A STRUCTURAL STUDY OF PHILIPPINE CREATION MYTHS:
BROTHER AND SISTER IN THE BEGINNING

A Thesis Submitted to
The University Honors Program
In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Baccalaureate Degree with
Departmental and University Honors

Department of Anthropology
by

Anne-Marie d'Aprix
DeKalb, Illinois
May, 1991
Approved:  Susan D. Russell

Department of:  Anthropology

Date:  6/21/91
INTRODUCTION

Myth, in colloquial use, is a term commonly used to denote an idea that does not conform to accepted scientific facts. The term 'myth', for this reason, has often been associated with outright lies, and the 'folk' of 'folklore' are often thought of as the backward and uncultured (Dundes 1980).

From an anthropological perspective, mythology is narrative that symbolically encodes cultural values and legitimates a social state of affairs. Myth functions to explain why things are the way they are by relating moral and causal information. Origin and creation myths that explain, the origins of various things, beings or situations, do so in specifically causal terms. They simply explain, in however an improbable manner, how things came into being. Yet causal explanations can also imply a moral legitimation - the way things were made to be is the morally proper way of being. Myths are to some are "the expression of unobservable realities in terms of observable phenomena (Bartsch 1953)." To others, they are collective fantasy (Dundes 1980) or wish fulfillment (Benedict 1934). In either sense, they transcend the empirical, observable facts of everyday life, and make connections where previously there were none. Mythology is, therefore, not something
that can be judged by its inherent rationality, or more precisely, its non-rationality. It cannot be empirically judged true or false. An origin myth, and mythology in general, can only be viewed as meaningful or not meaningful to those groups who tell it.

If persistence is an indicator of meaning, then the telling of how Balbalitoc and Bugan peopled the earth by an attorney in Kiangan, Ifugao, Philippines (Coronel 1968; 193), infers that origin mythologies are still important and meaningful to the societies in which they are found. But what are the elements in a Philippine origin myth that might provide this meaning?

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

This project attempts a structural study of 25 Philippine origin myths primarily following the analytical approach of Claude Levi-Strauss. From a structural perspective, Philippine origin and creation myths deal most frequently with bridging the contradiction between this world and the divine realms of the skyworld and underworld, and the division of male and female. Myths from all major divisions of the archipelago will be analyzed to show how liminal, mediating categories attempt to resolve these contradictions by placing the certain concepts, beings and
rituals in anomalous and dangerous or a heightened sacralized state. The historic reality of influence by major world religions in the area has undoubtedly transformed these mediating categories and effected the structures of these myths. Some attention will therefore be devoted to interpreting the effects of Christianity on the basic structures of these myths by using Leach’s structural study of "Genesis as Myth" as a comparative measure.

HISTORICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF MYTH

As any relation of events can be meaningful on many different levels, origin myths and legends can be meaningful and effective for any number of reasons. Over time, anthropologists have analyzed myths from various viewpoints and for various purposes, following their own paradigms to explain what elements are meaningful in the interaction between myth and society.

Anthropologically oriented scholars in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were interested in the theological and philosophical aspects of myths as found in "primitive" man (Song 1989). The "savage" was viewed as an individual contemplator of the world explaining the death, dreams, and existence as best he could as he went along. James G. Frazer, for instance, viewed mythology as
an ill trained attempt at logical thought. The child-like philosophy expounded in myth would, with education, evolve unilaterally into science (Morris 1987).

The push for mythology to be viewed on a cultural scale, and not an individual one, tended to focus on the function of myth in promoting social solidarity. To Bronislaw Malinowski, myth provided a "'charter for belief,' a sacred underpinning and legitimizer for all that people do and think" (Lessa 1979: 167). For other British social anthropologists like A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, myth was a means for expressing social values, and certain ways of feeling about the society and society's relationship to nature with a moral force (Radcliffe-Brown 1965, Morris 1987). Myth expressed the 'unobservable reality' of our need to belong.

In the early part of the 20th century, Franz Boas began to analyze myth as a reflection of culture. Boas sought to salvage ethnographic facts, cultural 'specimens' of mythology and material culture from rapidly disappearing American Indian cultures. Boas faithfully recorded myths and tales of the Tsimshian and Kwakiutl Indians of the Northwest Coast, and analyzed them with a comparative-historical method in order to glean social and cultural data. His underlying assumptions were that similar themes or plots were due to diffusion, and that myths, in general, mirror the everyday social and cultural life of a people.
Supernatural occurrences not found in everyday life were interpreted simply as manifestations of the wishes and exaggerations of human imagination (Song 1989).

In contrast to the Boasian myth-as-cultural-reservoir mode, Ruth Benedict gave emphasis to the discrepancies between the content of daily life and the content of myth (Benedict 1934). She noted the stylistic features of the story-telling itself and called attention to how the originality, sex, and ability of the narrator could modify the content of a myth in profound ways. For Benedict, certain parts of a myth correspond to real life, and those that didn’t were the result of collective projection of wish-fulfilling fantasy. Other psychological anthropologists like Abram Kardiner and Clyde Kluckhohn saw folklore, including mythology, as precisely this kind of projective outlet for the tensions within a society (Morris 1987, Song 1989).

