to human life of the individual as well as the community and determined its ultimate fate. Mebuyan is earthly and female, associated with and perhaps the personification of the will and the wisdom of the earth, mother earth. She is also queen of the dead, the chief of (part of) the underworld. She is ugly, but good and friendly to the dead and a mother especially to the young ones that come to her prematurely. It is not clear whether she is the prolonged arm of fertility on earth in the Beyond or whether fertility on earth depends on her. The tree she holds, and her abundant and unusual fertility (nipples) suggest the last. Although she is the goddess of death and should therefore be ugly, she does not appear in a stage of decomposition but is ugly as a goddess of fertility or as an earth-goddess. This could mean that Mebuyan was once the mother (Tuglibong) of the mythical beings and that fertility on earth today is only fertility delegated by her to earthly parents (and the fields) above whom she clearly excels and who would help her now to populate Gimokudan. Mebuyan's goal to populate this city of Gimokudan would be analogous to her former aim to populate the paradise. It would also explain why she willingly acts as the mother to children who arrive prematurely. Therefore also her symbol, the mortar (fertility), would appear during harvest festivals (earth), though the mortar is also associated with death and underworld. Ancestors and harvest are very often associated in the Malay Archipelago as well as wisdom and wealth. Once Mebuyan lived on the surface of the earth; today she rules from below. As the goddess of fertility and the dead, Mebuyan can still be viewed as the great mother perpetually at the disposition of man in whom she has an interest. Birth and marriage would then be associated with the underworld as much as death.

The Bagobo do not tell why Mebuyan opened the underworld and introduced death. However, a comparison with the Bilaan suggests that the desire of mankind to be "independent" in completing the number of tribal members could be the reason. It would imply that Mebuyan, like Mulua Satene, and as the Ot

Danum believe, still determines not only who will die but also who will be born. Man did not become really independent. Her power over the tree suggests this also. The Bagobo themselves suggest in a myth to be recorded and discussed in Chapter Four, III, 4, 1, that primeval man risked and chose death with conjugal love above a life in the "paradise." This consequently seems to include birth.

If one refers back to the myth of Tuglibong, one may be led to the possibility of considering the two women, Tuglibong and Mebuyan, as one great goddess. It is certain that they complement each other in most of their functions and that their symbols—the pestle and the mortar—constitute one unit.

Mebuyan is a complex personality. Her symbols of tree and rice belong to the indelible Elements and she is also associated with indelible water. The black river is her river. Her character and activities, shaking, bathing, and whirling are determined by the indelible Elements. She could be a personification of them, but penetrating into this problem would already be beyond the scope of this article. At least she is associated with these elements. Mebuyan is also and in much clearer manner a psychopomp who guides the souls to a new life by bathing them, strengthening them and putting them on the path to Gimokudan.

In the myths of Mebuyan discord and quarrel also play a role. It seems that being more determined, the woman again gained the victory, and the dead, or most of them, will go to her country, Gimokudan. If her antagonist, Lumabat, is finally to be associated with the upperworld, the quarrel between the two for the "souls" of men would be an old theme reappearing in this peculiar form in Bagobo myths. To the Bagobo the Mother in the underworld would seem more attractive than the upperworld, which has proved less hospitable to mankind from the beginning. Without the absolute moral issue, however, the choice or destination of mankind for one of the two abodes will not take the dramatic character it has in some world religions. Mebuyan has the character of the fertile, good and wise "mother Earth," who gives some hope to her faithful in the Beyond but no reason for excitement. The sky country would eventually also be just satisfactory for those who would for one reason or the other prefer it. To reach one of the two seems to be a

matter of rites more than of morality, as will be discussed further in the next chapters. The significance of Mebuyan who combines motherhood on earth and in the Beyond, who rules over life and death, is greater than the significance of Lumabat who did not clearly develop into a perfect counterpart of his sister and lacks the gentleness of Mebuyan.

CHAPTER FOUR: LUMABAT

I. Preliminary Remarks

1. The Myth of Lumabat

After the myth of Mebuyan, the myth of Lumabat, her antagonist, must be discussed. The text of the myth is given by both Benedict and Cole,¹⁴⁸ but the one offered by Cole seems to offer more detail. The myth recorded by Benedict was already cited in the chapter dealing with Mebuyan and should be read there. Here the text of Cole follows:

“After the people were created a man named Lumabat was born. He could talk when he was only one day old and the people said he was sent by Manama. He lived ninety seasons and when still a young man he had a hunting dog which he took to hunt on the mountain. The dog started up a white deer and Lumabat and his companions followed until they had gone about the world nine times when they finally caught it. By the time they caught the deer Lumabat’s hair was gray and he was an old man. All the time he was gone he had only one banana and one camote with him for food. When night came he planted the skin of the bananas and in the morning he had ripe bananas to eat, and the camotes came the same way. When he had caught the deer Lumabat called the people to see him and he told them to kill his father. They obeyed him and then Lumabat took off his headband and waved it in the air over the dead man and he at once was alive again. He did this eight times and at the eighth time his father was small like a little boy, for every

148. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 126, Benedict, *Myths*, p. 20.

time the people cut him, the knife took a little flesh. So all thought Lumabat was like a god. One year after he killed the deer he told all the people to come to his house, but they said they could not because the house was small and the people many. But Lumabat said there was plenty of room, so all entered his house and were not crowded. The next morning the diwata Tigyama and other spirits came and talked with him. After that he told the people that all who believed that he was powerful could go with him but all who did not would turn into animals and *buso*. He went to the place where the earth and the sky meet. When he got there he saw that the sky kept going up and down the same as a man opening and closing his jaws. Lumabat said to the sky: "You must go up," but the sky replied. "No!" At last Lumabat promised the sky that if he let the others go through he might try to catch the last to pass. The sky opened and the people went through; but when near to the last the sky shut down and caught the bolo of the next to the last man. The last one he caught and ate."

This myth recorded by Cole has three parts:

1. Lumabat's first trip to the horizon where he caught the white deer and subsisted on bananas and camotes, miraculous products. (Planter and Hunter)
2. Lumabat's return home and his order to kill his father; the way he revived him; finally his decision, after the killing of the deer, to leave the place with all those who believed in him. (Mortal Man.)
3. Lumabat's trip with the mythical beings to the sky country. This last part is full of trials, and it is the only part found in the text of Benedict. (Psychopomp.)

2. Analysis of the Myth of Lumabat

The myth of Lumabat is a composite and obscure myth.¹⁴⁹ One finds here several themes that are treated in separate myths or rites among other tribes and people. There is the theme of a trip to the sky. This could be by shamans, or it could be the conquest of heaven by gods or mythical beings from below. There is the picture of an animal that seems to be a hoard or

149. Fischer, *Paradiesmythen*, p. 221.

warranter of life or death; there are secret and magic numbers and the gates at the horizon, usually called symplegades. The story may be likened to the tale of a mythical pair who are brother and sister, (elsewhere child and parent). Usually such persons appear right after creation or after a flood and commit incest. It would seem that in the myth of Lumabat almost everything has been concentrated. In such a labyrinth it is difficult to find the leading thread.

Now it is fortunate that a myth and a rite of the Wemale appear to be related to those of the Bagobo. By comparing the myth of Lumabat with the myth and the rite of this tribe, which are extensively discussed by Ad. E. Jensen,¹⁵⁰ it seems possible to unravel the skein, since the salient point will set off in relief, and one can see some sense and meaning in the constituent parts as well as in the whole.

The substance of the Wemale myth about Hainuwele has been referred to at the end of the chapter on Mebuyan. A few details will be added later as they become necessary. In the next paragraph the elements of the myth of Hainuwele will be summarized again in a paradigm and compared with a similar paradigm made up of the myths of Lumabat and Mebuyan. In the subsequent paragraph the similarities and differences between the myths of the Bagobo and Wemale will be extensively discussed.

Ad. E. Jensen¹⁵¹ is of the opinion that in the telling of the myth and in the dramatic performances of their rites the Wemale try to make present, to re-present, by ritual renewal what has happened in mythical times. They thus hope to influence the events of today which are still supposed to arise somehow from the same source. This would mean that the participants in a rite identify themselves with the mythical beings. The vivacity of phantasy and the ability of these people to act must be great, and would seem to be at least co-responsible for the origin of the belief mentioned. Myth and rite would place the Wemale, according to Jensen, in the last days of mythical times just before death was introduced. They enable the Wemale to undergo mysteriously what the mythical beings experienced.

150. Jensen, *Drei Ströme*, p. 114-116, 88-92, 98-101, 193.

151. Jensen, *ibidem*.

All this is done with the same hopes and expectations, namely, of a prosperous growth in this world and of an honest death and the acquisition of a happy abode in the Beyond. If one could demonstrate that the myth or rite of the Wemale and the Bagobo show substantial similarities, the path would be open to a discussion of similarities in religious background, and be valuable especially in so far as celebrations of the Bagobo may be also understood as representations of mythical times according to the idea of Jensen.

The last part of the myth of Lumabat will be compared in section B. of the following paradigm with a rite still used by a distinct part of the Wemale group, the so-called Kakihan¹⁵² secret society, with which the reader will become more familiar in later chapters and paragraphs (Chapter Five, 1, 2, 3, page 104). What appears to be similar or identical in the myths and rites compared here are only the elements that constitute the intrigues, not the intrigues as such. They are often different but their meaning will appear to be similar as well.

II. Comparison of a Bagobo Myth with a Wemale Myth

1. Paradigm

SECTION A		
B a g o b o		W e m a l e
<i>column aa</i>	<i>column bb</i>	<i>column cc</i>
Myth of Lumabat	Myth of Mebuyan	Myth of Hainuwele-Mulua S.
1. Son of Tuglibong	1. Daughter of Tuglibong who lives at the centre of the earth.	1. Mulua Satene, great chthonic deity, arose out of unripe banana. Hainuwele was born out of a nut. (Plant and man are identical).
2. a) He was a hunter, went to b) a mountain and around the world (the horizon), caught	2.	2. a) A hunter went to the b) forest and caught a pig. On

152. Jensen, *loc. cit.*, p. 193.

Lumabat

- c) with the help of his dog a white deer
- d) which he took home and kept. Lumabat was a miracle
- c) boy, grew fast, spoke
- f) within one day.

- 3.
- Hunting, he a) ate bananas and camotes whose skins
 - b) were planted and grew again next morning (miracle "food" in aa, "excrements" in cc). (Mulua S. and unripe bananas).
 - f) Lumabat circled around
 - g) the world nine times
 - h) during ninety years. (Lumabat circles, Hainuwele sits in the center of a circling crowd.)

- 4.
- a) Lumabat "ordered" the crowd
 - b) at home to kill his father (also Mebuyan's father).
 - c) The old man was killed and cut into two eight times, thus
 - e) losing (scattering) flesh. Lumabat revived him eight times waving his kerchief (proclaiming rebirth?) this fact will be inserted again on top of the next page to demonstrate more clearly some congruence with the

Mebuyan

- 3.
- Mebuyan also appears
 - c) "seated" but upon a mortar, in which rice is stored (under her), the mortar is put up
 - d) in the centre,
 - c) dropping rice and seated on
 - f) it she will whirl down into the earth.

- 4.
- Mebuyan a) begins in front of Lumabat (and the crowd?) to circle on the mortar and she whirls
 - b) down into a hole (that she bores) while she disappears into
 - d) the ground (burial), she takes rice, drops it
 - e) out of her hands (members, and scatters it proclaiming death for the crowd, the people.

Hainuwele

- c) its tusks it brought a coconut,
- d) which was taken and subsequently planted at home.
- e) It became a young tree that
- f) grew fast. It flowered within a few days; the flower was mixed with the blood of the
- g) "father" (hunter) and yielded a girl who, wrapped in "patola", is carried down by her "father."

- 3.
- a) Her excrements are precious
 - b) articles (miracle). Her name is Hainuwele. She used to squat.
 - d) in the center of a dancing crowd, distributing her
 - e) gifts (excrements) to the dancers ("giving" in cc, "consuming" in aa.) The
 - f) crowd danced around her in
 - g) nine circles, nine evenings, in nine different places. (food (rice) and precious articles are associated).

- 4.
- a) The crowd "seduced" by a mysterious power danced the girl with circling dances
 - b) into the ground. She is killed.
 - c) She is dismembered by the father and
 - d) buried.
 - e) Out of her scattered members more edible plants appear (camotes). (Before: Hainuwele's body produced treasures which she handed out to the crowds, now edible plants.)

Lumabat

Mebuyan

Hainuwele

myth of Hainuwele).

Here the fragments are scattered and become plants. Hainuwele is the fertile and always young earth. In aa the father becomes young again.

- 5.
- a) Lumabat soon summoned the crowds to meet in his
 - b) house that could contain all. Later he ordered them
 - c) to leave the house with him (death). Those
 - d) who refuse would become animal or *buso* (both "nonman"). (The father
 - f) of Lumabat, in order to revive him (which supposes death) was "beaten" with the kerchief of Lumabat).

- 6.
- a) Lumabat ordered the people
 - b) to leave his house (centre) and to follow (immediately)
 - c) along a path to the horizon, (and climb upwards.)
 - e) The father was killed but also revived eight times.
 - g) When the father of Lumabat was killed and had been revived 8 times he was only as large as a child. Lumabat put his followers
 - f) on the path to the sky.
- Before he and the people actually left, Lumabat killed the deer.

- 5.
- Mebuyan announces the necessity for all to
 - c) leave and follow her to her house below, to her house below, thus proclaiming death.
 - e) (read also number B in this paradigm.)

- 6.
- Mebuyan goes down in
 - b) the center alone leaving the crowd waiting (in the centre)
 - a) until she orders them (by shaking the lemon tree, branches, arms). The Bagobo will go
 - c) into the underworld where Mebuyan sits at the entrance of her residence. Next comes the river (water) where she bathes the souls and pours water on top of their heads,
 - e) giving them another life. Finally she puts
 - f) them on the path through which they walk down.
 - g) Mebuyan nurses the children. She leaves the earth and is "buried" in the underworld.

- 5.
- The arms of Hainuwele go to Mulua S. which she will use to brandish over
 - c) the mythical beings, proclaiming death so that they
 - f) become mortal.
 - a) Mulua S. ordered the crowd
 - b) to come to her gate (house)
 - c) and to jump through it.
 - d) Those who refuse become "spirits or animals". After jumping through the gate the jumpers are
 - e) beaten with the arms of Hainuwele

- 6.
- a) Mulua orders them to stay on earth for the time being while she goes down there in the centre. She organizes them (in the centre) in clans, killing pigs for them.
 - a) After a while the Wemale will have to follow her. They will travel through
 - c) the underworld, to climb
 - d) 9 hills, to die there and
 - e) be revived 9 times. Mulua S. sits at the end of the
 - f) path. In her abode Mulua S.
 - g) keeps children which she sends to their parents on earth so they may be born. (The 9-fold death in the underworld can also be compared with the horrible path of Lumabat

mentioned on left side column of the paradigm.) Mulua leaves the earth and is buried in the underworld.

SECTION B

column aa

column bb

column cc

Myth of Lumabat

Bagobo rite

Wemale rite

7. The people of the mythical Lumabat
- a) leave the house with him. While traveling a long
 - b) path on foot they are
 - c) challenged to reveal the goal of their trip. If they do, they dissolve at once into the elements. First they had also to cross the
 - d) ocean, (water, bath?). Finally they reach the
 - e) horizon.
 - f) Here is a gate that goes up and down like the jaws of an animal (jaw, gate, hole, valley). The travelers have to
 - h) jump through that gate into the unknown.
 - i) The spirit demands a sacrifice (?), one of the companions.

8. The travelers reach their destination
- b) but there are sharp knives there, and the
 - a) spirits spit their "issue" on them which becomes sharp as bolos. The travelers are badly received.

7. Baths are mentioned several times, e.g., the Bagobo take ritual baths when they celebrate the festival of Ginem¹⁰⁸ or when they contract marriage.
- a) They leave their houses and descend along a steep path into a deep valley; they pour water dripping
 - d) from fragrant leaves upon the heads of the participants
 - e) whose faces are covered by loose hanging hairs, once facing West with 9 downpours, once East with 9 or 8 downpours. (West and East is
 - e) horizon (?). But people stand in the centre between West and
 - f) East and in a river (gate), (Mebuyan's characteristics). The 9 downpours are the 9 "deaths" of Mulua S. (cf. No. 6, paradigm, column aa, sub e.)

8. Sometimes the faithful are beaten with ceremonial bunches of leaves. The chief minister in the riverbath seems to be a woman. (Two identical bunches recall the arms of Hainuwele?) (This is a rite called Pamalugu.)