Myths, then, have philosophical, functional, socio-cultural, and psychological meanings beyond the seemingly straight forward line of story in the text. In fact, folklorist Alan Dundes (1980) identifies three levels upon which a myth can convey these meanings; levels he calls "text," "texture," and "context." In addition to the actions presented in the storyline, or "text", rhyme pattern, instrumentation, motifs, and the rhythmic pattern
and repetition present in the telling of the tale itself comprise the "texture" level of the tale. The remaining "context" level refers to the meaning of the setting in which the tale is actually told. The audience present, the type of performer, and the purpose of the recitation all add depth and another level of meaning to the myth.

Myths then can say many things on many different levels. Yet, as Edmund Leach says, "if myths do not mean what they appear to mean, how do they come to mean anything at all? What is the esoteric mode of communication by which myth is felt to give 'expression to unobservable realities' (Leach 1982)?" What elements provide a myth with meaning and, more centrally, what are these unobservable realities?

LEVI-STRAUSS AND STRUCTURALISM

To Levi-Strauss, the mode of communication is the binary opposition in a myth and all its variants, formulated through the elements of geography, kinship and social roles, economics, and cosmology. The 'unobservable reality' is ultimately the structure of the human brain itself. "If a given mythology confers prominence to a certain character, let us say an evil grandmother, it will be claimed that in such a society grandmothers are actually evil and that mythology reflects the social structure and
the social relations; but should actual data be conflicting, it would be readily claimed that the purpose of mythology is to provide an outlet for repressed feelings. Whatever the situation may be, a clever dialectic will always find a way to pretend that a meaning has been unravelled (Levi-Strauss 1963: 185)."

Alternatively, Levi-Strauss suggests that myths function to reduce the gap between the "logical" contradictions found in society and nature. To get at this universal logic, Levi-Strauss constructed a novel methodology. He began "analyzing each myth individually, breaking down the story into...gross constituent units (Levi-Strauss 1955: 175)," the shortest possible sentences. When analyzed, these units amass in bundles of relations dealing with a point along the dimension of a binary opposition. He suggests that the sentence units be placed in columns, so that the varying points along the sets of binary opposition can be read like an orchestral score. The contrasting poles of the opposition are narrowed down in the myth, and myth, therefore, serves to partially resolve, or at least make livable, the tensions found in society. To continue with the musical metaphor, myth serves to lower the pitch of the screeching voice of contradiction.

"If a myth is made up of all its variants, structural analysis should take all of them into account
Thus orchestral scores for all variants are to be produced and compared. The myth itself, according to Levi-Strauss, evolves from "facts of various orders (Leach 1970: 7)" including physical and political geography, economic life, social and family organization and maintenance, and cosmology. Though comparison of the different myths may show harmony instead of a uniform chorus, "any difference to be observed may be correlated with other differences (Levi-Strauss 1963: 191)." These levels of facts can be seen as "a transformation of an underlying logical structure common to all of them (Leach 1970: 1)."

RESPONSES TO THE STRUCTURAL METHOD

Levi-Strauss's focus on underlying structure precludes any interest in the texture of daily life, the context of the mythology, or the individual actor, much to the detriment of his strict theory. Folklorist Alan Dundes, in an admittedly unfair reference, claims that with the advent of Levi-Strauss and his methods, the "Butterfly collection of antiquarian days had finally advanced to the point of demonstrating that a butterfly was a mediating model consisting primarily of two wings of opposition (Dundes 1980: 35-36)." Needless to say, without the guide
of ethnography and context, there are still questions as to whether two researchers, working independently, would ever reduce the myth to the same gross constituent units or place them in the same columns. Precisely how an analyst moves from truncated sentences to general themes is another point of contention.

Levi-Strauss's method of reducing myths to constituent parts has been used by other anthropologists like Edmund Leach. Leach, however, disagrees with Levi-Strauss's approach that the variations of a myth are unimportant. The fact that there are underlying structures that appear and disappear in certain cases should be a subject of study. The meaning and social use of a myth are as important as the hidden logic with which Levi-Strauss is so obsessed.

Other anthropologists like Louis Dumont shifted their structural focus away from the abstract ideas of the human mind to the more concrete structure of real life experience. However modified, Levi-Strauss's method "has added a dimension to the study of myths that anthropologists can ill afford to ignore in spite of the methodological pitfalls (Lessa 1979: 169)."
LIMITATIONS OF THIS PAPER

This paper will, by necessity, fall far short of what a thorough examination of mythology should be. The basic structural method requires a myth and its variants. In the context of this library study of Philippine origin myths, variants — with the exceptions of five Ifugao creation myths, two versions of a Bilaan myth, and two Bagobo myths — proved hard to locate. As a result, myths were chosen on the basis of subject matter — the creation and peopling of the world — and analysis focused not on the structure of one myth and its variants, but on common structures in a number of myths dealing with the same subject matter. The validity of assuming a pan-Philippine structure in the story of creation can certainly be questioned. In addition, the textural nuances of these myths have been lost in the English translations it was necessary for me to use. By the same token, all myths used came from the published collections of Damiana L. Eugenio (Philippine Folk Literature), Laurence L. Wilson and I.V. Mallari (Tales From the Mountain Province), and Sister Maria Delia Colonel (Stories and Legends from Filipino Folklore). Contextural data could therefore not be observed, nor had it been recorded as background information in these collections. As William A. Lessa stated, "significant
statements about myth should be context-conscious. That is to say that myth texts stand alone only feebly. Myths and other narratives, as well as analysis of them must be accompanied by considerable ethnographic background if they are to become intelligible (Lessa 1979: 168)." I have no contextural data, and with no field research, I only have a marginal ethnographic background based on the ethnographic reports available to me. My contribution to an understanding of Philippine origin myths can therefore be only preliminary.

OVERVIEW OF PHILIPPINE ORIGIN MYTH TEXTS

When Levi-Strauss illustrated his method, he used one long myth with all its variants. This study analyzes 25 Philippine origin myths that are quite brief when compared to myths such as "Oedipus" and "The Story of Asdiwal." As stated before, with versions of one particular myth unavailable or in insufficient numbers, it became necessary to look not for structures in one myth and its variations, but for common structures in myths coming from different places in the archipelago dealing with the same subject matter. Library research located a number of Philippine myths that by title and content dealt with the formation of the earth, the creation of humankind, and peopling of the
world. In sum, 25 myths from 19 different ethnic groups were found that fit these selection criteria (See Appendix A). These myths represent all three major divisions of the archipelago, however unequally, and break down by region as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Myth No.</th>
<th>Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1,2,3,13,14,15,16,</td>
<td>Luzon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17,18,19,20,21,22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,5,6,11</td>
<td>Visayas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7,8,9,10,12,23,24,25</td>
<td>Mindanao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A cursory read of these myths reveals a number of intriguing points of Philippine origin myths referred to by Francisco R. Demetrio. In the first place, the 'earth' or 'world' created in these myths is limited to references for dry land, and more specifically, for the Philippine Islands or a specific island in particular. In addition, creation in Philippine origin myths is not creation in the strict theological sense of "the bringing of something into existence from non-existence," in regards to itself and the material from which it is made (Demetrio 1978: 28). These Philippine myths refer to secondary creation, the creation of the earth from pre-existing matter.
As a result, water, seas, oceans, winds and sky are all quite often described as existing prior to the creation of dry land (See myths 1,3,4,5,6,8,10,11). Animals, in a number of myths and legends, are also in existence before land or earth are created. Birds like the hawk or eagle "are often responsible for securing the pre-existing materials" used to form the earth (ibid: 28) or are important participants and instigators in the war that ultimately creates the world (See myths 1,4,5,8).

In the Tinguian myth (myth 1) for instance, the sea and sky, who had lived in peace for ages, were turned against each other by a hawk who was tired and wanted a place to rest. The earth was created as a result of the ensuing arguments between the sea and sky. Myth number five, a Mangian and Negrito myth, reverses the direction of this conflict and creates the world when the sea and sky attacked the bird king Manual. Other myths retain the theme of conflict in the creation and peopling of the earth, but substitute arguments between brother and sister, husband and wife, or an emotional struggle with loneliness or jealousy in the place of conflict between sea and sky (myths 1,2,3,6,10,11,14,15,21,22). Two myths contain both these patterns. They use war between sea and sky as the impetus for the creation of the earth, and brother/sister, husband/wife arguments as central in the creation of human
beings and the peopling of the earth (myths 1,3).

Misunderstandings and conflict between male-female human pairs, the male sky and the female sea, and the birds and dry land (earth) that come between or result from this conflict, all seem to be an inter-related group of symbols that together convey some message. The Bikol story of the creation of the earth as the result of a misplaced aggression between siblings and parents (myth 3). The Panay-Visayan story of Tunkung Langit and Alunsina (myth 6) states quite clearly that marriage and home are the starting points of the order of the universe, and that the creation of the earth was an endeavor to forget the sorrow caused by unjust treatment of a wife. In most cases the earth forms a middle ground between two pre-existing entities after the change from their original state. In some instances, this change is instigated by the appearance of a bird.

All over Southeast Asia birds are often associated with the sky world and with the trip to the world of the dead. Birds have the ability to cross worlds and relay information between the land of the dead and the land of the living, between man and supernatural beings. King Manaul, a bird, is identified as a god who creates the earth and releases the first man and woman from the reed (myth 4,5). Yet, the symbol of the hawk is also seen as intimately connected with both conflict between sea and sky, and with
improper relationships between brother and sister, man and wife. Myth 13 explains that the Kilkilang bird was once a man with no sister, no wife and no means of establishing proper social relations. With no appropriate way of defining his social self, he became the dangerous and lamenting stealer of children's souls. The message appears to be that without peaceful and proper social relations between brother and sister, man and wife, an individual becomes like the hawk: a mid-ground between this world and the world of the dead. He (or she, one assumes, though the birds that are in these myths are always male) has no home, no place to rest and is not fully alive.

Improper conduct and improper behavior seem to mark the beginning of another common theme. War, chaos, struggle, and loneliness are recurring topics. Demetrio hypothesizes that the series of struggles and fights between various human and non-human entities, and the periodic return to chaos and war symbolize the cycle of birth and rebirth of the earth. Through myth, the universe continues to exist without exhausting its resources because the world "surges anew and wakens to the fullness of life and energy (ibid: 31)." Though rebirth may be his more poetic explanation for struggle, he emphasizes in more general terms that "in the stories of the formation of the earth there is always a struggle between two hostile forces. It
is the struggle that looms large in the story. The creation of the earth happens only as a sort of accident (ibid:29)."