7. The initiandi of the
- a) Kakihan society leave the house of their parents. First they take ceremonial
 - d) baths and are rubbed with fragrant leaves. They have
 - c) to promise secrecy and blind-folded take a path to the place
 - e) in the forest (horizon?).
- On all approaches *tabo* signs warn man and spirit.
- f) In the forest is a house,
 - g) in the flooring of which is a hole. The initiandi
 - h) will have to jump through that hole. Under the house is a dark room (the unknown).
 - i) A pig is killed during the performance.

Myth of Lumbat	Bagobo rite	Wemale rite
c) They travel upwards, climbing. The travelers	During the Pamalugu, the bath in the underworld, the dead is transformed and loses his earthly	ly the initiandi
d) try to avoid the projectiles.	g) desires.	d) escape through an exit, guided by their initiator.
c) They meet the chief spirit of the place, who demands disembowelment.		e) Now they meet the chief spirit of the place, Nitu Haulu. This
g) (End of earthly desires?)		f) eats the flesh of the initiandi. (This is a rite, a celebration of things past or anticipation of things to come.)
Now they are set free.		g) End of ceremony.
9.	9	9.
Lumabat becomes king of the sky country.	Mebuyan is the chief of a department in the underworld.	In the Wemale myth Mulua S. is queen of the underworld.

2. The Schemes in Myth and Rite of the Wemale and Bagobo.

The myths of the Wemale and the Bagobo are similar in that both apparently recount how "man", once a permanent settler in the paradise, as an individual and as a group, becomes a temporary inhabitant on earth as an individual, but will survive on earth in his society which seems to him to be permanent. In the next chapter it will become clearer that as an individual man will have to return to the source of life after death. As a society he gains or regains the source of life regularly during the festivals, ceremonies and rites, which also help the individual on his path.

The major differences between the myths and rites of the Bagobo and the Wemale are due to:

1. the emphasis in the myth of Lumabat upon:
 - a) the 8-fold (intentional) killing and revivification by Lumabat of the father, insinuating somehow, so it would seem, the eventual rebirth or rejuvenation of the tribe (in this life);
 - b) the immediate departure (initiation into death?) for the gates of death of:
 - c) the group with taboos and under the leadership of

Lumabat, where at the end the individuals must leap individually (initiation rite?)

- d) and the capture or intentional killing of the deer before departure as the origin and the markstone of the new era;

while the myth of Hainuwele stresses:

- a) the (unintentional?) death of Hainuwele by a crowd as the origin of the new period
- b) the immediate initiation of the individuals by jumping into the gates of death (represented by the arms of Hainuwele or the gates of Mulua's house), but
- c) the temporal organization of people into a group and their temporary stay on earth until each is called later by Mulua Satene who had preceded them to the underworld (more similar to the myth of Mebuyan), and
- d) the promise of the 9-fold death and resurrection or revivification in a future life with the insinuation of new life for the tribe on earth (rebirth) out of the realm of death, as can be seen in the paradigm above.

2. to the complications that arise when the two characters (Lumabat and Mebuyan) who are supposed to assume in the myth of the Bagobo the functions of the two Wemale characters (Hainuwele and Mulua Satene), do not distribute the functions concerned along the same lines as the Wemale characters did. When both Lumabat and Mebuyan take over a part of each Wemale actor (of Hainuwele as well as of Mulua), the line of division does not run horizontally but rather vertically. Lumabat is not exactly Mulua S., nor is Mebuyan exactly Hainuwele, but the activities of Mulua and Hainuwele are nevertheless accounted for or appear somehow in the myth of Lumabat and Mebuyan. This will be demonstrated in extenso in the next paragraph.

3. to the fact that the second part of the myth of Lumabat tallies, not with a Wemale myth, but with the scheme of a Wemale rite. This is the rite of the Kakihan society which seems to be an initiation into death and the underworld, while the Bagobo myth seems to suggest a conquest of a higher form of life by those who would follow the path of "heroes." This will be mentioned again in the next paragraph but will be discussed at length in part IV paragraph 1 of this chapter

as well as in Chapter Five: The Trip of Lumabat, I, 3, page 106, ff.

4. by the antagonism between Lumabat and Mebuyan in the myths of the Bagobo which is absent in the myth (and rite) of the Wemale. In the latter, the two characters are both chthonic; in the Bagobo myth Lumabat seems uranian, Mebuyan chthonic.

3. The Actors and Their Roles

The Wemale spirits Hainuwele, Mulua Satene and Nitu Haulu (a spirit connected with the Kakihan secret society), are seemingly all chthonic characters. The intrigue in the myth of Hainuwele which has two actors, Hainuwele and Mulua S., is rectilinear. This means Hainuwele is not the antagonist of Mulua S. but the latter appears after Hainuwele's death, takes over the drama and continues the intrigue. The roles of both actresses are complementary. As was mentioned earlier, in the Bagobo myth, Mebuyan, the woman, is chthonic and Lumabat, the man, seems uranian in character. Lumabat does not take over the role of Mebuyan but appears to be her antagonist.

One may say that Lumabat has some of the functions and features attributed to Hainuwele, performs most of what constitutes the role of Mulua Satene, and guides his followers through the hardships that in the Wemale rite the initiandi undergo. The rest of these functions and characteristics constitute the role of his antagonist, his sister, Mebuyan. In more concrete form, these would mean that:

1. several aspects pertaining to Hainuwele such as her origin, the trip of her father, her association with precious articles and camotes (yams), appear, though less clearly, in the role of Lumabat during his first trip, and the element of death which is very important in the role of Hainuwele, is found in the myth of Lumabat either in the killing of the old man or in the capture and killing of the deer. The same elements, however, constitute here at first glance a completely different intrigue.

2. the role of Mulua Satene and Lumabat coincide in the following: the conference in his house (equivalent to Mulua's calling the crowd to her gate), the announcement of the inevit-

able departure and the leaving of the old place in both the intrigues, the threats used in both myths to stimulate the participants (those who refuse will be "no-man"), the killing of pig and deer, Mulua becoming the queen of the underworld while Lumabat becomes the greatest of all the diwata (kings) in the sky country.

3. the remainder of the elements in the myth of Hainuwele (and in the rite of the Kakihan) is "carried" out by the Bagobo Mebuyan. From the role of Hainuwele she has perhaps also appropriated for herself the role of a provider of food. The buried Hainuwele brought forth edible plants, particularly yams, that sprouted out of her dismembered body. In correlation to Lumabat who, like Hainuwele, is associated with yams, Mebuyan brings the rice. Both, man and woman, are culture heroes. "Buried" or (disappearing) Mebuyan drops rice out of her hands. From Mulua Satene, Mebuyan took over the office of queen of a department of the underworld but she is again correlated to Lumabat, king of the upperworld. Mebuyan has, like Mulua, a special relation to little children, but she is also correlated to her antagonist Lumabat who killed his father but revived him until he became a little child.. As rice-girl she seems similar to Hainuwele. However since she disappears into the earth without being killed or having died, she seems more like Mulua Satene. To be rice-girl (food-provider) without having been killed is a phenomenon that occurs also elsewhere as was mentioned before.

4. the scheme of the Kakihan secret society appears almost completely in the myth of Lumabat but constitutes his trip to the sky-country and his arrival there. In the myth of Lumabat everything has seemingly a more "uranian" character. Some of the elements of the intrigue of Lumabat appear now as the inverted mirage of the Kakihan rite; the trip of Lumabat seems also to be for heroes only.

Suffice it to state here that Mebuyan is, like Lumabat, related to both Hainuwele and Mulua Satene, who ultimately seem to be identical anyway. From the Kakihan ritual scheme Mebuyan has reserved in her myth the bath and the hole in the flooring. This hole can also serve as the hole in the myth of Lumabat, but then it has an uranian character as it opens into the sky. This shows how readily several of these elements

can serve in both an uranian as well as a chthonic vision. This is especially so of elements or words like "gate", or "opening", "hole", etc., since they always have a double aspect, an obverse and a reverse. Most symbols are that way, ambi- or even multi-valent. The same was observed when discussing the pounding of Tuglibong.

4. Antagonism in the Data of Bagobo and Wemale.

As the paradigm shows antagonism seems to be a characteristic feature of the myths of Lumabat and Mebuyan. The two actors are supposed to be each other's antagonists and their actions reflect each other as though in a mirror. The significance of this antagonism is difficult to assess. Also the Wemale have it. Although it does not directly appear in their myth of Hainuwele they have a spirit Tuwale¹⁵⁴ associated with the sky who marries Rabie¹⁵⁵ associated with the moon and the earth.¹⁵⁶ According to Jensen¹⁵⁷ Rabie, Mulua Satene and Hainuwele are identical. The houses of Tuwale and Mulua must be close because the souls¹⁵⁸ that go to the house of Mulua¹⁵⁹ can reach the house of Tuwale, a spirit who eats bats, and whenever he eats one a man on earth dies. This reminds us vividly of Mebuyan shaking her tree. The spirits¹⁶⁰ in his house eat corpses, a chthonic characteristic. The spirits of the Wemale seem to be more strongly ambivalent than those of the Bagobo, but even among the latter the antagonism could be a polarity with unilateral stress only that includes the antagonist. Symbols like centre and horizon, jar and cover, mortar and pestle that play a role in the Bagobo system of religious thought seem to suggest so. The Bagobo belief¹⁶¹ that man has two souls must also be connected with this antagonism in the universe, but it

153. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 121.

154. Jensen, *Drei Ströme*, p. 165.

155. Jensen, *loc. cit.*, p. 119, 157.

156. Jensen, *loc. cit.*, p. 114.

157. Jensen, *loc. cit.*, p. 157.

158. Jensen, *loc. cit.*, p. 165.

159. Jensen, *loc. cit.*, p. 41.

160. Jensen, *loc. cit.*, p. 164-165.

161. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 50, 58.

is difficult to find out at this stage of the inquiry which is the cause and which is the effect.

III. Contents of the Myth of Lumabat

1. The First Killing.

The first part of this chapter was meant to demonstrate that, in spite of the differences, there exists a relationship between the Wemale myth of Hainuwele-Mulua Satene with the rite of the Kakihan society on the one hand, and the myth of Lumabat-Mebuyan on the other. It is the opinion of Ad.E. Jensen that the myth of Hainuwele teaches why man is fertile and mortal, why he is as he is, the "so-sein" of man.¹⁶² This event, according to Jensen, is especially celebrated by the Wemale when they perform their Maro dance.

One difference between the Wemale and the Bagobo is this: the Wemale tell in one myth what is told by the Bagobo in two, or in one "double-myth" with antagonism or polarity. In the first part of the myth of Mebuyan the origin and the so-sein of the "new woman" seems to be stressed. It seems that here the relation between birth and burial is discussed. The predominant tenor of the myth of Lumabat is violence and killing. It is logical therefore, to think here of the other reason that eventually could end "paradise", the first violent death. Thus the first "new man" would arise who is mortal, and whose task is perhaps to be "killer" (hunter, fisher or warrior).

But there are several killings in the myth of Lumabat and so the question is: whose death really ended the Bagobo paradise and made man as he is? If this decisive death in the myth can be found, another question still remains. Does man's mortality also have a meaning or significance in the totality of being or in the relation between man and spirits? Fertile women apparently became the cooperator with the goddess Mebuyan in the underworld by giving birth. Does mortal (and killing) man in the Bagobo system cooperate perhaps in an analogous way with spirits in the sky, for instance, who are

162. Jensen, *loc. cit.*, p. 121.

blood-thirsty and who are ready to grant people on earth a good life and a new life in the Beyond only if they receive blood?

2. The Equivalent to Hainuwele in the Bagobo Myth.

The decisive moment in the well-known myth of Hainuwele is the violent death of the girl.¹⁶³ In the myth of Lumabat three die: the father of Lumabat, the deer, the companion who fell victim to the sky. The equivalent to Hainuwele is probably the one who is killed before the expedition of Lumabat started. This would rule out the companion of Lumabat, because this companion dies during the expedition, i.e., after death had already been introduced. It seems that the story of the trip can be compared with the initiation rite in the Wemale Kakihan society. In this Wemale rite appears a monster called Nitu Haulu¹⁶⁴ with chthonic character. He swallows victims as the sky of the Bagobo does. The Wemale also speak of a hero, Tanku Telie,¹⁶⁵ who seems similar to Lumabat and who is also the guide of the trip. Here death and the necessity for everybody of pilgrimage from one abode to the other seems already to exist. At the end of this chapter the trip of Lumabat and the rite of Nitu Haulu will again be discussed. For the moment the companion as a candidate for the origin of death can be discarded. This leaves either the father or the deer.

The killing of the father is also probably not the crucial killing that unleashed general death. The whole adventure of the father of Lumabat looks too much like the counterpart of what Mulua Satene promises to her followers. Her promise was made after the death of Hainuwele, when she beat the crowd of the mythical beings with the arm of Hainuwele and condemned them to die in the Beyond nine times and promised to revive them nine times on nine different hills which they would have to cross before they could reach her and be children again. Lumabat orders the crowd to cut his father into two eight times. He revives him with his headgear eight times until he is reduced to child. Both the action of Lumabat and the speech of Mulua seem to announce what the Bagobo (and We-

163. Jensen, *loc. cit.*, p. 115.

164. Jensen, *loc. cit.*, p. 193.

165. Jensen, *loc. cit.*, p. 92.

male) have to expect later once they have chosen to follow the path of Lumabat or Mulua. Mulua Satene beats only once with the arms of Hainuwele but she explains that it means the nine fold death and revivification. Lumabat does not speak but makes his point by demonstrating it eight times. The beating with the arm of Hainuwele entitles the Wemale to undergo the process of the nine hills after death that leads finally in the Beyond to rejuvenation not directly of the tribe but of the individual who becomes there a child, that, so it seems, can be sent back to earth however. The swinging by Lumabat of his headgear seems to promise rejuvenation after the eight fold death of a particular individual who probably represents the tribe (the father). As a result of this choice the individuals must die but the tribe will be continuously rejuvenated. Ultimately it must be fairly well the same.

Is the father of Lumabat "the tribe" that will remain young and be continuously reborn? Perhaps he is the ancestor indeed. This could be an inconsistency but one should bear in mind that the "Mona" by and by began to give birth to children. Lumabat must be one of those. And if he is the only son he can even easily be identical with the "father." Lumabat, the "son", was "born," but he is also "sent" by the god, so that the position of his "father" is somewhat unclear anyway. Or is he "the father" of all those who "believe" in his son Lumabat? All those who do not "believe" would become spirits or animals and would not be "man," mortal man. The rite of the Wemale also seems to insinuate the existence of such sort of belief. Would this necessarily mean foreign influence?

In Lumabat himself many Bagobo of today might see a kind of magician who could perform tricks or show supernatural power¹⁶⁶ just as jugglers and magicians still do at fancy fairs in the southern Philippines, but the myth of Lumabat is probably quite old and genuine. It also appears in Java in the story of the magic headkerchief of the Javanese hero, Adji Saka, who changed into a child and whose servants killed each other while Adji Saka liberated the island Java from a man-eating monster¹⁶⁷ and introduced there a new era of culture and civilization (cf. next paragraph 3). In this intrigue the same ele-

166. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 178.

167. de Graaf, *Geschiedenis*, p. 22-23.

ments appear, but Adji Saka has here more or less the function of the Bagobo Tuglibong, and the monster seems to be the equivalent of the Bagobo scorching sky. The coming to Java of Indian civilization has found its setting in the shape or form of this myth.

According to the myth, the primeval people now considered Lumabat after his performance a "god" and thus certainly able to change the state of the mythical beings. The killing and raising up of Lumabat's father would have been a demonstration of what the Bagobo were to expect. In contrast to the myth of the Wemale where full information comes after the death of Hainuwele, the Bagobo story seems to suggest that people were duly informed before they chose and only after a choice was made did something final happen. Thus the eight-fold death of the father in itself would not be the decisive moment that made man definitely "man," mortal and fertile.¹⁶⁸ It would only suppose death and be a warning or a promise, a demonstration, with emphasis on rejuvenation.

So the deer alone would be left to eventually seal the choice of the crowd under Lumabat and to make it definite, with all its consequences. Thus when the deer (taken a prisoner at the horizon) dies, it would be the first real death that would place mankind definitely beyond the point of no-return. The crowd warned beforehand would have to accept among other things the path of Lumabat. They would have to "leave" the place where they had lived because, by this killing or "sacrifice" of the deer, rejuvenation of the tribe would be guaranteed but (temporary?) "emigration" of the individuals to another country (of the dead) would be a consequence.