Here I must disagree. Conflict may be central to the myths, but the forces are no means innately hostile. They are a brother and sister, a man and wife, or an individual with trouble defining and acting out proper social roles. The focus is not, I feel, on the cycle of birth and rebirth of the earth, but the efficacy of proper relationships and social conduct in ensuring continued fertility. Some compromise in brother-sister jealousy, or the uncertainty of the husband-wife relationship is needed to survive. The concepts of pre-existing water and sky, earth, and birds are not simply interesting symbols, but precisely the binary oppositions and liminal, mediating categories that provide the myth with meaning. Creation is by no means an accident, nor is the socially legitimating structure of the tale! A look at the actual structural breakdown of these myths will show this.

THE STRUCTURAL STUDY OF PHILIPPINE ORIGIN MYTHS

Levi-Strauss assumes that mythology deals with some of the more contradictory aspects of our existence, and therefore cannot be resolved or understood by looking at a single "true" version of any myth. Others add that
resolution cannot happen through "a few symbolic mediation" either (McKinley 19). Just as the symbol of the hawk is not easily separated from the theme of conflict and male-female relationships, the analysis of myth must first view the oppositions apparent in the text, and then the mediators as an inter-related set. These sets of oppositions and symbols must then be "able to express something relevant to the social order" (Douglas 1970: 38).

A previous structural study of Philippine origin myths identified the purpose of Levi-Straussian analysis as two fold. "Granted the arbitrary character of myth, how does one explain the similarity of myths coming from different regions of the same country?" and "if the purpose of myth from a structural perspective is to provide a model to overcome a contradiction, will analysis point out a contradiction these stories are commonly trying to solve (Iturralde 1970: 231)?"

By frequency of occurrence, the common contradiction that bears the most importance in these myths is the division between this world and the skyworld (See Table 1). This opposition occurs 12 times, and increases to 18 if the reference is broadened to include the other divine realms of the underworld and satans. Likewise, the second most commonly occurring opposition is between brother and sister. When sex role terminology is expanded from the
brother/sister pair to all relationships that emphasize sex differences - husband/wife, sea/sky, god/goddess - the number goes up from 10 to at least 19.

Encarnacion Iturralde, in her structural study of Philippine origin myths, found the frequency of male/female and divine/human oppositions to have "profound implications" (1970: 234). Considering the subject matter of these myths, however, the frequency of these pairs seems an obvious result. It should not be surprising to find that the most common contradictions in stories about the creation of the earth and the creation of human beings are oppositions between the divine realms of skyworld and underworld, and the realm of the human, and between the male and female. We are, perhaps, begging the question. We knew from the outset that the problems these myths were trying to solve and explain were the creation of this world and the creation of the differences between male and female.

Unfortunately for the study of Philippine mythology, the two interesting points Iturralde's study brought out were completely overlooked by her. In both our studies, it is the brother/sister relationship and not the husband/wife pair that define sex role opposition. Brother/sister dichotomies occur twice as often as husband/wife oppositions. In addition, the focus of the this-world/skyworld/underworld cosmology so common to
Philippine groups, is overwhelmingly on the this-world and sky world end of the continuum. As referred to before, 12 myths refer to the skyworld/this world division, and only six add the concepts of underworld or the more Christian concepts of hell and purgatory.

McKinley (19 ) found this to be true in his structural study of Philippine headhunting rituals also. In the cosmological divisions of the universe into "known earth" - "upstream regions" -"downstream regions" -"the skyworld" - and "the underworld", he suggests "the focus on the skyworld in this cosmological system has been so important as to trigger more intense emotional reactions than has been the case with the other four domains. Thus, while this is a cosmology which definitely involves a complimentary opposition between the upper-world and the under-world, attention seems to be more strongly focused on the former (ibid: 106)."

This is not to say that other aspects of McKinley's cosmological structure don't occur. The highland/lowland comparison is found in two Mindanao myths (myths 23,24), and the Ifugao place names of "Lagud" and "Daya" mentioned in myth 2 are the native Ifugao terms for the downstream and upstream regions. McKinley's article also lists "Kabunian" as the Ifugao term referring to the skyworld, and the common meaning of cognates of this word as
"kill." Yet Kabunian appears in myth 19 not as a place or specific reference to death, but as the god responsible for creation. McKinley noted that "warfare and shamanism especially are believed to have their divine sponsors and originators in the heavens, while the gods who control agriculture seem to reside in the under-world (ibid: 106)." This construction is exactly the opposite of Christian opposition, where life, good, paradise and peace are paired with the skyworld of heaven, and the underworld is associated with death, evil, and conflict (See Figure 2).

The focus on the sky world and the importance of the brother/sister pair in the formation of sex roles appears to be yet another aspect demonstrating the importance of proper relationships and social conduct in ensuring the order and continued fertility mentioned earlier. In McKinley’s study, the theme of conflict could be tied to cosmology and the tendency to focus on the skyworld and its role in warfare and death. While the underworld is responsible for the creation of life in myths 10, 11, 12, and 22, the skyworld institutes death as punishment for improper personal behavior (myth 11), and improper social conduct (myth 23). In two cases, the theme of conflict resulting from a cosmological focus on the warfare and death role of the skyworld is immediately tied to conflict and proper relations between brother and sister.
Just as the sea and sky were often attributed sexes, so were the supernatural beings of the underworld and skyworld. In myths 10 and 22, the underworld, also the world responsible for fertility, is female, and the skyworld, the world of death, warfare, and hunting, is male. What we wind up with is a tangled set of interrelated oppositions that nests as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skyworld</th>
<th>Underworld</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sky</td>
<td>Vs. Sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death, killing</td>
<td>Fertility</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The purpose and meaning of these myths seems to be a way of explaining the rules of relationships between these contrasting poles.