Regarding the similarity between the actions and intentions of Lumabat and Mulua Satene, at least in some essential respects, there can hardly be much doubt. The equivalent to Hainuwele must be the deer. This deduction can perhaps be made more probable by a closer study of the particular actors in the dramas of the Wemale and Bagobo.

3. The Deer in the Myth of Lumabat.

The dramatis personae in the myths of the Wemale and

168. Jensen, *Drei Ströme*, p. 115.

Bagobo discussed in this chapter are:

<i>In the myth of Hainuwele-Mulua S.</i>	<i>In the myth of Lumabat</i>
1. a father	1. a father
2. a hunter (the father)	2. a hunter
3. a daughter (Hainuwele)	3. a son (Lumabat)
4. a pig and a nut	4. a dog and a deer
5. a crowd	5. a crowd
6. a guide (Mulua Satene)	6. a guide (Lumabat)

In this list the only differences are indicated in Nos. 3 & 4. Usually the woman takes care of the pigs, while men, as hunters, are easily associated with dogs or game like deer. There are however differences in the action. Although the main actions are retained quite well in both stories, they are sometimes performed by other characters. This, at first sight, may blur the similarities. In the myth of the Wemale the father and the hunter are identical. In the Bagobo myth, the son and the hunter are. In the myth of the Wemale the crowd has a role other than that in the myth of Lumabat. They kill Hainuwele and are initiated by Mulua Satene when they are condemned to undergo the nine fold death in the underworld and have to appear before Mulua Satene as children. In the myth of the Bagobo, the crowd is ordered by Lumabat to apply to the father what Mulua Satene applies to the crowd, the fate to die nine times. Lumabat, however, immediately resurrects his father eight times while Mulua Satene only promises revival to the crowd nine times in the Beyond. Lumabat swings the headkerchief to resurrect his dismembered father, while Mulua swings the arm of Hainuwele to condemn to death first, promising revival.

In the Wemale myth pig and daughter can be identified. The pig comes out of the forest (trees), only to introduce the coconut that it carries on its tusks which is taken by the hunter to the centre (the village). The coconut, with the help of the blood of the father, develops into the girl Hainuwele. Since the hunter who catches the pig and carries the nut and the father whose blood produces Hainuwele are identical, they are in a way identical with Hainuwele, too, and would be consequently killed in her. This could perhaps also bring the myth of the Wemale closer to the Bagobo myth and would open the way to a solution of the riddle of Lumabat's father. Thus Hainu-

wele is also the "tree," and a kind of prolongation or extension of the pig. The pig in the myth fades away and disappears from the picture. This means that in the myth of Hainuwele four actors fill six roles because father-hunter and pig-daughter are identical, and perhaps all four are one only. This is different in the myth of Lumabat. The deer does not expire noiselessly or transform itself into another actor as the pig was transformed into Hainuwele. The deer remained a separate entity. Now, if the character into which the deer should have changed but did not and, as a consequence that character is not killed in the Bagobo myth as Hainuwele is in the Wemale, that character is able to carry out a function that in the myth of Hainuwele had to be ascribed to a new actor, namely, Mulua Satene. This Mulua is perhaps the equivalent of the Bagobo Tuglibong or Mebuyan, but both of them enjoy among the Bagobo their own separate myths. And since, in the Bagobo myth, the crowd was given the task of killing the father, one character must remain to resurrect the father and to kill the deer later. He will thus demonstrate to the crowd what kind of law will rule all mankind. By killing the deer he seals the decision. This character can be the one now that, according to the Wemale scheme, should have developed out of the deer but did not, and that should have been killed, but was not in the Bagobo myth. This character is the "son," called Lumabat. He is a hunter, has a relation to the deer (he caught it in a mysterious way), he kills the deer, he initiates the father, and he becomes the guide of mankind. He alone fulfills all these four parts. This is possible because his relationship with the deer does not directly amount to full identity as in the myth of Hainuwele where the pig is killed or the tree is destroyed when Hainuwele is killed. In the myth of Lumabat the deer is killed as a deer, but it fulfills the task of Hainuwele, of the pig and of the tree (forest, nut, eventually mountain). They are all identical in the myth of the Wemale just as the roles of hunter, killer, initiator, and guide, are identical in the myth of the Bagobo in the person of Lumabat.

The role of the Wemale guide and initiator, Mulua Satene, is in the Bagobo myths given to Mebuyan in so far as she prepared the path and leads mankind into the underworld, but in so far as Lumabat leads mankind to the sky, Mulua Satene's

role of guide and initiator is given to him as well. The role of Hainuwele as food-producer appears in the role of Mebuyan, the rice girl. However it appears also in the activities of Lumabat who, in contradistinction to Mebuyan, plants with his hands and grows miraculously the tubers and the bananas which make him similar to Hainuwele who grew tubers out of her dead body. His similarity to Hainuwele appears again in the fact that he grew fast and spoke within a few days (Hainuwele also grew fast) and perhaps also in the fact that Hainuwele is danced into the ground by a circling dance and Lumabat circles "the mountain" 9 times.

It can hardly be doubted that the myths of the Wemale and Bagobo are related. Eventually, the Bagobo story could be rendered in Wemale form this way: the Bagobo "father" should be the hunter who caught the deer that developed somehow into a son. This son should be Lumabat. The crowd should take the initiative and kill Lumabat (the son) who was a miracle boy and out of whose body the tubers now grew. The father should visit Mebuyan or Tuglibong who should have introduced death by condemning the crowd to the eight-fold or nine-fold death.

If the foregoing is correct one could look at the Bagobo myth of Lumabat as the Wemale myth of Mulua Satene turned upside down or as its mirror image. The axis on which the myth "turns" are the words in the middle of the two myths, spoken alike by the Bagobo Lumabat and the Wemale Mulua Satene: "Everybody who will not follow will become animal or ghost." In the myth of Hainuwele-Mulua Satene the killing of Hainuwele comes first and the message of Mulua second. In the myth of Lumabat the message of the father comes first and the killing of the deer second.

Granting that the deer in the myth of Lumabat is the equivalent of Hainuwele in as far as her fate started general death, some elements still need, if possible, further clarification. There is e.g. the headkerchief of Lumabat. Mulu Satene swung the arm of Hainuwele, and Lumabat swung the headkerchief. Has this cloth a meaning of its own? It was mentioned already that with his magic cloth Adji (king) Saka (Saka-era) was able to rescue Java from a pernicious and man-eating monster. The same Adji came, like Lumabat, from afar and proved that

he had the power to rejuvenate. His magic cloth scared the monster but at any rate it opened in Java a new era. It was suggested already that by doing so Adji Saka can be compared with Tuglibong and thus his magic cloth would be comparable with her pestle. As a matter of fact the Ngaju Dayak¹⁶⁹ believe that the headkerchief of Mahatala, the creator, was the "tree of life." This would bring us closer to the pestle although the pestle was an instrument for action while the tree of the Ngaju is the object of action. The effect of the actions around tree and pestle is however, the existence of the universe. Also in the myth of Adji Saka people are killed; his servants kill each other. Adji Saka would have scared away the voracious monster that "killed" for its own benefit and have introduced rejuvenation but over or along the path of individual death. The coming of the new era of Hindu civilization is seen by the Javanese in the frame of this old myth but Adji Saka reminds us still of Tuglibong and Lumabat and his magic headkerchief would fit there. It seems that the division of the roles is always different and so are the actors. However they all extend creation and explain the existence of death in our era.

The myth of Hainuwele was highly regarded by Jensen. He considered it of great importance in any attempt to discover and understand the leading idea in the Wemale's view of the world and of their behaviour in coping with it. The same could be said about the Bagobo myth of Lumabat which will be discussed further in Part IV of this chapter. The deer must eventually be considered the counterpart to the tree of Mebuyan as Mebuyan is to Lumabat.

If the myth of Lumabat up to the point where he and his crowd depart were really the myth of Mulua (Hainuwele) but in reversed version, the deer would have the correct place in the myth of Lumabat. It had to be killed after the warning with headkerchief and rejuvenation. These serve as the equivalent to the condemnation with the arms in the myth of Hainuwele. The intention in the myth of Lumabat also seems a little different from that in the myth of Hainuwele. As we mentioned above, the myth of Lumabat, so it would seem, speaks primarily of the rejuvenation of the tribe in this life and suggests the

169. Schärer, Ngaju Religion, p. 28.

necessity of the death of the individual with eventual rebirth on earth, while the myth of Hainuwele speaks primarily of the death and the rejuvenation of the individual in the Beyond and only suggests the continuation of tribal life by rebirth on earth after the nine-fold death of the individual in the Beyond. Perhaps, therefore, the revivification of the "father" also has to come first in the myth of Lumabat.

It seems also that Adji Saka is comparable with Lumabat and with the "father". The difference is that Adji undergoes rejuvenation of himself while Lumabat rejuvenates his father. Something similar happens to the female spirits discussed before. Some (Mebuyan) go into the underworld without being killed; others are killed and buried. In the last case there are necessarily two actresses (Hainuwele and Mulua Satene) who are virtually one, however. The question is: would this change the meaning of the myth. If it does not, Lumabat could also be identical with the father, and only for the sake of the intrigue they would be two. What the Wemale did for the goddesses of the underworld, the Bagobo would do for the spirits of the sky. Rejuvenation of an adult by becoming a child always means loss of substance, and rejuvenation supposes necessarily sort of previous death. Both can be given expression by killing a hero and slashing him, thus diminishing him as in the story of Lumabat, or it could be told as in the story of Adji Saka who rejuvenated himself. The only thing important would be that society on earth is renewed while death is introduced. If there are two heroes, one can eventually be killed and one can blaze the trail to the underworld or the sky; if there is one only, like in the case of Mebuyan, she cannot be killed first, because she has to blaze the trail herself later, and she "buries" herself like Mulua by disappearing into the earth.

4. Animals as Warranters of Life.

a) *The Hero and the Pig in New Guinea.*

The myths of the Wemale and the Bagobo teach that ultimately the fate of mankind depended on the life or death of animals, of a pig and a deer. Such mysterious animals are not

really exceptional in myths since also other things of similar value (a tree or a fruit, etc.) may be found elsewhere in the centre of equally dramatic events. The myths will generally teach only that at a certain moment a powerful mythical being on whose actions and behaviour much depended simply decided to end the old state and to make "man" mortal and fertile. Sometimes the actions may be condemned as stupid or worse; at other times, if not usually, the decision is considered wise or at least quite understandable and a matter of course. When the idea of absolute morality comes in, the outlook can become very different.

Jensen cites a New Guinea myth¹⁷⁰ which shows that ideas such as those of the Wemale and Bagobo are rather widely spread. In it a great hero had a pig. As long as it was alive the hero's people would not die. One day he thought: if I kill the pig and I can "give the women vaginas" (make them fertile), "people" can also be immortal; and he was right. Since then individuals die but give birth to children first; and so "man" will be perpetuated also. He changed the immortality of the individual into the immortality of mankind. For these people the two sorts of immortality (personal and communal) seemed to be equally desirable. Eventually the general conviction here was that individual life would also continue now in another country, but not many seemed to worry about it.

b) *The Bagobo Hunter and the Lizard.*

A weak echo of such a decision but with some new and disturbing elements in it is perhaps found in a Bagobo story¹⁷¹ of the lizard and two mythical beings. In another form the same story appears among the Visayan.¹⁷² The Bagobo relate that a man had set a trap, and caught a lizard. He ordered the lizard to walk to his house and see his wife. The lizard however walked off in the other direction, thus toward the horizon, the man's house probably being in the centre. When the man came home, his wife told him that she had seen no lizard. Later, they found the lizard seated on a tree growing on a river that

170. Jensen, *ibidem*.

171. Benedict, *Myths*, p. 41.

172. Demetrio, *Studies*, p. 360, 370.

reflected the tree and the lizard. The dull-witted man tried to catch the reflection of the lizard on the water but the woman, who knew better, scolded him and climbed the tree in order to get the lizard from the branches.

Could the tree and lizard reflected on the water mean the horizon where sky and earth meet? Anyway, the place far away from home would seem to be the horizon, and this would be essential for understanding the consequences. Reflections in the water are still associated with death.¹⁷³ The reflection is supposed to be the left hand *gimokud* or soul which is associated with the underworld and death, perhaps because everything is upside down in the Beyond. One should, according to the Bagobo, not laugh at one's reflection for it would perhaps mean laughing at the mysterious power of water usually associated with the underworld and death. The appearance of this reflection could thus be the warning; but this reference in the myth certainly complicates matters. Where sky and earth meet, the upper and lower regions are confounded;¹⁷⁴ perhaps this is also why the water instead of the horizon appears in this myth.

The woman felt the results of her actions immediately. While they were busy trying to catch the animal in the tree, the man caught sight of his wife's menstruation. "You have sores," he said. He soon consulted Tuglai (a great spirit) on the cure for her. Tuglai taught him the use of intercourse. From then on, the two became perfectly happy, threw away all they had, but became skinny and finally died. Here again is a combination of hunting and (at least an attempt to) killing, with fertility and death. (The Visayans say that after a fish was caught and later died because it could not live in the house, man was "condemned" to die also.) The attempt to kill or simply to hunt was sufficient to make the first traces of fertility appear. Soon the "spirits" taught man and woman intercourse and this subsequently led the two to death. In brief, the two gladly sacrificed the goods of "paradise" for the joy of the married state but they also accepted death. All this happened in and under a tree that hung above the water. In this one myth, we find house, water, tree, man, woman and animal together, and probably the horizon, where the attempt to climb

173. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 58 (footn. 117).

174. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 48 (footn. 103).

the tree and to catch the animal (hunting) leads to fertility and apparently to death (cf. Chapter Three, II, 7. page 51).

The story of the lizard is not exactly equivalent to the myth of Lumabat and the deer, because some elements such as the reflection have been added and these could obscure the importance of the horizon or the hunting (and the killing) which obviously preceded (or caused) fertility and death.

The Visayans¹⁷⁵ have different stories about a mythical shark. In one they tell how the catching and the subsequent unfortunate and unintended death of the fish that was caught in a trap (horizon) and taken home to be placed under a bench caused general death. In other versions they expand the intrigues by adding that the mourning and weeping after the death of the fish angered the gods who did not like having an animal treated "like" man and condemned man to die. The addition of angered spirits that have higher powers suggest faintly the moral issue. In the Bagobo myth of the lizard, the higher gods also interfere at the end when they willingly teach man intercourse instead of bluntly condemning him straight to death, the correlate of fertility. Remarkable is the anachronism of treating a dead animal like a dead man before the dead man existed. The weeping at the bier of the dead today could remind of this first obsequies and celebrate thus the beginnings for those who accept this version of the myths. In both stories, death is introduced at the end, but animals were the first to die.

c) *The Bagobo Hunter and the Monkey.*

The lizard behaved intelligently but did not speak. The Bagobo¹⁷⁶ have another story about an animal that was killed and spoke. It goes as follows: After some days of searching, a hunter discovered the king of the monkeys seated high upon a tree in the forest. He shot an arrow at the monkey but it did not harm it at all. The hunter tried 15 times more, but in vain. The last one, the seventeenth, hit the monkey and killed it. The monkey fell to the ground. And as it lay there it spoke to the hunter and ordered him to cut it to pieces, stuff it into a bamboo, cook it and eat it. While the hunter was

175. Demetrio, *Studies*, p. 358-360.

176. Benedict, *Myths*, p. 46.

busy carrying out the order, a bird, perched on a tree, warned him to flee because the dead monkey had "changed" into a terrible "buso," a sort of evil spirit of the Bagobo who is directly associated with death. The man fled to a tree with thorns that protected him.

The monkey is an animal that seems to keep "death" confined within itself. If one hunts or kills exactly that animal, death "inside" it would be unleashed, and universal death would follow in a sort of chain reaction. Thus, this particular animal may be considered a "hoard" of life or death. It is clear also that the number seventeen, the cutting of the animal to pieces and the stuffing of the fragments into a bamboo have a meaning for the Bagobo. They are probably lunar symbols. The days the hunter did not find the monkey is perhaps the monthly moonless period. When the moon appears on the horizon (forest) in the West, the hunter spots the monkey. The Bagobo¹⁷⁷ indeed see a monkey and a tree in the moon. The 17 arrows are perhaps the 17 nights from the first day of the moon's reappearance in the West to the first day of the waning moon. Then the moon would "fall" down (wane) and die. The arrows may also have a phallic meaning. In that case the connection of birth and death would again be insinuated. The cutting to pieces is perhaps the dismembering of the (waning) moon, and the stuffing into the bamboo of the dismembered monkey (moon) are again the 3 moonless nights at the end of the monthly course of the moon. The myth would probably tell how a dangerous ogre (monkey) associated with the moon appeared in a forest (horizon). The hunter travels to the horizon and kills the ogre that falls down and brings the rhythm of moon-life (life-death) to the earth. The hunter flees to a special tree (centre?) and is saved. All the common elements and symbols are present: horizon and centre (tree), hunter, victim, arrows (instead of spear), killing and general death, and also salvation.