Edmund Leach (1982) referred to "the central problem of religion" as an attempt to "reestablish some kind of bridge between Man and God," to distinguish between "we" and "they". In this case, the skyworld and underworld, and the sea and the sky are the "theys" from which "we" are defined, and proper behavioral roles must be established. Likewise, with male and female status ascribed to these categories, a similar division of "we" and "they" must also occur for relationships between the sexes.

Every society has rules of incest and exogamy, and "though the rules vary, they always have the implication
that for any particular male individual all women are divided" into those of "our kind" with whom sex relations would be incestuous, and those "other kind" with whom sex is allowed (Leach 1982). When dealing with the first male and female, the first "we", how is the lack of a "they" or "the other kind" category dealt with, and proper sexual relations established without undermining the binary structure of these two categories? The distance between the "we" and the "they" categories must be bridged without throwing categories into confusion.

Things of the same class must somehow be mediated. The important "we" categories of brother and sister must be modified into the separate categories of man and wife. The oppositions between skyworld and underworld, male and female, brother and sister, fertility and death must be mediated. Some attempt at synthesis, some attempt at bringing two categories together, or separating them from incestuousness is necessary. We have looked at binary oppositions, we must now look at mediators.

Though the particular mediator may very, mediation of contradictions is achieved by introducing a third category which is confused, abnormal or anomalous in terms of the ideal and real categories. The Mediator is a liminal, special, and sacralized and especially dangerous synthesis of contrasting poles. In this case, the problems
the myths are to overcome are defined by the subject matter. The model provided for mediating contradictions between male and female, and this world and the divine realms, becomes a more telling focus of research than pointing out the problems the myth is demonstrating. Somehow, the sea/sky, male/female, skyworld/underworld, this world/skyworld, life/death, peace/conflict, brother/sister oppositions are all mediated and placed in harmony in the context of Levi-Struss's orchestral score.

If the message behind this mess of interrelated oppositions is the importance of correct social relations, then one would expect the theme of conflict mentioned earlier on by Demitrio to be the display of improper social relations between the most common oppositions of skyworld and this world, sea and sky, brother and sister, man and wife.

In a random manner, five myths representing the three divisions of the archipelago were selected to illustrate these mediations between the perfect and ideal world, and the imperfect, real world (See Figure 1: myths 1, 21, 6, 12, 23). Reviewing the "Thesis" column, again the common themes of brother and sister and the roles of skyworld and underworld become evident. Peace, men and women "from the same reed," or brothers and sisters together, hunting, knowledge, fertility, and order all
appear ideal and perfect categories. Likewise a search through the "Antithesis" column shows that war, anger, killing, male-female alliance through marriage, jealousy, infertility, and loneliness are all parts of the imperfect and real world that humans inhabit. Again the reality of death and killing from the skyworld, and the wavering favour of the underworld's blessings of fertility stand in stark contrast to the ideal version of these concepts. More importantly, comparison of these columns shows the brother-sister relationship is conceived of as the natural and ideal bond between man and woman, while alliance of men and woman through marriage is viewed as an imperfect alternative to the brother and sister role that becomes an unfortunate necessity for reproduction.

The categories and concepts not falling into the realm of the perfect or the real are by definition confused and anomalous. Sacred objects and concepts, sacralized rites, and dangerous or confused categories in symbolic use allow a mediation between the real and the ideal worlds. In these examples of myth, sacred rites of revenge - "Mavaris" (Myth 1), and sacred revelations - "parman" (Myth 12), make morally acceptable the real's deviation from the ideal. Other ritual mediators mentioned in other myth texts include the "caniao" offering, the "amuro" ceremony making marriage proper, the "binobon" rite for allowing marriage and
reproduction.

Mediating synthesizing qualities are also attributed to children and to the earth. There seems to be quite a positive value attached to the concept of earth. The earth ends argument and safely divides the sea and sky for the benefit of all. Yet in some myths, it is listed under the imperfect heading. Children are also usually found in the sacred synthesis column, yet are found with both positive sacred implications, and negative and anomalous shades of meaning. Children are found as both a blessing, and the cause of the downfall of Eve (myth 12). Marriage too, seems to shift between constituting a sacred rite and being an imperfect, though necessary, aspect of the real world. What is it that is causing these transformations?

THE PHILIPPINE CONTEXT

Francisco Demetrio, in a bland turn of phrase, described the Philippine archipelago as "a veritable ocean center of the streams of story (Demetrio 1975)." The variety of intra-Southeast Asian and foreign influences is a documented fact, and the trading and modifying of myths for whatever reason has without a doubt been the reality for centuries. The creation myth told by the Jarayas,
Jiguesines, and the Igneines (Myth 4), seems to combine elements from the Bilaan myth (Myth 8), and the Negrito myth (Myth 5), and confuse them. It states that in the beginning there was only the sea and the bird king Manaul, who wanted to rest. The myth confusingly relates how Manaul decided the earth and the sky (both as yet uncreated) should wage war. To end the war, Manaul creates the earth - supposedly a principal actor in the war in the first place! Myth 12 relates how Eve's pity and desire to help a crying newborn lead to her eating of the forbidden fruit. Yet, inconsistently with this flow of events, it goes on to explain that it was Eve's greed was the cause of the expulsion from paradise. It is obvious that the distance between islands was not a barrier to inter-island contact, and the introduction of foreign religious influences can change the basic story of the myths.