The tales about the lizard and the monkey show that eventually a deer could be a warranter of life and death among the Bagobo, and that this would not necessarily be a mere postulate for the interpretation of some myths of this tribe. In a myth of the Visayans¹⁷⁸ also a red monkey appears in a bamboo

177. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 48.

178. Demetrio, *Studies*, p. 377, Demetrio, *loc. cit.*, p. 370.

growth and keeps there, today, the record of the lifetime allotted to everybody. When he cuts the last joint of one's personal "life-bamboo," which stands together with many others in a growth, one has to die. This shows again how tree, (bamboo), monkey, cutting, and dead are associated. The picture of the monkey cutting the tree on a mountain is similar to the picture of Mebuyan shaking the tree in the underworld. Underworld and mountain are polar. Mebuyan holds the tree because she opened the realm of death. It is not told how the monkey got to the mountain in the growth. In the Bagobo story however the killer of the monkey climbed a tree, which reminds us of Lumabat, and the tree is the equivalent to the mountain. Nothing is said about rejuvenation in these last stories.

In the myths of the Ifugao that relate the beginning and the origin of their institutions right after the flood, the killing of a rat is mentioned, also of a snake and even of a human being. The gods decided that it should be a pig. The Ifugao describe here the re-creation after the flood, and what they seem to imply is that killing was always at the base of all that has shape, of the world as well as of the institutions, also of those before the big flood. The Bagobo seem to refer in the myth of Lumabat directly to the real and first creation period which would be antediluvial for the Ifugao, who talk about the post-diluvial re-creation.

It is thus not exceptional that in the beginnings an animal is killed. But also other activities of the mythical beings like cutting or shaking usually connected with trees or fruit, determine the fate of man. The Bagobos have in the myth of Lumabat the deer. Trees are usually associated with the centre. The deer of Lumabat is associated with the horizon.

5. The Horizon in the Myth of Lumabat.

A comparison of the myth of Lumabat with the myths of Tuglibong and Mebuyan reveals that there are some remarkable points of contrast among them. The two women are associated with pounding and whirling, with pestle and mortar. Tuglibong prepares the surface of the earth and the dome of the sky with the pestle. She stands in the center because the horizon appears to be the result of her scolding and her activi-

ties. In contrast to Tuglibong, the elder, Mebuyan makes use of the mortar and creates the underworld, thus unlocking or preparing the abode of the souls and introducing death as it is today. Mebuyan also stands in the centre because she goes straight down and pestle and mortar belong together as a unit. The natural antagonism between the surface of earth and sky however has not had great consequences in the Bagobo myths. The sky retires but that is about all. Not this antagonism of sky and earth is developed further in these Bagobo myths but the stories of Mebuyan and Lumabat make use of an antagonism or a polarity created by the action of Tuglibong: the antagonism of the centre against the horizon. The preceding pages have shown how the horizon can be associated with forest (monkey), mountain (deer), ocean (shark), river (lizard), etc. It is also clear from the myth that the horizon must be a place where terrestrials can reach the sky, and how the horizon, in this respect must be the equivalent of mountain, tree, scaffold, pole, etc., that are usually in the centre. So, it would seem that the Bagobo give to centre and horizon the same function but the stories based on either of them appear in the reverse, like an antagonism. An article written in 1917 by P. D. Kreichgauer¹⁷⁹ about the Toltecs, Mexico, and the function in their beliefs of the horizon, can show how the Bagobo would be no exception if they would associate the horizon with the beginnings; or if they associate the deer with it. Other authors associate animals with the celestial bodies that depend on the same horizon however. Jensen¹⁸⁰ did so when he says that the pig of the Wemale is a lunar animal. The Bagobo deer is perhaps also such an animal associated with sun or moon, but with horizon as well.

a) *Animals and Horizon in China and Mexico.*

Hentze¹⁸¹ says that in Chinese mythical lore, the deer is sometimes associated with the sun and, what is more important, with rejuvenation. One can imagine that the sun is rejuvenated at the horizon every morning, but the moon would be generated in the deep pit of 3 moonless nights, and is consequently perhaps

179. Kreichgauer, *Die Klapptore*; *Anthropos*, Vol. 12-13, p. 272-311.

180. Jensen, *loc. cit.*, p. 120.

181. Hentze, *Das Haus*, p. 92.

even considered a real "new" moon. However the horizon would also play a role in this drama of the moon.

In his much quoted article, H. Th. Fischer¹⁸² says that American Indians speak of a trip to the gates of the sun which are obviously situated at the rim of the horizon. This is the place to which Lumabat also went twice. The first times he went there to catch the deer and the second time to find the symplegades, the trapdoors or gates that looked like the jaws of an animal. The symplegades of Lumabat will be discussed in Chapter Five but a few details may be anticipated here to show that in some parts of the world deer and symplegades (horizon) are really associated.

The symplegades are a widely spread motif that reaches from Greece (Argonauts) over India to Java, and P. D. Kreichgauer proved that it also exists in Mexico among the Toltecs. In Java it appears as a mysterious and powerful device, the *sela tertangkap*, that watches the entrance to the skycountry but that could not prevent the god Semar (the old creator) from passing through. The symplegades in the Malay countries may look like jaws, a mountain or rock that opens and shuts, or as a rock placed in the sea where people are drowned.¹⁸³ The Toltecs¹⁸⁴ in Mexico who also have the motif of the symplegades use many symbols to represent them. According to Kreichgauer,¹⁸⁵ these symbols can be the deer or other objects which, curiously enough, regularly appear in the myths and rites of the Bagobo, Wemale and other Indonesian groups. He mentions the following symbols among the Toltecs which, like the deer, can replace the symplegades: house, gate, door, hole, mountain, and tree; water, net, noose, jar, plate and bowl; bands (on ears, eyebrow, nose, decorations) and jaws, arms, legs, hands, feet, joints; finally: eyes, nose, mouth, cavities of the body, also stars, etc. All of these symbols are identified by the Toltecs with the horizon, the gate to the sky, which they seem to regard as a source of life. This would mean that for the Toltecs all are interchangeable with the deer associated up to the point of identity with the symplegades. Kreichgauer also tries to

182. Fischer, *Paradiesmythen*, p. 237.

183. Demetrio, *Studies*, p. 382.

184. Kreichgauer, *loc. cit.*, p. 272, 279, 284, 288, 290, 297, 302, 307-309.

185. Kreichgauer, *ibidem*.

prove that a similar value is given to these symbols by the Chinese and some Altai tribes.

b) *Symbols for Horizon in Indonesia and the Philippines.*

The symbols mentioned above are found not only in the myths of the contemporary Bagobo and other peoples but also on burial jars of Megalithic culture, spread throughout Indonesia (especially those in Central Celebes) and on those recently discovered by Dr. M. Maceda in Mindanao among the Manobo of Cotabato. As jars they are significant already. Their covers have the shape of mountains, poles, roofs, and figures appear on them with outstretched arms and legs or hands and feet. Noses and eyes are sometimes incised. This reminds us of the kettle drums of the Dongson culture. One of these was found on the Dieng plateau together with a round urn on a pedestal with a "removable" pointed upper part.¹⁸⁶ In fig. 13 in H. R. van Heekeren's¹⁸⁷ "The Bronze and Iron Age of Indonesia" a tympan of such a kettle drum is reproduced. On it appears a hunter chasing an animal (lion?, tiger?). For a Bagobo it could look like an accompanying dog. A deer is seemingly started up by this barking dog and is caught by a hunter with a lasso (noose) in the next picture. The illustration in the book mentioned offers only five scenes, but they seem to cover the entire myth of Lumabat and the deer. Is this purely a coincidence? It is impossible to get any form of certainty in this matter but one is forced to think here of Lumabat and his exploits just as one thinks of Mebuyan if one sees in Mindanao a female figure modeled in a squatting position on a burial jar. The fact that the pictures are on the rim of a round kettle drum (horizon?) could indicate Lumabat's running around the edge of the earth. The same drum, eventually inverted, could also serve as a mortar to whirl a person into the earth as it did to Mebuyan. Actually the kettle drums are still used in a few places in Indonesia, and among the Lamet of Laos they are used in burial rites and sometimes interred.¹⁸⁸ The myth relates that Lumabat caught the deer and took it with him.

186. N. J. Krom, *Inleiding I*, p. 151.

187. v. Heekeren, *The Bronze Age*, Figures 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

188. v. Heekeren, *loc. cit.*, p. 14, 15.

On the kettle drum the deer is indeed caught but not killed, as is normally done. The lasso is perhaps the equivalent of the trap of the Bagobo and Visayans. One of the most important spirits of the Bagobo,¹⁸⁹ "Malaki" the protector of Bagobo life, wealth and health, is a strangler and uses a device that looks like a noose. He is a "good" spirit supposed to kill the evil spirits of sickness. If the deer of Lumabat is really the deer of death, it also released the spirits of sickness. The two previous sub-paragraphs might prove that the "horizon" can be a feature to be reckoned with in myths.

6. Identity of Centre and Horizon.

Trap, water, noose, forest, all mentioned, e.g. in the myth of the lizard, seem to symbolize one and the same thing, the horizon. In many Indonesian myths the tree serves as the ladder to, or the link with, the sky. It usually seems to stand or to have stood in "the centre." The liana, a cord made of grass,¹⁹⁰ or a mountain¹⁹¹ may take the place of a tree. Pole and pestle may belong to the same category. The Visayans¹⁹² use all these symbols in their myth of origin with an intrigue different from that of the Bagobo yet similar in essential respects. A pole, liana or tree are cut and thus the link between the sky and earth is severed; the pestle achieves, by pushing the sky upwards beyond reach, the same effect and becomes identical with the cut liana, eventually with the cut pole, the broken down scaffold or the demolished mountain. Among the Bagobo some of these symbols are found in the centre as well as at the horizon (forest). Perhaps this is in itself possible because a circle (horizon) and the centre of a circle are interdependent. In the myth of Tuglibong, the sky and earth still meet¹⁹³ at the horizon indeed. This must mean that the horizon has the same function now that the centre once had. Therefore Lumabat can go to the horizon in order to find there either life or another rhythm of life, perhaps the rhythm

189. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 21.

190. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 127.

191. Fischer, *Paradiesmythen*, p. 225.

192. Demetrio, *Studies*, p. 359-360.

193. Benedict, *Myths*, p. 15.

of sun and/or moon. The discovery of such an identity between centre and horizon creates for a composer possibilities for new intrigues. For instance, "traveling" from centre to horizon and vice versa is made possible. The heroes traveling between the two points can go now through many more adventures than if they were to stay at the central point only, and nevertheless centre and horizon would ultimately remain identical in meaning and function. The story of the origin of marriage and death can now become completely separated from the story of the origin of death by killing. The first can be staged in the centre; the other partially on the horizon and partially in the centre, or completely on the horizon. This could mean that all life and, therefore, also death which supposes new life in another world, can originate either at the central "point" or at the rim of the "extended" circle, at the horizon. Both would be an equally "sacred" place. One finds this indeed in the myth of Hainuwele¹⁹⁴ where the connection between centre and horizon as the Wemale conceive it is well revealed. The forest or horizon where the pig was caught by the hunter is also "the tree," because the pig comes out of this forest (tree) and carries on its tusks "the tree" in the form of a coconut. The hunter plants this nut (tree) in the neighborhood of his house (the center). The tree that develops or grows is the central tree that yields the treasure girl Hainuwele who is subsequently killed there and typically in the center of a dancing crowd. The victim came from the horizon (forest) and was killed in the centre. The forest (tree) is here the tree at the horizon, but the coconut (its fruit) in the village of the hunter becomes a central tree. Both must be the same. The girl herself is also the tree; she likewise came "from" the horizon in the nut that is now the central tree. This way centre and horizon both appear to be equivalent symbols of life and death. The horizon can be the mouth that swallows but also the tree that yields a new fruit, and consequently a central tree. Centre and horizon in myths would both contribute to the "explanation" of the mysterious phenomenon of life as it is. In the far away undiscovered and unseen horizon the element of mystery in life and death took its hiding.

194. Jensen, *loc. cit.*, p. 114-115, 155-156.

7. Sacrificial Character of Centre and Horizon in Bagobo Culture.

Granted that centre and horizon are functionally identical, it would be right to suppose that traps and nooses, also animals like fish, lizard, deer, etc., caught far away in such traps or nooses, or fruit plucked on a far away mountain or forest but carried to the centre, symbolize primarily this horizon. The animals however are analogous to or identical in significance to the central tree or its fruit, as was demonstrated before. They also appear all together in the famous Javanese Wayong requisite, the "gunungan" or "kakayon," which words mean "hill" and "tree." In this "tree" also the house and even the monster, the spirit of the forest, appears which can be the swallowing horizon or the devouring centre.

Lumabat's action (the killing of the mysterious deer) would now in essence not be different from the cutting of the liana (symbol of centre), the demolishing of the central tree or mountain, and the action of pestle and mortar or even of the scolding. If the centre as centre has to be symbolized, usually a fixed object will serve, a liana, mortar and pestle, tree or mountain; if the horizon is to be brought in, an object that can move will serve, a pig or a deer, a fish or (very sophisticated) a nut (tree) (carried by a man) that changed into a girl. In this last case (the killing of Hainuwele) fruit, tree, pig and girl were all represented in one; perhaps "the father" is even included. The object at the horizon has usually to be carried or to be guided home, to "the house," which would mean centre, but in that case movement, which is a characteristic of man or animal, is necessary. The one who can meaningfully guide and escort animals to the house is usually the man, the hunter or the fisherman. Perhaps, therefore, man is often associated with horizon, the woman who used to stay at home is associated with centre and tree.

All this means that symbols such as tree, liana or mountain, (centre), are likely to appear in a story wherein the connection between sky and earth is broken. Symbols like man or an animal (horizon) would probably be found in a story concerned with the direct introduction of death by killing. For this purpose mountain or tree at the horizon may even "change" into pig, girl, deer or anything that can move (and die). When these

beings of flesh and blood primarily associated with the horizon are killed and death is thus "introduced," the specific "sacrificial character" of the act becomes for us more transparent than when a liana (centre) is cut. But perhaps one should consider the first primeval action (the cutting of the link) as pregnant with the second just as the centre is with the horizon. In the first static objects (tree, liana, mountain) are used as symbols; in the second, animal life. The word "sacrifice" can now mean the destruction of tree, mountain, cutting of liana or pole, (which are usually associated with centre) as well as the killing of animal, girl, giant or child (which are usually associated with horizon). It would be an optical illusion to consider the horizon associated with "sacrifice" and the centre not; unless one restricts "sacrifice" to the purely technical act of "killing." The object to be killed is only "killed" because items coming from the horizon usually have animal life. In meaning and significance, functionally, there would be no difference. This is clear in the myth of Hainuwele where fruit, tree, animal and girl, horizon and centre simply change into one another. They are the same there, and this could be also the case elsewhere.

Admitted now that these events of primeval times are sometimes celebrated today, the ritual performance must reflect the picture acquired by studying the myths. The music, made by pounding on drums (mortars), together with the circling dances on three of the four days of the Bagobo festival would not only enhance such a celebration but actually represent the creation and separation of the sky, earth and underworld. They would be evocative of the actions in the "centre", around the mortar and pestle. The sacrifice of animal life, performed by the Bagobo e.g. on the last day, would represent the action associated with the horizon (animal life). The one includes the other, however, or the one presupposes the other, i.e., the last day of the Bagobo celebration, on which the victim is killed, would follow logically from the first days which represented and celebrated the separation of sky and earth and the formation of the horizon. The first days of the festival would celebrate the mythical activities in the centre, the last day the mythical activities associated with the horizon. In essence they would be the same. The Bagobo festival would appear then as a compact celebration of the whole of creation and not as some

unconnected days of ritual music and finally of a day of sacrifice. The ritual music on pestle and drum (mortar), as well as the dances, would be already "sacrifice" in a "wider sense." They would celebrate the creation of the cosmos as it is, including sky and underworld, while the "sacrifice" in "the strict sense" would celebrate the creation of mortal man but as a logical consequence, conceived as the necessary completion of the previous acts and events. Everybody, even if the last part, the sacrifice of man or animal, is partially reserved to the male faithful only, would celebrate the creation of the whole cosmos as it is today.

Unfortunately, since the myths of Lumabat and Mebuyan appear as independent myths implying contrasting origins of death, the above explanation can be nothing more than a suggestion forced upon the mind by the final identity here of centre and horizon and by the seemingly coherent Bagobo celebration in four days. This explanation however would allow much in Bagobo myth and rite to fall into place. In general terms it could mean that according to the Bagobo idea man and woman both are responsible for the mortality and fertility of "man," both of them in their own proper way, working independently of each other because of a quarrel (separation) but ultimately achieving one and the same effect. It would be good to cast an eye on the sacrificial rite of the Bagobo itself and find out whether the ceremonies used in that rite also corroborate what was suggested above.

IV. The Sacrificial Rite of the Bagobo

1. Pit and Pole

The Bagobo might celebrate the introduction of death and the saving of mankind by Lumabat through a recitation of the myth, but the most solemn celebration and a more impressive one was their sacrificial rite in which a human being was sacrificed. Such human sacrifices were still offered regularly in Bagobo settlements at the time the Americans established their rule in the Davao area in the first decade of this century. This

is asserted by Cole¹⁹⁵ and Benedict,¹⁹⁶ who describe the rite extensively according to witnesses whom they consider reliable.

A striking feature in this ceremony was the "altar." The victim was tied to a pole. This pole with two other poles planted at the left and the right, carried a 4th pole that lay horizontally upon the three vertical poles. This last one was covered with foliage. The foliage probably represents the branches of a tree. The victim was sometimes directly tied to a tree. The poles, with or without the horizontal pole on top, formed a gate. This centre or "house" (central gate) could coincide with the "gate" meaning the symplegades or the horizon, as one symbol is enough for both the gates. If this is correct the victim may coincide with house and symplegades or with centre and horizon as well. On the Javanese Kakayon the tree also appears with a devouring monster drawn without perspective, either within its centre where the first branches spread or on its top.

The Bilaan¹⁹⁷ have almost the same ceremony the Bagobo have. They go to a stream or to the forest outside the barrio; sometimes they build there a "house" around the place of execution and the victim is killed in the house but tied the way the Bagobo do. In front of the Bagobo and Bilaan victim a hole was dug. This was used to receive the fragments of the dismembered body and thus served as a grave. The victim was either a slave or a captive. Usually¹⁹⁸ he came from afar and was either captured by the heroes or acquired by the rich of the community from foreign lands or tribes, or caught as a thief.¹⁹⁹ The victim in the centre, like Hainuwele, represents now also totality (centre and horizon). The two symbols, pit and pole, recall the myths of Bebuyan and Lumabat, the burial of Hainuwele and Mebuyan, and the catching of the deer of Lumabat at the gates of the horizon (poles) where the entrance to the sky-country is located. The victim would represent the primeval deer killed again but now by a dancing crowd of Bagobo, both men and women, who surround the victim, cut it to pieces (like Hainuwele) and bury it in the "kutkut," the

195. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 119, 116-120.

196. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 167-169.

197. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 145-146.

198. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 167-169, footn. 261, 162 footn. 223.

199. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 145 footn. 2, 146.

pit. The victim is first cut in two at the waist and then cut into smaller pieces. It is interesting to read that the heroes of the Isneg²⁰⁰ were accustomed during their great festival to cleave a coconut in two. All the people would then rush forward to get a small piece of the coconut meat and take it home. The nut must be the equivalent of the "tree" (or the human victim). What the Bagobo do in reality with the human victim, the Isneg seem to do with the tree in the form of a nut. The Bagobo,²⁰¹ too, take pieces of the victim home, and the hands and feet were not buried in the *kutkut* but were taken to the village to be dismembered further by the children. This was their share in the sacrifice and perhaps the first part of their initiation. The Bilaan²⁰² permit their women and children to throw spears at the victim, which reminds us of a sacrificial ceremony of the Dusun in North Borneo.²⁰³ The victim is associated here with the path to the sky and back to the earth which is here symbolized by a scaffold and a rope. In the Dusun myth the scaffold is destroyed; in the Dusun rite the rope is let loose so that the victim (pig) falls on the ground which effect is similar to that if the rope were cut. One will rarely see a case where the victim to die is so identical with the primeval links between sky and earth. The ceremony is called here "Lumobut."

The Bagobo children were charged to cut the hands and feet of the victim, an act expected to make them "courageous."²⁰⁴ The Malay word for courageous is "berani" which is etymologically the Bagobo word "bagani" and the Tagalog "bayani". These *bagani* and *bayani* are perhaps "peers" in the inter-*barangay* (*barangay* is the Tagalog word for extended family) relationship. The Bagobo *bagani* had killed and formed the tribal nobility.

The fragments of hands and feet of the victim mentioned were later buried on the graves of the dead²⁰⁵ in the village, which shows a relation of the sacrifice with the dead. Some

200. Vanoverberg, Isneg, p. 152, 213.

201. Benedict, Ceremonial, p. 142.

202. Cole, Wild Tribes, p. 146.

203. Evans, Dusun, p. 356.

204. Benedict, Ceremonial, p. 169.

205. Cole, Wild Tribes, p. 115.

other parts of the victim²⁰⁶ were taken to the ceremonial house. These, during a peculiar nightly ceremony, were put on plates together with food and products of the fields and placed on a small altar that hung from the ceiling as an offering to the spirits of fertility (rejuvenation), the Tolus Kabalaekat. "Tolus" means "semen." The Tolus is seemingly associated with the sky or the mountain (?). Only men plus a few boys, seated in an enclosure, take direct part in this nightly Bagobo ceremony. The women only look on. The night ceremony could be the last part of an initiation rite undergone only by male children. It is interesting to note that part of the food offered to the spirits and eaten by the male attendants was "venison"²⁰⁷ (which recalls the deer), and that some of this food was cooked in "green bamboos"²⁰⁸ (which recalls the monkey). The connection between violent death (sacrifice) and fertility (rejuvenation) clearly appears in the offering of parts of the killed victim to the Tolus, the spirit of fertility. The boys who participated in the sacrifice became, so it would seem, mortal and fertile men, hunters and future warriors. For final and complete initiation into the order of the *bagani*, an expedition might be necessary later.

From William G. Beyer we get the assurance that killing in war is in the Ifugao country definitely associated with fertility. The rite is called "Dikat" in Central and Southern Ifugao, "Dallong" in North and East. It is done when a couple do not beget children. Only if they remain unfertile after the rites do they divorce. Unlike the Bagobo sacrifice, the Ifugao rite is concerned with "war," but it seems to point in the same direction.²⁰⁹

Urns (or jars) and poles are standard signs of burial or death throughout Indonesia. The two are closely related to pit and pole which are in turn associated with mortar and pestle, the symbols of creation in Bagobo land and, throughout Indonesia, the symbols of fertility.

The Bagobo ceremony of a killed victim tied to the pole, cut to pieces, and buried in the pit in front of him can, if all

206. Benedict, Ceremonial, p. 142-143, footn. 212, Cole Wild Tribes, p. 112, 118.

207. Benedict, Ceremonial, p. 146, 140.

208. Benedict, Ceremonial, p. 140, 139.

signs do not deceive us, hardly leave much doubt about its meaning. It is probably the celebration of the first and violent death which, for the Bagobo, is the ultimate consequence of the actions around pestle and mortar and the celebration of an event first performed and of an institution founded by the ancestors at the end of the "earthly paradise" when "man" became mortal and was to be rejuvenated (fertility) in his descendants but had also to migrate (individually) into another world. The first ancestors would be the perpetrators of both deeds, of death for the individual and of rejuvenation for the tribe and this for all eras to come or at least for this era. This first killing and the separation of sky and earth, because of the identity of centre and horizon, would be celebrated in the same act and with the same symbols. Pit and pole symbolize the victim, the victim represents pit and pole or pestle and mortar. The great "feast" of the Bagobo that embellishes the celebrations would only show how intimately society and religion are integrated. But there is more than just singing, dancing and drinking as Christie thought (Chapter Two, IV, 2.).

There are many more ceremonies in the sacrificial rite of the Bagobo than those mentioned here, some of them quite remarkable, that would deserve to be discussed separately. Several ceremonies as well as the name of the Bagobo festival, "Kewayan," remind us of what the Javanese *dalang* of old does before the Wayang performance in Java begins.

2. Idols of the Mansaka.

The Mansaka, close neighbours of the Bagobo, give their little idols made out of wood the shape of the stone burial jars discovered some years ago in the caves of Western Mindanao by Dr. Maceda. These jars, though sometimes quadrangular, are mostly round, tall and barrel-shaped. The upper part of the container is somewhat wider than the foot and is covered by a removable lid that sometimes looks like the roof of a house, or is shaped like a pagoda or a mountain. It may have a protuberance in the centre that can take the form of a tall pole like a *lingam* or a top. At other times it is a human

209. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 111, 119, Benedict, *Ceremonial* p. 160-161. footn. 222, 223, etc.

head with eyes, ears and nose scantily incised. One cover has the form of a roof (or mountain?) which, however, looks like a human head. Houses with a similar type of roof are still built in Alor, an island in the eastern part of the Lesser Sunda Islands.²¹⁰ Arms also appear on the jars or covers at times, but only in relief, and the feet are always invisible. The human figure looks as if it were sitting in the jar and the upper torso rising out of it.

The idols of the Mansaka still have such a shape today. However they are made out of one piece of solid wood. The lower part usually has the form of a square-shaped container which widens (like the burial jars) from the foot below to the rim above. The very foot of the container is flattened a bit in order that it may not tumble over. What should be the cover on top is now one piece with the massive container, but looks like a protuberance with a human head on it. It seems to pop out of the jar with ears like half moons and a face like a full moon not unsimilar to the figures on the vats discovered by Kaudern in Celebes.²¹¹ On the "head" is a big comb like a half moon. Eyes, nose and mouth are sometimes drawn but not incised. The arms are in relief at the outside of the container, the feet are lacking. The idols are further embellished with beads, earrings, and other kinds of gaudy things. Often these items are simply put in the basket that hangs at the foot of the statue. The Ngaju Dayak have similar statues but they make them of stone and place them on their graveyards. The Mansaka put these idols on sticks placed in the ground or in their house and hang small baskets on these sticks as receptacles for gifts. The implication can hardly be doubted. The idol in jar-form must be a sacred object of worship. This would be understandable if it would represent the underworld and the upperworld, the pit and the pole, the realm of Lumabat as well as of Mebuyan who made man as he actually is in this earthly world, and who are also his guides and saviors in the life to come. It would also represent all the glorified ancestors who have undergone the required rites (see next chapter). It would be a monument to creation and to the institution of death

210. Dubois, Alor, p. 32 plate XVI.

211. v. Heekeren, *The Bronze Age*, plate 22, 23, 24, 25.

212. Schärer, *Ngaju Religion*, plate XXV.

with its implications introduced by the ancestors and regularly celebrated in the rites by the tribe.

If these idols were the former burial jars, the Mansaka must have practised secondary burial, once the end of a great festival intended primarily for the dead. The burial jar in which the bones were placed was at that time the monument of this successfully held festival. Secondary burial is no longer practised by the Mansaka but the festival in which a sacrifice is offered was still held at the beginning of this century. The little idols in the form of the former jars would be the traces left of these great festivals. The idols in the form of jars kept in the houses at home must have replaced the real stone jars, the usual monuments of these rites, in which the bones were buried and that were perhaps placed and kept in caves in the inaccessible mountains, as the Manobo of Cotabato did.

The Bagobo and Manobo today prefer small houses, the *tambara*, for worshipping the spirits at home to the idols in jar-form of the Mansaka. The "houses" are placed on poles with baskets for gifts, all like the jar-shaped idols of the Mansaka. The consecration of these *tambara*, in which the spirits will reside, takes place during a great Bagobo festival which is often held for the dead.²¹³ If this is correct the spirits would not only come to dances, or be attracted by gifts and colors, but also the *tambara*-"house", the monuments or souvenirs of the festival, would invite them to take up residence there. Rites as well as monuments of rites would re-present the spirits. Small houses called prayerstands by Benedict and jars with covers in the form of roofs can well all be identical indeed, and so can the idols and the sacred poles be of the Mansaka.

3. Remarks on the Bagobo Celebrations.

It is amazing that the Bagobo do not celebrate the origin of marriage and fertility as such. At least, such a celebration e.g. in licentious intercourse was not recorded either by Benedict or by Cole. One gets the impression that the Bagobo favour only what they consider an orderly and well-arranged celebra-

213. Stutterheim, Indonesia Archaeology, p. 77, 83, 84, Benedict, Ceremonial, p. 126 (cf note; 138).

tion of their four-day festival.²¹⁴ They discourage drunkenness as it leads to debauchery and to killing even among friends. The ritual killing of a human victim was perhaps enough to compensate for restraint and suppression during the year. We know that other tribes, who also celebrate the beginnings, positively favour licentious practices during such festivals. They lift, for instance, the ban that forbids marital infidelity. The Ngaju Dayak studied by Schärer is a well-known example. A similar practice existed also among some groups on the island of Flores, for instance, in Maomere. The festival there with the so-called Togo dance (a dance to and fro in a circle) during the festival was an occasion for young people to make love. Schärer²¹⁵ explains that for the Ngaju Dayak this is the celebration of the paradise, the period before the customs that regulate married life came into existence. For the Bagobo it would be a celebration of the last days of the paradise also, when the mythical beings began to practise intercourse that finally ended that period, and led, under Mebuyan and Lumabat, to established married life, social regulations, agriculture and death. But death and fertility are for them interrelated. To celebrate the one is logically to include the other. It is possible that bitter experience during festivals has led the Bagobo to observe more sobriety in this matter so that even in the myth of Mebuyan free intercourse finally no longer appears. The pounding of rice and the music made on mortars together with the dances described in the first two chapters have perhaps sufficiently replaced in a symbolic manner what was once or could be interpreted as intercourse and its direct celebration.

The summary of this first part of the Lumabat myth will be offered at the end of Chapter Five in which the second part of the myth will be discussed. It would be possible to dwell here upon the personality of Lumabat, comparing him with similar personalities in the myths of other Filipino tribes, but it seems less necessary than in the case of Tuglibong. Suffice it to say that the Visayans had a spirit Captan²¹⁷ who amongst

214. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 110, 201, (36).

215. Schärer, *Gottesidee*, p. 66.

216. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 118, Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 143, footn. 212, Demetrio, *Studies*, p. 370.

217. Loarca, *Relacion*, Blair & Robertson, Vol. V, p. 173.

other things is supposed to have planted the first plant and who was able to resurrect the dead from the grave, two characteristics that remind us of Lumabat. The spirit Captan has his residence in the sky and is close to the highest (Tagalog) god Bathala. The Visayans also have a spirit Manguayan²¹⁸ who shares some of Captan's powers but who ferries the dead to the underworld across a stream. Lumabat is more similar to Captan, and Manguayan more to the Bagobo Mebuyan, a woman, whose name reminds of Manguayan. There must, so it seems, also be a relation between the Bagobo Lumabat and the Ifugao Lumawig as well as the Dusun ceremony, Lumobut.²¹⁹ It seems that personalities, functions and associations of spirits can shift and also that tribes sometimes retain only one pole of a former antagonism neglecting the other that withers away; or they substitute this with a pole belonging to another antagonism thus melting two sets of antagonisms together.

Lumabat was sent by Manama, perhaps the equivalent of the Visayan sky god²²⁰ "Abba." Lumabat's sister, Mebuyan, is the daughter to Tuglibong and perhaps sent or delegated by her. Ultimately these two would be close to the former two and eventually coincide with them and be identified, one with the earth and Tuglibong, the other with the sky and Manama. They are an only son and an only daughter. They would just set forth what the parents were. The Bagobo horizon would be ultimately the equivalent of the sky, which is among the Bagobo more associated with evil and suffering. Goodness and wisdom are associated here usually with the underworld. This could have induced the Bagobo to tear asunder the path of the souls into two distinct paths. The benign effect would have been attributed to the so-called path of Mebuyan; the painful aspect of the path of the souls would have become characteristic of the path of Lumabat. This will be the topic of the next chapter.