Indian, Arab, European ideas have all been incorporated into these myths as well. Myth 9 and 23 mention the tree-of-life, and myth 12 even uses the terms Adam and Eve. Myths 2 and 12 have a woman being tempted to eat the forbidden fruit, myth 10 mentions Mohammed, and myth 25 talks of God sending his prophet. Myths 10, 12, 17, and 22 all created the second sex by removing a rib from the first created. Eleven mentions purgatory, myth 17 talks of sin, and myth 24 discusses the effects of Christianity and
Islam on the settlement pattern of the Bilaan tribes. In sum, nine of the twenty-five myths have overtly influenced by Christian and Islamic creation doctrine. Many Christian and Islamic influences have undoubtedly swayed indigenous beliefs and practices to varying degrees on the more basic and hidden structural level. The extent that the Christian creation story of Genesis has effected cultural transformations of animistic Philippine origin myths can be partially assessed through comparison of structures.

As mentioned earlier, the structural framework of Christian opposition delineated by Leach (1982) is the opposite of Philippine cosmology. Christianity places heaven, life, good, and man alone as ideal categories. Philippine structure emphasizes brother and sister, the skyworld with its association with hunting and death, and the underworld with its association with fertility and reproduction. The earth, sexual pairs, life and death together, good and evil together, and women all become the imperfect categories in Genesis. Anomalous, sacred categories here take on a negative feel, and include death, evil, women. Other more positive mediators include blessings and rites like marriage and "Praise be to God" (myth 12).

Christianity moves women from an integral part of the brother-sister pair into an anomalous category like in
myth 12. Likewise, it moves marriage from an imperfect reality to a sacrament (myths 6,12). Christian influence substitutes Christian ritual and etiquette for native ceremony (myth 12), and confuses the value and attitude toward children. These Christian influences are likely the reason for the varied value and column placement of concepts like marriage, the earth and children.

SUMMARY

From a structural perspective, Philippine origin and creation myths not surprisingly deal with the problems of the creation of the differences between male and female and the distinction between this world, the skyworld and the underworld. The cosmology they expound places much emphasis on a nested set of relations that include the female, the sea, the underworld, and fertility on one pole, and the male, the sky, the skyworld, and hunting and death on the other. They emphasize the brother-sister partnership as the beginning of fertility and stability and view male-female alliance through marriage as an imperfect alternative to the base brother-sister pair. Differences in attitude towards certain realities may be the result of foreign influence, and more specifically, may be the influence of Christianity. A more detailed and thorough field study, that includes the
textural, contextural and ethnographic data on the use of and feelings towards these myths is needed to assess if a pan-Philippine emphasis on brothers and sisters and the skyworld exists, or if this result is from the disproportionate number of myths from northern Luzon. Only further study can answer questions beyond the preliminary range of this study.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>MYTH NO.</th>
<th>NAME OF GROUP</th>
<th>OPPOSITIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luzon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tingulan</td>
<td>sea/sky (brother/sister, female/male), peace/war, together/separate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ifugao</td>
<td>this world/skyworld, Lagud/Daya, Uvigan/Bugan, happy/unhappy, innocence/children, white rice/red rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bikol</td>
<td>water/sky (male/female), wind/sea (brother/sister), brother/sister, husband wife, parent/child, light/no light, gods/not gods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Ifugao</td>
<td>brother/sister, moral reproduction (binobon)/immoral reproduction, male/female, marriage/no marriage, happy unhappy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>(Unknown)</td>
<td>skyworld/this world, happy/unhappy, life/death, laughter/silence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Ibaloi</td>
<td>skyworld/this world, happy/unhappy, husband/wife highland/lowland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Nabaloi</td>
<td>high/low, life/death, flood/no flood, husband/wife (brother/sister)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Bantoc</td>
<td>brother/sister, proper marriage (amuro)/improper marriage, attraction/no attraction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Kalinga</td>
<td>brother/sister, Mt. Binulbulagan/Mt. Atip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Ifugao</td>
<td>create/destroy, god/goddess, Bugan/Wigan, skyworld/this world, naked/clothed, rice/no rice, offering (caniao)/no offering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Ifugao</td>
<td>Wigan/Bugan (man/woman, brother/sister), Mt. Amuyao?Mt. Pimmagui, flood/no flood, marriage/no marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Ifugao</td>
<td>brother/sister, flood/no flood, proper mating/improper mating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>Queen Sinonggol/Sualla, brother/sister, death/life, parents/children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td>Group</td>
<td>Oppositions</td>
<td>Corresponding Concepts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visayas</td>
<td>Jarayas, Jiguesinas, Igneines</td>
<td>this world/skyworld, rest/no rest, beauty/no beauty</td>
<td>Sikalak/Sikabay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mangians, Negritos</td>
<td>Tubluck Lawi/Manaul (air/bird), Captan/Manaul (sea/bird), rest/no rest, escape/imprisonment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Panay-Visayan</td>
<td>Tungkung Langit/Alunsina (husband/wife, brother/sister), order/chaos, industrious/lazy, this world/skyworld, appear/disappear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yliguegnes</td>
<td>Captan/Maguayen, land breeze/sea breeze, Sicalac/Sicavay, brother/sister, marriage/no marriage, life/death, obey/disobey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mindanao</td>
<td>Bagobo</td>
<td>this world/skyworld, eel/crab, Tuglay/Tuglibung (husband/wife)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bilaan</td>
<td>island/water, right way/wrong way, this world/skyworld</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maranao</td>
<td>this world/skyworld, life/death</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tiruray</td>
<td>sea/sky, this world/skyworld, skyworld/underworld, brother/sister, Sualla/Sinnonggoi, life/death, happy/unhappy, parent/child</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tausug</td>
<td>this world/skyworld, satans/angels, revelation/no revelation, life/death, man/woman, parents/children, mother/child, paradise/no paradise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bagobo</td>
<td>monkey/men, highland/lowland, old/young, high/low, skyworld/underworld, brother/sister</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bilaan</td>
<td>(creation)/recreation, this world/skyworld, male/female, highland/lowland, traditional/Islamic and Christian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subanun</td>
<td>brother/sister, seen/unseen, this world/skyworld, offering/no offering, pleased/displeased</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FIGURE 1: OPPOSITIONS AND MEDIATING CATEGORIES