218. Loarca, *ibidem*.

219. Beyer, *Folk Art*, p. 7, Scott, *Cordillera*, p. 128-130, Evans, *Dusun*, p. 354.

220. Pigafetta, *Voyage*, Blair & Robertson Vol. XXXIII. p. 127.

I. Lumabat's Trip to the Sky-Country

1. The Pilgrimage to the Source of Life.

The first part of the myth of Lumabat discussed in the preceding pages may be considered a version of the Wemale myth of Hainuwele-Mulua Satene with a male counterpart as central character. This myth of Lumabat, together with some elements from the myth of Mebuyan, seems to be a more or less complete parallel of the myth of the Wemale. However, as was pointed out earlier, while the Wemale mention the violent death of Hainuwele as the only cause of the end of mythical times, the Bagobo suggest in the myth of Mebuyan that "intercourse" was also a cause. This may be one reason why they formed a double myth, one of Lumabat where there is killing and the other of Mebuyan without. But the Bagobo composer had also to provide a story now wherein Lumabat, who found his own path, appeared as a psychopomp or a guide of the dead as Mebuyan and Mulua Satene are. Whether this second part has always been an integral part of the myth is difficult to ascertain. The link seems somewhat artificial, although not illogical, and it is what the Bagobo tell.

In the preceding pages, it has been suggested that centre and horizon, pit and mountain, pestle and mortar, may be all basically the same. It would be the place or source of creation, life and death. Death, however, for the Bagobo and others, seemed to be only another form of life in another country. Dying could thus be a return to the source of life in order to gain there a new form of life and Lumabat would be (at least once) the guide or pathfinder, a psychopomp. By the action of Tuglibong the centre was removed to the horizon where sky and earth still meet. There the condition of the primeval "origin" still exists and Lumabat is associated with it as the two women were with the centre. This "return" is like a journey along a difficult path. There are adventures along the way, one after the other. Such paths with the conventional trials²²¹ are well-known throughout the Malay countries. It is

221. Demetrio, *Studies*, p. 363.

interesting to see that the Bagobo have stored the tradition of this awful "soul-path" in the myth of Lumabat, but that they have barely mentioned trials on and even have made easy the path of Mebuyan into her underworld. Suffering is for the Bagobo associated with the sky.

In the first part of the myth discussed in Chapter Four Lumabat goes to the horizon and, circling around the mountain, catches the deer and brings death and rejuvenation to the centre. In this way he extends creation by making individual man mortal and fertile. In essence his action is the same as the more simple one of Mebuyan. She stays at home and, being in the centre, whirls down into the earth where she awaits all mankind, thus making them mortal while still taking care of fertility on earth. Mebuyan awaits the dead in the very centre, in her house in the underworld which is easy to find. Lumabat, the bringer of death and rejuvenation, must travel with his followers to the sky (horizon), and a pretty adventurous trip will be necessary. The sky is far beyond land and ocean and the spirits of the sky, obviously do not like Tuglibong whose "offspring" the mythical beings are, and they refuse to let them in.

It should always be borne in mind that centre and horizon would remain nevertheless functionally the same. Perhaps, as was mentioned in the previous Chapter Four, IV, 1, there is a Javanese equivalent to this, the Javanese Kekayon, also called Gunungan, a requisite of the Wayang play. This requisite represents the central tree, but in its centre where the branches split often a devouring monster appears. This could be the monster of the forest or the horizon, showing how tree (centre) and monster (horizon) are the same, not only a symbol of the beginning but also of reabsorption at the very end of the process of life, which is death. Reabsorption however would eventually mean "rebeginning."

2. The Symplegades and the Monster; Bagani and Kakihan.

The most striking part in the trip of Lumabat is his passing by the symplegades. These have been discussed previously and it was mentioned (Chapter Four, III, 5, a, page 87.) that the

Javanese have a similar story in which the god Semar²²² acts as a guide for a certain expedition. On arriving at the symplegades, he orders them to open up. Then follows his fight with the beings in the sky. It seems that there is some similarity in the Bagobo myth with this Javanese version, since Lumabat also passes through the gates and starts the fight with the sky beings. In one version he speaks authoritatively, "You go higher up," but the sky refused. Lumabat had to offer a man first. In the end, Lumabat nevertheless becomes the great god or the king in the sky country.

The Wemale have an initiation rite for the members of the Kakihan society which resembles also the fight in the myth of Lumabat. This is the rite of Nitu²²³ Haulu, a man-eating monster which the members of the society are said to face after they have jumped into a hole and are beaten up by invisible actors in a dark room. In this rite the monster and the heroic deeds of a hero, Tanku Telie,²²⁴ are dramatized by the initiandi and the initiators. This monster has a chthonic character or it is perhaps like the Wemale spirit Tuwale²²⁵ ambivalent. For the rest, the monster Nitu Haulu resembles the Bagobo monster of the horizon. He must be the equivalent of the symplegades that appears in the myth of Lumabat in the form not of rocks that open and shut as they did for Semar but as the jaws of a devouring animal. The monster of the Bagobo catches those who fail to jump properly and grinds these unfortunates to stones and "sand." The Bagobo monster, located where sky and earth meet, could have the characteristics of both. In the person of Lumabat the Bagobo may have a counterpart to the Wemale Tanku Telie. The devouring monster, located by the Bagobo at the horizon, is a common characteristic of the Indelible Elements as will appear in the next paragraph.

Without anticipating what would belong to the conclusion or to another discussion it seems necessary to mention here that the Wemale have 2 parallel societies in their tribe, the Kakihan²²⁶

222. Mellema, *Wayang*, p. 19 (18), 48 (85), 53.

223. Jensen, *Drei Ströme*, p. 149, 159-162.

224. Jensen, *loc. cit.*, p. 149, 92.

225. Jensen, *loc. cit.*, p. 88, 100, 98, 117, 193.

226. Jensen, *loc. cit.*, p. 80-85.

secret society and the Wapulane society. The Kakihan has the rite of Haulu, while the Wapulane²²⁷ cherish the myth of Hainuwele-Mulua Satene. A comparison of the two need not be made here but it is a fact that the antagonism between the two societies may foster a difference in their myth and rite. While the Wemale now show a vertical division inside the tribe, like two moieties, (Wapulane group versus Kahihan group), the Bagobo have a horizontal division into classes and as far as is known,²²⁸ no division into moieties or clans. The separation between the higher and the lower brackets of Bagobo society is in many respects strong. The higher class is the ruler in worldly and religious matters; its members are the leaders in politics and rites. To this higher class belong the men who are warriors, the Bagani,²²⁹ who have a special relation to the sky spirit called Mandarangan,²³⁰ who will be discussed in another article. They form an esoteric²³¹ group within the society which has to be studied further. All these show that the story of Lumabat as a psychopomp to the sky-country is perhaps not merely a literary requirement after all. The character of the story, as far as it is associated with the sky, could have a meaning connected with this Bagobo social phenomenon and thus be important for a fuller understanding of things Bagobo. As in the case of sacrifice and symbol it would not necessarily mean that antagonism in myth or rite would have produced this social antagonism.

Returning now to the conclusion previously made, that the main feature in the myth of Lumabat—the awful jaws—is not exceptional in the stories of the Malay Archipelago, some more similarities between the Bagobo myth and Wemale rite will be discussed. One of these may be found in the trip to the abode of the monster and the events that follow after passing it.

3. The Trip of Lumabat and the Rite of Kakihan.

The story of the Bagobo, a complicated and composite myth, that will be compared this time with a rite of the Wemale. To

227. Jensen, *loc. cit.*, p. 110–125.

228. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 95.

229. Cole, *loc. cit.*, p. 96, Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 10, 254, 255.

230. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 254, 162, 25–26.

231. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 96.

begin with, the members of the Kakihan²³² take a ceremonial bath before they are initiated. In the Bagobo myth, Lumabat crosses the ocean. Both symbols (bath-ocean) intend to reflect a separation just as the symplegades (gates) do between the life before and the life to come, and this separation or severing will often be a great challenge. Water is like a gate, always an end and a beginning. If the entering into and the stay in the water are stressed, severing and danger will predominate. If the exit and rebirth are emphasized, the bath will generally appear as benign. Sometimes both are mentioned but the one always supposes the other. We see now that in the ceremonial bath the Wemale have probably dramatized in a rite the crossing of the ocean, or the painful separation between the life before and the initiation to come. A ceremonial bath is explicitly mentioned in the Bagobo myth of Mebuyan, but here it accommodates the dead to their new life and makes death definite. Although it is also a separation from the former life, a return to this former life after bathing is no longer desired by the dead. The benign effect is stressed here and the dead are even anxious now to take up the new form of life in the new country. The bath alone would suffice to enable them to acquire a new life but many tribes prefer to link symbols of equal value (heat, earth, etc.) together and thus prolong the ritual or the suspense of the audience.

The Bagobo pilgrims make the trip on foot and are severely punished if they speak during the trip or if they try to give information concerning the goal or purpose of the trip. They perish right on the spot. The path is "flanked" by trees (vegetation) and stones (the earth) that speak and ask tempting questions. The travelers are tried not only by the Element water but also by "earth" and "vegetation." One may also recall here the well-known prohibition not to look backwards. It seems that the pilgrims must forget and abandon everything, and are not allowed to linger on. Determination is necessary, death is finality. The Wemale have made it taboo to reveal the secrets of their initiation to those who are not initiated or are left behind. The myth shows that not only water but also vegetation and earth have devouring power. They are

232. Jensen, *Drei Ströme*, p. 91, 161.

Indelible Elements.

The Bagobo arrive at the symplegades, the "doors" where sky and earth meet, the entrance to the Beyond. The Wemale arrive at the initiation house (gates) built in the forest. The forest (tree) is here the end of the inhabitable world and (the beginning of) the horizon. The Wemale initiandi now enter the house and find a dark menacing hole in the floor. This could be a dramatization of the arrival of the followers of Lumabat before the threatening jaws of the symplegades. The Bagobo have to jump through the teeth of the monster, each one alone and in his turn, into the nowhere, into darkness. Many fail or are crushed by the jaws and disappear into eternal death. Other tribes have an abyss to cross while balancing on liana or rope. Those who lose balance and fall, vanish, or, e.g., if the moral issue is known, might arrive in a pool of torment. The liana or rope that cross an abyss are in a horizontal position, but they are the same liana or rope that appears elsewhere in a vertical position (earth and sky). Jaws and abysses are also identical. The Bagobo who fail and disappear could be the poor and the wretched,²³³ or those who are not valiant, hence, not "Bagani." The Bagobo associate heroism with the sky.

The hole in the house of the Wemale is fearsome and each one must jump into it alone. He hears the cries and the shouts of those who have preceded him and have arrived in a dark room where they are actually beaten up. The hole and the subsequent beating of the Wemale seem to represent the (crushing) monster of the Bagobo.

The Wemale sacrifice a pig during the performance. Lumabat offers a more precious victim. As he stands in front of the doors, he deliberately allows the last man to follow him to be snatched by the horrible jaws. The last man is, as far as the Bagobo are concerned, perhaps the least man. Was this last man intended as a victim, and was the "offer" of Lumabat to the spirit of the doors intended as a sacrifice? It seems so.

Once through the gates, the Bagobo climb uphill in contrast to the rite of the Wemale where everybody seems to go downward. In one version of the myth Lumabat sees (after he has reached the Beyond) "sinful souls" tortured in pools of flames

233. Demetrio, *Studies*, Vol. 14, p. 363-364.

and acid.²³⁴ The moral issue, in itself not necessarily of alien origin in a Malay tribe, need not be considered an originally constituent part of this myth. The flames and pools of acid beneath the path could formerly have been only a new element of danger confronting Lumabat. Neither is it likely that Lumabat saw "sinful souls" suffering over there because he was apparently the first to travel to the sky country. This part of the myth is suspect although only with reference to the suggestion of a moral issue and the presence of souls already there, since the Bagobo can expect to find heat on their path to the Beyond. The path leads through the horizon where sky and earth meet and where the scorching that overtook Tuglibong must still be felt. The Visayans,²³⁵ as will be discussed in the paragraph below, also undergo the heat ordeal on their soul-path without mentioning the moral issue. It is interesting to note, however, that in this particular myth the Bagobo associate heat with sinful behaviour. Anyway Lumabat cannot possibly have seen "souls" in the pools but Lumabat could have seen the pools prepared for "sinful souls." Perhaps in seeing the "souls" already in the pools, the composer was imaginatively peering into the future. The moral issue could or could not be an interpolation.

The Bagobo meet many obstructions, mostly sharp objects, on the last leg of their journey. Moreover, the spirits who have been occupying this "sky-country" before them surprisingly also show hostility by spitting upon them. Their "isse" (saliva) becomes sharp objects that cut into the flesh of the new comers. One is led to recall the grinding teeth of the monster, but the sharp objects and bodily excrements appear also in the Javanese stories about Semar.

After jumping into the dark room under the opening in the floor, the Wemale initiandi are received by men armed with sticks who beat the initiandi and wound them with their sharp bamboo spears. The Bagobo will finally be disemboweled, while the Wemale lose their flesh which is supposed to be eaten by the horrible Nitu Haulu. Then the initiandi are set free.

It seems rather certain now that there is a great similarity between the myth of the Bagobo about Lumabat, the psycho-

234. Benedict, *Myths*, p. 20.

235. Demetrio, *Studies*, Vol. 14, p. 364.

pomp, and the Wemale initiation rite of Kakihan. One may add that the nine hills of Mulua Satene, where the "souls" have to die and rise again, are also comparable to the path of Lumabat on which many disappear completely while others are able to overcome the challenge of death many times. There is, however, a difference with regard to the rite of Nituhaulu. In the myth of the Bagobo Lumabat seems the only survivor and becomes the highest god. In the rite of the Wemale all or most of the initiandi survive, although they undergo many tortures. It may mean that the Bagobo think of this path as not feasible for the common man and that all will go to Mebuyan as she proclaimed. On the other hand, the Wemale Kakihan still consider the path of Nituhaulu quite acceptable. As was mentioned before it is possible that this part of the myth of Lumabat had originally another place in the Bagobo set of myths.

Concerning how the Bagobo and Wemale acquired these clusters of symbols and intrigues, it seems reasonable to admit that the myth and rite of the Bagobo and Wemale are strongly determined by the Indelible Elements and partially a dramatization of death and burial as practiced by the tribe concerned, and decomposition, metaphorically applied to the "soul", and that borrowing from other cultures in everything was not per se necessary. This will be discussed in the next part of this chapter. The basic idea of Indelible Elements with their devouring and transforming character, was once widely spread not only in Greece but also in Egypt, India and China.

II. Death and the Elements

The first part of the myth of Lumabat celebrated the origin of "death in life;" the second part, the trip towards "life in death." The first part tells how death (in life) for the individuals came into the world and how the tribe became immortal. The second half shows how the individual thereafter gains (or regains) in the face of great challenges, where everything every time is at stake, the sources of life and eventually obtains "life in death." In the myth of Mebuyan the division of the two parts is not very clear although she also appears

as a psychopomp, but the challenges in it are much fewer and more benign from the start.

It is clear that the Bagobo can hardly produce any reliable datum on which to base either the vision they have of that "life in death," or of the path the "soul" follows to reach the "country of the dead." The fact that several tribes²³⁶ have stories about people who claim to have followed the path of the souls up to a certain point or who have seen it from the top of a hill, etc., only demonstrates the urgency of the problem. For the Bagobo Lumabat who was a god is their informant.

The nature of this path is now the subject of our inquiry. The awe of death, the myth of the beginning, and the natural process the dead body undergoes have, so it seems, in several of these cases served to provide imagination with the picture of the path of the soul. This would mean that the path Lumabat had blazed, the same path that the dead will take after *hīm*, is to a certain extent a parallel or a transposition on a higher level of the phenomena that occur in and around the dead body when the last breath is breathed. What happens to the body that returns to the Elements would happen also to the "soul" but in an analogous way. The path of the soul is not so much a passively undergone "process" however such as the dead has actively to undertake. Perhaps this also entails that the fate of the dead body can not be entirely indifferent to the "soul" (the dead person). This might help to explain partially how the burial rites developed. In the following pages it will appear that the return to the primeval elements is a painful process involving the body as well as the "soul" of the dead. The process in and on the body is visible and would partially serve as a pattern for what happens to the "soul" invisibly.

1. Return to the Elements.

The trip the "soul" of the Visayans²³⁷ makes is different from that of the Bagobo but some relevant similarities may be recognized. Here, too, the soul of the dead must travel and will be absorbed, not by a monster that "eats" it, but by a cave or hole in which fire burns. It will be seen that remnants of

236. Demetrio, *loc. cit.*, p. 383.

237. Demetrio, *loc. cit.*, p. 364.

the devouring element "fire" appear here and are associated with the underworld. The process of absorption is the same in both stories. However, the arrangement of the elements and the intrigue is different.