1). "Story of Creation" (Tinguian)

THESIS
(Perfect/Ideal)

ANTITHESIS
(Sacred)

SYNTHESIS
(Imperfect/Real)

sea and sky at peace

hawk

sea and sky at war

sky makes peace

sky has revenge - navarís
moral peace - sea not able to rise
formation of the earth

men and women from reed

children

father angry - threatens

children flee - peopling of the earth
6). "Tungkung Langit and Alunsina" (Panay-Visayan)

THESIS
(Perfect/Ideal)

ANTITHESIS
(Sacred)

SYNTHESIS
(Imperfect/Real)

void, confusion

marriage of Tungkung Langit and Alunsina

Tungkung Langit - industrious,
loving, kind

Alunsina - lazy, jealous, selfish

Tungkung Langit makes trip to end chaotic disturbances

Alunsina sends breeze to spy

anger, reproach, quarreling

Tungkung Langit loses temper and sends wife away

realization of error

loneliness

creation of the earth
12). "The Story of Adam and Eve" (Tausug)

THESIS (Perfect/Ideal)  ANTITHESIS (Sacred)  SYNTHESIS (Imperfect/Real)

God gives revelation to angels on how to create man

sends angels to gather soil

angels unable to get soil - satans jealous

revelation given to satans

they create man - soil, water, air, fire needed

neck pulls off

parman - "praise be to God"

Adam sneezes

parman - "God send satans away from me"

Adam yawns

God with Adam

yet Adam still feels alone

God creates woman (Eve)

children
12). "The story of Adam and Eve" (Tausug)

black

man offers Eve forbidden fruit

white

marriage by like color

Eve refuses

crying child gets Eve to eat forbidden fruit

Adam eats

defication begins - sent out of paradise
THESIS
(Perfect/Ideal)

ANTITHESIS
(Sacred)

SYNTHESIS
(Imperfect/Real)

Wigan hunting

Wigan's hunting bag blocks river

Thanksgiving

Wigan removed hunting bag

Bugan gains knowledge of her baby's father

Timeline:
- Bugan gains knowledge of her baby's father
- Balbalitok sleeps with Bugan without her knowledge
- Backed up water kills all but brother and sister (Balbalitok and Bugan)
- Thanksgiving
- Wigan hunting
- Distracted by river
- Rooster mates with sister hen
- Balbalitok sleeps with Bugan without her knowledge
- Gods console her - it is the way for mankind to increase
- Ifugao Tribe
- Marriage
23). "The Bagobo Legend of Creation" (Bagobo)

THESIS
(Perfect/Ideal)

ANTITHESIS
(Sacred)

SYNTHESIS
(Imperfect/Real)

monkeys human-like

man appears

monkeys take on present form

Mona - people who make their home in the center of the earth

Bagobo - people who live in the mountains

first man, first woman Tinglay/Tuglibung (old, no babies, no clothes)

Panulak Manobo, Tinglay and Tuglibung make plants, fruit, rice

man and woman miserable because sky is low

woman pounds rice

gains angry at sky and yells

sky goes up

yet remain in poverty

gain knowledge of bamboo houses, banana, coconut, sugar cane

birth of brother and sister Malaki and Bia

no death, demons friendly
(Continued...) 23). "The Bogobo Legend of Creation" (Bagobo)