The Visayans now relate that a dead man traveled to the shore of the ocean where he boarded a boat in which a silent ferryman was seated. The dead asked him repeatedly where they were going but the ferryman kept silent. The ominous silence and loneliness of death enhance the character of great uncertainty that causes fear and agony. In the Bagobo myth the travelers were assailed by questioners. After the departure or the painful severing, the Bagobo dead had first to travel to the shore on foot. Upon reaching the shore they set out to cross the ocean. No mention is made here of how they cross the water. Perhaps,²³⁸ the Bagobo have a stick or a staff to "divide the waters." Those who use a magic wand would travel on foot to the shore but then they would have to cross the ocean walking on its bottom between two walls of water and finally reach the other shore. The number of possible combinations is legion. In all these stories the dead are usually "caught," walled in, between rocks or walls of water, as in a grave.

The Visayans tell that during the trip the soul, unwilling to proceed (lack of determination) and caught between the deep ocean and the ugly ferryman, attacked the ferryman and hit him on the nose. The ferryman seemed not to be too much disturbed but, on arrival on the opposite shore, he pitched the dead man down in a dark hole where it was hot.²³⁹ After going through three hot places, the "soul" would reappear and obviously be ready for a new life. The remarkable thing is that in this Visayan story, the path of the soul leads through water and heat, the primeval elements out of which many believe creation and life to have arisen. As they appear in the Visayan story, these elements "swallow" the dead. Neither are here the symbols of the beginning lacking, such as boat, mountain, tree, hole, sometimes in the more sinister form of pole, staff, rock, or cave. This must mean that the soul returns to the primeval elements of the beginning located now at the horizon, the far away shore. This return is difficult and full of dangers,

238. Demetrio, *loc. cit.*, p. 382.

239. Demetrio, *loc. cit.*, p. 364.

and is like a second birth but backwards. The hole into which the Visayan ferryman pushed the dead must be the symplegades of Bagobo, but everything is inverted. Instead of the "soul" being swallowed "by the gate," it is pitched "into the hole," as into a cauldron, by the ferryman. The ferryman is functionally the equivalent of the Bagobo monster that sits "behind" or "in" the gate. This Visayan ferryman looks as ugly as the monster but is not at all bad since the whole process is finally intended for the well-being of the soul. If the crossing of the ocean could be considered the "wet" symplegades, the Visayan hole would be the "hot" ones. Both ordeals challenge the dead at the end as flood and heat once threatened life on earth in the beginning.

Although the Bagobo also have "heat" as an ordeal at the beginning, they do not give it a conspicuous place, as the Visayan do at the end for the reabsorption. The Bagobo symplegades are mainly the entrance, the mouth of something that "devours" such as a monster, a dangerous or nasty spirit. Destructive or devouring by nature however are all the elements, of water as well as of fire, earth and darkness. They can all be represented by one devouring monster. In some myths or rites the monster appears linked to the element earth, in others to water or fire, but in this sort of stories all the elements will always somehow narrow, decrease or endanger and swallow life. The Bagobo have a devouring spirit called *Mandarangan*²⁴⁰ associated with heat, with the sky and the volcano Mount Apo, that perhaps should have appeared here in the myth of Lumabat instead of the monster that grinds to sand (earth). Actually the horizon is associated with both sky and earth, and the element "heat" appears anyway when Lumabat has passed the symplegades (the flames and the acid).

The Bagobo associated the earthly *Buso*²⁴¹ with the decay of the bodies. Perhaps they have reserved for the spirits of the other elements the more immaterial process the dead man undergoes after he has expired. The element earth seems to be for many Bagobo the principal devouring element, eventually for souls as well as for bodies, but the much feared *Buso* are associated with earth and darkness and take care principally

240. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 25-26.

241. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 29.

of the bodies. Other elements and their spirits, such as Malaki t'Olug Waig (water) and Mandarangan (heat) seem to have only the more immaterial task of transforming the "soul" and are less or not concerned about the dead bodies.

The whole dead man, body and "soul" both, would in this way be transformed, the bodies by the earth spirits Buso only, the souls however by the spirits that represent the more immaterial characteristics of all the three elements: earth, water and heat. This leads us to the topic of discussion below.

2. Process and Path.

The highlights in "the path" of the dead (soul) seem to run parallel now with the natural "processes" in the body. The first part of the process is depicted as a departure in silence, a severing of ties, and a setting out on a long trip alone, on a lonely, ghastly and irksome path. The dead "man," the "soul," is on his way, has "left," has "passed" away. Its body left behind does not react anymore and it is attacked and transformed into a skeleton by the Buso; the horrible process of fading away and decay. The body is "carried" to its grave. Thus, the body undergoes a process, but at the same time the soul on a higher level is supposed to experience something analogous. The "soul" participates more actively in the transition of the "dead man" and is supposed to "travel;" his adventures are supposed to be a trip or "path," not so much a "process," which applies to the body. The Bilaan²⁴² believe that when the body starts decaying (3 days), fading away, the soul "sails" away in a boat.

The narrowness of the path (or the boat) that makes the soul feel oppressed and almost annihilated is perhaps inspired by the narrowness of the grave or by the fear of death itself, or by both. The Bagobo liked to bury their dead in crocodile-shaped coffins.²⁴³ The narrow crocodile-shaped coffin might represent the monster that swallows and eats body and/or souls. Firmer ground for parallelism between the path of the soul and the process of bodily decay is had when we recall the statement that the dead man will be disemboweled. The myth of

242. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 144.

243. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 209, 187.

Mebuyan only says that the dead lose their earthly desires to eat and to generate. The power to do so, however, was situated in the organs of the body. Thus, as cited earlier, the visible decay of the body could suggest a "disembowelment" to be undergone by the dead (soul) in the Beyond, an immaterial process that transforms the dead into a sky or underworld being with different desires. A tribe in Palawan is used to carry the dead body to a river first and to submerge it. After this ceremony the dead is buried. This custom could be the ceremony a dead body has to undergo in order that the "soul" might go through a parallel experience (the crossing of "the ocean") of disappearing and rising again on a higher level. The custom of the secondary burial practised by many tribes could be interpreted in an analogous way. Here the (Indelible) Element Earth would be the active element. What happens in the grave would happen to the soul as well; the final exhumation and re-burial (secondary burial) in the jars would represent visibly the final transformation of the soul on the other level. Cremation (with "fire" as transforming element) would also have been understood by the Bagobo.

Thus the return of the body to its elements is partially responsible for the Bagobo picture of the path of the dead ("the soul") who leaves behind his former existence and travels to regain the sources of life, the primeval elements, in the centre or horizon, for a new life of different nature without the necessity to eat or the power to generate, the two characteristics of the life in the Beyond that seem to the Bagobo "spiritual" enough. This would be the dangerous path to the soul strewn with obstacles, narrowed by alleys of Elements like water and fire, through gates and along abysses where jumping and balancing are necessary before one can reach final "salvation," the transformation into another being belonging to another world and feeling happy to be there.

III. The Sacrifice and the Dead

Perhaps the story of the trip of Lumabat is attached to the previous myth about this spirit in order to teach that death, the inevitable fate of every human being, is the result

of the choice the tribe had made once in order to gain fertility or rejuvenation for the tribe instead of the "immortality" on earth of the individuals. This immortality ceased with the first killing. The living society, however, so the myth seems to teach, that now enjoys the gift of this life as it is, has the duty to conduct the individual through the gate of the Beyond where the Indelible Elements, for one reason or other, must be continuously activated to absorb the dead as well as to give new life to them. The sacrifice that now celebrates and activates the life-giving aspect of the beginnings, also commemorates and apparently stimulates the re-absorption of the dead in the process of revivification. This would be consequent, because if the sacrifice is salutary for the tribe in this life it must also be useful for the dead individuals who are the result or consequence of this primeval choice of mankind. Almost everybody takes transformation and life after death for granted. Sacrifice therefore would support and bolster the whole course and structure of this world to which it gave its shape, including life on earth and the processes of death in the Beyond. It is not surprising then to read that the dead of the Visayans²⁴⁴ can only be rescued from the heat in the Beyond into which they have proceeded, and find rest in the tree-covered mountains far away, if a sacrifice is offered by the family and friends of the dead. The dead are supposed, so it seems, to be lingering somewhere beyond the point of no return enclosed in the dark hot cauldron and without the help of an activating sacrifice they would not be able to get the process of their revivification into the new country finished. Some believe that this may be the reason why they are not yet completely departed and are able to bother the living. Life on earth would wither away if the Bagobo would not offer sacrifices to stimulate it from time to time,²⁴⁵ and so must life in the Beyond.

The spirits associated with the elements involved in the "life in death" process are not exactly kind and friendly, are usually voracious, and often gullible but not all bad. The necessity of

244. Demetrio, *Studies*, p. 368.

245. Benedict, *Ceremonial*, p. 149, Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 116-117.

246. Benedict, *Myths*, p. 20-21.

247. Demetrio, *Studies*, p. 364.

248. Demetrio, *Studies*, p. 382.

offering sacrifice for the dead appears sometimes in the shape of such demanding spirits who would receive the sacrifice (man, pig, fowl) as a kind of toll.²⁴⁶ Under this image the more mechanistic idea of inevitable reabsorption or "swallowing" into the elements, activated by the sacrifice, would seem to have taken cover. Offering is made to those spirits to prevent the "souls" from being held up unnecessarily long by these ogres. In the other more mechanistic view, however, the duration of the impersonal process would be abbreviated automatically by the activating sacrifice. A moral issue has probably nothing or not much to do with it, in either opinion.²⁴⁷ The Atchin²⁴⁸ tell how the dead takes a staff with him exactly the size of his own body. This staff can divide the waters, and on top of the staff the "soul" of a chicken appears in the form of feathers. This chicken was sacrificed by his friends and family after his departure. This magic wand now "brings him through" the dangers in the Beyond and especially past the ghastly devouring spirits. The process here is imagined as half automatic (the automatic division of the waters) and half propitiatory (the gullible waylaid spirits). In the mechanistic view this stick and sacrifice would automatically start the process of transformation or facilitate and accelerate magically the "trip" through the "ocean" or the "fire." In a more religious view of spirits it would serve as a quittance proving that the debt (blood) to the obstructing bloodthirsty spirits has been paid by the community.

We know that the Bagobo²⁴⁹ used to offer sacrifice for the dead, and one may expect it to appear in the last part of the myth of Lumabat as it seemingly does when Lumabat "sacrifices" the last man. A difficulty in this last part of the myth itself is the lack of information concerning the state of the pilgrim Lumabat and his companions. Are the pilgrims in the myth supposed to be the first dead only, or are they also exemplary, and were the Bagobo once used to "play dead," like the Kakihan do, as *initiandi* in an initiation rite? The last is perhaps more likely. The whole Bagobo community, men, women and children, would be supposed to dedicate themselves to death: formerly in a real rite, today by telling this story of the former "rite" of Lumabat. The story seems to be the

249. Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 104, 145.

description or the ground plan for an initiation rite indeed to be undergone as such by youngsters for the first time. It is very similar to the rite of the Kakihan society among the Wemale. As an independent rite, however, it seems not to exist anymore among the Bagobo but is perhaps included in the common sacrificial rite that the Bagobo used to repeat from time to time. In that rite the last man would die, "sacrificed" to the monster of the symplegades. The Kakihan sacrifice a pig during their initiation; the Bagobo would sacrifice the "last man." If one reads the reports of Bagobo sacrifices in Benedict and Cole this "last man" could well be the "least man" indeed, a slave or a prisoner. The human sacrifice in its completeness, including especially the nightly ceremony in which only the men and some young boys take part, could be the last but essential part of that initiation rite. It initiates into an understanding of the full life of the Bagobo, both individuals and community, which is in its first stage up to the dismemberment of the victim at the end of the sacrificial rite shared by women and children, while the last part, the nightly ceremony, is especially for the young men who are probably here and now made hunter and warrior. The Bagobo sacrifice "for the dead" would also be, as mentioned before, in essence exactly the same as the sacrifice primarily celebrating the origin of the world and of death in this life. This event made man really "man," and the world with sky and underworld as it actually is. Therefore the "gate" through which death entered into the world can be the same "gate" through which the dead person departs to gain a new life in the underworld or the sky. If this is correct the same Bagobo sacrificial rites can be celebrated for the living as well as the dead and they can be initiation rites at the same time for the youngsters. For the men further exploits may be required.

It seems indeed that most of the Bagobo hold the sacrifice to be somehow the central power in this world as it appears today. However, most of them or quite a number seem to prefer to let it function in the hands of spirits who are supposed to eat flesh or drink blood but to know how and to be willing to apply the benevolent effect of the sacrifice to the profit of the beings on earth, of those in the Beyond, and of their own selves, or to have replaced the Indelible Element

completely. The nature or character of these spirits is at least very much determined, so it seems to our mind, by these Indelible Elements mentioned.

Sacrifice supposes killing, the opposite of giving birth, which suggests that it must have a function beyond this world just as intercourse and fertility also seem to have. If fertility or giving birth is primarily the interest of Mebuyan, sacrifice and killing could be primarily the interest of the spirits in the sky and only man would be able to supply them. Today, the Bagobo associate sacrifice with Mandarangan,²⁵⁰ the spirit of heat often associated with the sky, who eats the fresh victims of sacrifice and war and drinks their blood and protects those who offer the victims to him. Mandarangan will be discussed further in another article. The Bagobo have not stated clearly whether this Mandarangan will give refuge only to those who were his worshippers or devotees on earth, e.g. warriors, or whether he is the not all bad ogre in the sky who is willing to bless and protect the community if only the tribal institution of war and sacrifice is kept by a few with the duties involved. This way the total community would reconcile the two conflicting tasks of giving life (birth) and taking life, of worshipping the underworld and the sky, centre and horizon, that finally are all identical. Mandarangan could be the counterpart to Mebuyan as far as Mebuyan is associated with the earth, and he could eventually be identified with her brother Lumabat.

The functions of the spirits representing the elements can overlap, and one figure, the ogre of the Beyond, could eventually represent all three or four Elements. All the Indelible Elements are devouring, whether associated with sky or earth. The devouring ogre of the Bagobo at the horizon between sky and earth seems to represent them all by its location and its typical devouring character.

IV. Lumabat the Psychopomp and God

The word Lumabat is probably etymologically related to the Malay "lompat" or the Visayan "labang," to jump. Luma-

250. Benedict, Ceremonial, p. 25.

bat would mean "the one who jumps", as indeed he successfully jumped through the symplegades. Lumabat is an ancestor, associated with the horizon and probably with the sky. He is the brother of Mebuyan, the spirit of the earth. He convinced the primeval beings to follow his path to the Beyond and guided them to the sky after he had killed a miraculous deer whose death caused general death on earth. Lumabat has a function similar to Mulua S. of the Wemale who was the queen of the mythical beings on earth (more or less similar to the Bagobo Tuglibong) and who guides the dead of the Wemale to the underworld. Lumabat seems to be the male counterpart to both Tuglibong and Mebuyan and thus also a guide of souls or a psychopomp. But he is not as clearly associated with the sky as the two women are with earth and underworld. He is similar to Tanku Telie, a Wemale hero who, as psychopomp, is probably the antagonist of Mulua S. and the guide of the dead along a path similar to Lumabat's path but in the underworld. The intrigue of Tanku Telie still exists among the Wemale as a rite. This perhaps was once the case with the intrigue of Lumabat also but today the Bagobo celebrate apparently the first part only of the myth of Lumabat in the ritual performance of the human sacrifice. The trip which the Bagobo seem to celebrate in the Pamalugu (the riverbath) must be the trip to the house of Mebuyan. It is possible that the Bagobo²⁵¹ still have a rite that bears directly on the intrigue of the trip of Lumabat also, but further suggestions in this respect have been omitted, except the discussion of the sacrifice, the dismemberment (the crushing by the teeth of the ogre) and the treatment of the dead victim in the ceremonial house which could mean the celebration of the arrival at the gates of death. Lumabat was also compared with Semar, the older deity in the Javanese pantheon who made a trip as a guide with followers to the sky or the horizon and who may also be conceived as a psychopomp. Semar, however, could still order the gates of the sky to let him pass and they did. Tuglibong also spoke the magic words: "You go higher up," and the sky did. But when Lumabat repeated the order, the sky demanded a victim. The monster took the last man and the others were allowed through.

It seems that the going up higher of the sky at the horizon

251. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 132.

is as important to the dead as the rising of the sky was to the mythical beings that thus could start a more human life in the very beginning. At that moment they could get out of the caves and crevices in which they lived. The jump of the dead into the "great crevice" at the horizon and into the Beyond during the journey after death today would be the counterpart of this first jumping of the mythical beings from the crevices to the surface of the earth which today is realized if the act of Tuglibong is celebrated. It was pointed out, however, that the events in the centre and at the horizon, as well as their celebrations, are identical. This can be easier understood if the ritual pounding of the Bagobo would, as was suggested, include the sacrifice and vice versa or simply be its alternative. Therefore, so it would seem, a sacrifice would repeat the act of Tuglibong also, and must take place today before the sky can go up and the dead can pass.

Since Lumabat can be conceived as the counterpart to Tuglibong and Mebuyan, who are probably one and became the queen of the underworld associated with earth and underworld where most if not all people go, it is not too difficult to admit that Lumabat gradually became a great god and less of a psychopomp. Much of the powers and functions of the sky god (Lumabat's father?) would have finally been passed on to Lumabat. In fact, in some²⁵² lists of the Bagobo gods, he is among the first in rank.

V. Summary and Suggestions

The myth of Lumabat is obscure because in it the Bagobo have stored a great deal of their beliefs in a very concise and partially vague manner by which one statement easily veils another. Only after one of them is sufficiently exposed may another begin to reveal itself while a third remains unsolved.

In the myth of Lumabat, the Bagobo offer an intrigue in which the male brings about general death, in contradistinction to the myth of Mebuyan where the female predominates. This

252. Benedict, *loc. cit.*, p. 16.

is followed by a report on how primeval man (again in contradistinction to the functions of Mebuyan in the underworld) blazed an extremely difficult and heroic path to the country in the sky on which path however, so it might seem, all except one finally perished.

It was first of all necessary to compare the myth of Lumabat with the well-known myth of Hainuwele of the Wemale, a tribe in Ceram (Moluccas, Indonesia) in order to locate the salient points in the myth of Lumabat and to place them in perspective. This rather complicated work revealed that Lumabat is in many respects identical with the actress Mulua Satene in the Wemale myth, but as Lumabat remains the antagonist of the Bagobo Mebuyan, his role does not exactly cover Mulua's role and a great part of it appears in the reversed order.

Unlike Mebuyan, Lumabat is associated with the horizon where he finds the deer that seems to fulfill some essentials in the role Hainuwele plays in the Wemale myth. The deer would be, like Hainuwele, the first being to die violently. Death is thus introduced and Lumabat guides his people to the sky. On the other hand Mebuyan prepared the underworld for the "souls." The quarrel mentioned is apparently based on the antagonism of centre and horizon that was created in the first myth by Tuglibong. Mebuyan and Lumabat are her children. It seems, however, that centre and horizon are functionally identical and that myths based on either of them will always tell that everything has found its origin "in the beginning" which was once in the very centre and today in the extended centre or on the horizon. This antagonism or polarity provides an opportunity to make the intrigues longer and to introduce the element of quarrel and dialogue that the Bagobo, like the Ngaju Dayak in Borneo and many others, love so much.

A comparison of the myth of Lumabat and Hainuwele-Mulua S. also shows that the centre is usually directly associated with items that cannot move, while the horizon is often associated with animals or persons that live and can die, and thus are fit victims in sacrificial rites. But these victims may easily be identified with the fixed objects that are usually found in the centre. Hence, the myths in which violent death associated with the horizon are reported, would not differ in meaning from myths in which severing and separation with cosmic consequ-

ences take place in a centre, especially if these last mentioned events are clearly the preparation for the second. The creation of sky and horizon is necessary to prepare the residences for the living as well as for all those who will have to die after death will be introduced. The horizon serves in Bagobo myths as the gate to the sky and seems virtually identical with it. As the woman used to stay at home and the man to travel, the woman is usually associated with the centre, the man with the horizon. The centre is the gate to the underworld, the horizon to the sky.

In the Bagobo rite that celebrates this first violent death, pit and pole appear together with the victim to be sacrificed while the dancing of the crowd around the victim at the pole recalls the dances round the Bagobo *bolang bolang* and those on the *buklug* of the Subanon. All the symbolic actions of this music and dance as well as the rites of killing, would just mean severing and separation. So it would seem that during their four days festival the Bagobo celebrate the whole work of creation, indeed from Tuglibong's pounding up to the death of the deer by Lumabat; or that the events in the centre unfold the events associated with the horizon, which is the death of the deer represented here by a human victim on the fourth day of the festival. This significance is bolstered if we call to mind the custom of the Mansaka of keeping the symbols of pit and pole, that once might have appeared in their burial rites, as their most sacred idols. They thus would worship the monuments which, in earlier times, were probably put up as sacred memorials for performances of sacred rites that celebrated the beginnings of sky, underworld and death, the creative work of the ancestors that had made man mortal and his environment as it is, fit for this life and the life to come. The Bagobo prayer-stands (*tambara*) are perhaps the Bagobo version of this same custom. House and jar with cover must be the same.

The second part of the myth of Lumabat is the report of his return to the horizon with those who believe in him and who have chosen his path. The most striking feature in this report is the monster that the travelers find after a trip over land and sea. The monster, as well as some words and some actions, and the later position of Lumabat, remind one of the Javanese story of Semar. At the same time one is surprised

by the similarity of the myth with the rite of the Wemale Kakihan secret society. This was enough reason to bring up the question whether the myth of Lumabat has perhaps also something to do with a social division in the tribe of the Bagobo.

Lumabat's trip itself over land and sea shows similarities with the rite of the Wemale. The Bagobo trip over land reminds one of the Kakihan rite during which its members have to walk down a path and are blindfolded and forbidden to reveal to the non-initiated the secrets of the initiation. On the other hand, the Bagobo tell of stones and trees along the path, all challenges put by "earth" and "vegetation", that try to hold them up and to seduce them to reveal the goal of the trip. The trip through the ocean can be similar to the bath of the Kakihan. When Lumabat has passed by the symplegades he sees the "souls" of the wicked in flames and pools of acid, an anachronism in the Bagobo story. But it shows that the Bagobo seem to know of three primeval Elements at least: earth (the challenging trip over land with speaking stones and trees and the grinding to sand), water (the crossing of the ocean), fire (the heat of flames and the acid), and that all three start working on the dead Bagobo forcing and crushing him through narrow passages and even trying to absorb him completely, although one Element would be enough as the myth of Mebuyan shows. What exactly happens to the dead, of course, no Bagobo can tell but the story expresses his feeling. It is what the "soul," the dead person, "must" endure before its transformation is complete, of which the disembowelment is the last act that finally releases definitely a renewed satisfied and different being in the Beyond. The walk of the soul balancing between the pools of fire and acid seems to be just another trial for the Bagobo, but it is probably the passing of the soul through heat the element of the Bagobo beginnings; this trial alone would be also enough for transformation, without the elements of water and earth.

The Bagobo thus seem to believe in the return to the Elements. This belief is also found among the Visayans who mention the Elements earth, water and heat, apparently as the transforming Elements and who tell it in a story with a different intrigue. If one analyzes the story of the Visayan ferryman, however, the differences dwindle. Stories about such

transformations brought about by the spirits of the Beyond are found in many places. Whether the Indelible Elements are believed to be at work in the underworld or in the sky world is seemingly immaterial. Any intrigue telling about them will also do. The Bagobo know of the path of Mebuyan in the underworld which would be a "mild" case, and they gave the more horrible process into the hands of the sky spirits, all contrary to our feeling that heaven (sky world) is a better place than hell (underworld), and the first can only be reached after a process of purification by fire (purgatory) in the underworld.

One could ask where the Bagobo (and other Malays) got the idea of the "soul" paths. This question is also connected with their "philosophy" about body and "soul" which will not be discussed here however. They seem generally to believe that there is another life possible for "man" after death and that some people at least can gain it along the path either of Lumabat or of Mebuyan. This path seems to be the process of transformation undergone by the dead man apart from what happens to the body, but in its form and stages it seems partially based on the process the body undergoes. The Bagobo can easily observe how the body falls victim to the Elements (in Mindanao usually to the Earth) and he may believe that something equivalent must happen to the "whole" dead man who is partially invisible. The effect is such that it permits us to say that the "dead man" gained another life after the visible process on the body and the invisible on the "soul" is finished. This would also entail that the Elements have a visible and an invisible activity. The visible activity of the Elements concerned working on the unconscious body would be more of a "process;" their invisible activity would be exercised on the "conscious" dead man, and therefore the Bagobo would prefer to make him "march" towards and through his transformation. The process appears here as a "path" or a "trip."

Each one of the three or more Elements would be able to bring this desired transformation about. However, the Bagobo prefer a whole chain of them in order to make it more awe-inspiring. All the Elements swallow, and all could have the monster as a symbol. If it is a cave it reminds one of the mythical beings that arose out of the earth and started life on earth. The crevices of Tuglibong were once in the center but after

her creative action, the old situation of the centre was found at the horizon. This is the reason perhaps why the "souls" must or can go there and find new life turning back down into the crevices, the origin, the symplegades.

The Bagobo have two great male spirits, the one associated with water (Malaki t'Olug Waig), the other with heat (Mandarangan). It is not impossible that they were originally just personifications of the invisible (or also of the visible) power of the Elements water and fire and their activities. At least they are associated with these Elements. The invisible activity of the Element "earth" would appear in the character of Mebuyan, and the more visible power and activity of this earthly Element would be apparent in the "evil" spirits whose characteristic is to "eat" corpses, the Buso, that are always around especially on graveyards. Perhaps the other Elements also characterize some spirits as equivalents of the "earthly" Buso that would represent the more material activities of these elements. It would increase the amount of spirits differing in character, not in essence, and augment the danger of confusion but also lead to a tendency of fuse. Actually the two great spirits mentioned above have a throng of minor attendants around them, (the Malakis and the small Mandarangans), but they are, unlike the Buso, always in the neighbourhood of living man. Those of Mandarangan are bloodthirsty.

Mebuyan would be a psychopomp but somehow also predominantly associated with the indelible Element "earth," as the Visayan ferryman is with water or fire. Both Mebuyan and the ferryman are more active with their arms instead of directly swallowing as the Elements should do. The ferryman pitches the soul into the pit, Mebuyan bathes it in a pool. Together with the Elements earth, water and fire, Mebuyan and the ferryman are also monsters, however.

It is more difficult to determine Lumabat's status. He could be originally a psychopomp but finally also be associated with either sky or heat, and only this.

The Bagobo customarily offer a sacrifice for the dead, but this sacrifice for the dead seems to be virtually the same sacrifice they offer when they celebrate the origin of world and man as they actually are, because this includes this world, fertility, the creation of the residences for the dead in sky and under-

world, the necessity of death and the opportunity of transformation and of life for man after death. The sacrifice would be the central rite and its monument would be the sacred centre in Bagobo religion appearing as idol, burial jar, *tambara* or miniature house, temple, etc. The "sacrifice" by Lumabat of the last man at the gates of the symplegades stresses, unnecessarily perhaps, the need of a sacrifice for the individual dead.

Summarizing it would seem that the Bagobo spirits discussed in this paper, associated as they are with upperworld and underworld, with centre and horizon, with the Indelible Elements, and slightly with the celestial bodies, would have a pronounced cosmic character. In the beginning two spirits appear associated with earth and sky. The following generation of spirits is primarily associated with centre and horizon but finally with underworld and upperworld again. Motherhood, wisdom, birth and natural death are associated with the underworld; violent death, human or animal sacrifice are associated with the sky. Wealth (poverty) health (sickness) are associated with the underworld, evil (violence, passion, war, amok) predominantly with the sky. The Indelible Elements are distributed seemingly arbitrarily over upperworld and underworld. Earth, water, vegetation, belong more to the underworld, heat and fire to the upperworld. The Beyond is in the upperworld and the underworld, where the dead will go along the paths of centre or horizon and be transformed by the Indelible Elements. In the underworld the benign effect of water and the wholesome bath is emphasized; in the upperworld heat and fire, violence and suffering, are stressed. It seems that warriors may in principle aspire for the arduous path of Lumabat and the sky world; all the others prefer the path to the underworld established by Mebuyan who finally calls, all, ripe and green. The ceremonial bath of the Bagobo (*pamalugu*) is perhaps a sort of initiation rite into the society and the company of Mebuyan (Gimokudan) while the sacrificial rite (only partially attended by women and children) might be the first stage of an initiation into the mystery of Lumabat. Perhaps trips to an enemy country or dangerous and hectic war expeditions complete this last form of initiation. The inference would be that the tribal society as a whole, not necessarily the individual, has to preserve and practice both the forms: ceremonial baths as well as war expeditions. The

moral issue is not pronounced. Pestle and mortar are symbols of the beginning of sky (horizon) and earth, of fertility and death. These symbols will appear when the beginnings are celebrated and people are initiated, sometimes in the form of pit and pole or jar and cover, eventually of idol or house. These symbols would represent the universe as it is now and the spirits that are active in it. Like pestle and mortar, the universe is a unit with parts mutually interdependent and so are the spirits and men.

GLOSSARY

- abaca*, (*Musa textilis*) plant looking like the banana, the fibers of which are made into hemp.
- agon*, percussion music instrument
- Alor*, one of the Lesser Sunda Islands, Indonesia.
- Anito*, spirit, usually of ancestor.
- Apo*, lord; volcano in Bagobo land.
- Ata*, a tribe, neighbours of the Bagobo.
- bagani*, brave man of the Bagobo, same as *magani*.
- balian*, ministers for religious rites, usually female, sometimes male.
- barrio*, village.
- Bia*, female mythical beings, daughters of Mona (Mebuyan).
- Bilaan*, a neighbouring tribe of Bagobo (West).
- bolang bolang*, drum made by putting board on an empty mortar.
- Bukidnon*, tribe in Mindanao, neighbours of the Bagobo (North).
- bolo*, sword
- buklug*, ceremonial dancing floor and dance of the Subanon.
- Buso*, feared spirit associated with darkness, death, etc.
- camote*, sweet potato.
- Cibulan*, village of origin of Bagobo; also Sibulan.
- datu*, chief.
- dewata*, diwata, general Bagobo term for spirit.
- Dusun*, tribe in Sabah.
- gimokud*, "soul", "dead man".
- gimokudan*, residence of the dead in the Beyond, underworld of Mebuyan.
- ginem*, festival of the Bagobo lasting 4 days.
- gunungan*, "hill"—requisite of Wayang in Java.
- Ifugao*, tribe in Luzon.
- Isneg*, tribe in Luzon.
- Jolo*, island and principal town on this island in the southern part of the Philippines.
- Kakihan*, moiety of Wemale tribe.
- Kekayon*, another word for Gunungan, Wayang requisite, "Tree".
- Kulaman*, tribe in Mindanao, neighbours of the Bagobo (South).
- Lamet*, tribe in Laos.
- mabalian*, male or female minister, same as *balian*.
- magani*, same as *bagani*.
- Malaki*, a Bagobo spirit usually associated with water.
- Mamanwa*, tribe in Northeastern Mindanao.
- Manama*, Bagobo deity (sky?).
- Mandaya*, tribe in Mindanao, neighbours of the Bagobo (Southeast).
- Mandarangan*, great spirit of the Bagobo associated with heat.
- Manobo*, tribe in Mindanao occupying an area northeast of Bagobo.
- Maro*, ceremonial dance of the Wemale.

- Minahassa*, Indonesian district in northern Celebes.
Mokko, bronze drum.
Ngaju Dayak, tribe in Southeast Borneo, Indonesia.
palakpak, digging stick.
pamalugu, Bagobo ceremonial bath.
Sangi & Talaud, islands off the north coast of Celebes.
Santa Cruz, town in Davao province. ± 1910, a Bagobo village.
sarong, sort of skirt worn around lower part of body.
serambi, veranda.
sonar, *sonaran*, "altar" built during ceremony of sonar (*sonar*—
 piling up).
Sibolan, same as Cibolan, village of origin of Bagobos.
Subanon, tribe in northwestern Mindanao.
Tagakaolo, tribe in Mindanao, neighbours of Bagobo, (South.)
tambara, prayerstand; altar?, miniature temple?
tankulu, kerchief of warriors.
tolus, semen; spirit of fertility.
ulit, ceremonial song, poem.
Wapulane, moiety of Wemale tribe.
Wayang, puppet and puppet theatre in Java.
Wemale, tribe in Ceram, Moluccas, Indonesia.

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