- quarrel

  - death begins

  Lumbat and sister together

  - quarrel

  creation of the underworld
FIGURE 2: OPPOSITIONS AND MEDIATIONS IN GENESIS  
(After Leach 1982)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THESIS</th>
<th>SYNTHESIS</th>
<th>ANTITHESIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Perfect/Real)</td>
<td>(Sacred)</td>
<td>(Imperfect real)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heaven</td>
<td>sky</td>
<td>Earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paradise, Eden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>things by themselves</td>
<td></td>
<td>things in pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>light-day</td>
<td>day-sun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night-dark</td>
<td>night-mon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>life by itself</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>life and death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good by itself</td>
<td>Evil</td>
<td>good and evil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unity (one river)</td>
<td></td>
<td>division (four rivers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>things whose seed is in themselves (cereals, fruit, grass)</td>
<td></td>
<td>things with twosexes (cattle, beasts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man by himself</td>
<td>Adam and Eve together</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam (brother)</td>
<td>Eve (sister)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serpent (incest)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expulsion from paradise</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX A

1). TINGUIAN "THE STORY OF CREATION" LUZON

The Tinguians believe that in the beginning were only the sea and the sky; and that one day a hawk, having no place to alight, determined to set the sea against the sky. Accordingly, the sea declared war against the sky, and threw her waters upward. The sky, seeing this, made a treaty of peace with the sea. Afterward, to avenge himself upon her for having dared to assert herself, they say that he showered upon the sea all the islands of this archipelago, in order to subdue her; and that the sea ran to and fro without being able to rise again. They say that from this event arose the custom of the "mavaris" - that is, taking vengeance for an insult received, a very common practice in this land; and they consider it an honor to take revenge. Then they relate also the story of the reed and how the aforesaid man and woman came out. They add that the first time Cavahi gave birth to children, she brought forth a great number at once. One day the father went home, very angry and threatened the children. The latter were frightened and fled; some into the most hidden rooms of the house; some hid in other places nearer the open air; some hid themselves in the dindines, or walls of the houses, which are constructed of reeds; some hid in other places nearer the open air, some in the fireplace; and some fled to the sea by the same door by which the father had entered. It is said that those who fled to the most hidden rooms are the chiefs of these islands; those who remained nearer the outside are the Timaguas; those who hid themselves within the walls are the slaves; and those who hid themselves in the fireplace are the blacks; and those who fled out to sea through the open door, are the Spaniards, and that they had no news of us (Spaniards) until they beheld us return through the sea.

2). IFUGAO "THE STORY OF CREATION" LUZON

To the Ifugaos, Mak-no-ngan was the greatest of all the gods. It was he, they believed, who created the earth and the place of the dead.

The place of the dead was divided into many sections. The most important of these sections were Lagud and Daya. Lagud was set aside for those who died of sickness. They were the most favored by Mak-no-ngan. Daya was set aside for those
who died of violence. They remained restless and unhappy, until their deaths were avenged by their relatives.

After Mak-no-ngan had created the earth, he made Uvigan in his image. Uvigan, then, was the first man. Mak-no-ngan gave him the entire earth to enjoy. But he remained unhappy just the same, because he was lonely.

Seeing this, Mak-no-ngan made Bugan, the first woman. Then he told Uvigan, "Take this woman and be happy with her." And for many years the couple lived in innocence, happiness, and peace.

Now, on earth, there grew a tree which was different from any other. From the beginning, Mak-no-ngan had warned the couple against it. "Don't eat its fruit," he had told them, "because it is evil. It'll only make you unhappy."

But Mak-no-ngan's warning only made Bugan all the more curious about the tree - especially since it was beautiful, and its fruit looked tempting. She had tried hard to keep away from it, but she could not help herself. Again and again, almost against her will, her feet would lead her to it. And her mouth would water as she gazed at the ripe fruit.

Finally, Bugan could not contain herself any longer. One day, she went straight to the tree, plucked one of the fruit, and sank her teeth into it. It was good. She liked it so much that she was seized with a desire to share it with Uvigan.

And so she went to Uvigan, saying, "Here, Uvigan, taste this."

"Isn't that the fruit that Mak-no-ngan forbade us to eat?" Uvigan wanted to know.

"Yes, and it's very good," said Bugan. "It tastes better than any other fruit I've eaten."

"But what will Mak-no-ngan say?" asked Uvigan.

"He doesn't need to know," said Bugan.

"He will though," said Uvigan. "He's a god, and he has ways of finding out."

"Then why didn't he punish me the moment I plucked the fruit?" Bugan asked.

"Just the same, it's wrong and wicked of you to have plucked and eaten the fruit," Uvigan pointed out. "You should not have disobeyed Mak-no-ngan."

"Well," said Bugan, "I don't see, anyway, why he should have forbidden us to eat the fruit in the first place, unless he wants to save it for himself. But he can't possibly eat all of it. There's plenty to spare."

"Perhaps you're right," agreed Uvigan. "Let me have a bite of the fruit."

Bugan gave it to him. He took a bite, and another, and another, and his eyes lighted with pleasure.

Nothing happened to Uvigan and Bugan right away. But little by little, they grew discontented and unhappy. And they
began to quarrel with each other. For evil had entered their lives.

Uvigan and Bugan bore many children. But they were all unruly, disobedient, and troublesome. And after some years, Uvigan died in deep sorrow, leaving Bugan alone to run the household.

The children of Uvigan and Bugan grew more and more wicked, until Mak-no-ngań could no longer control his anger. To punish them, he caused the rice plants to wither and die; so that, in the end, they had nothing to eat.

Filled with pity for her hungry and suffering children, Bugan knelt on the ground and prayed that they might live. Then with a great effort, she took hold of her breasts and pressed them hard, until two streams of milk flowed to the ground.

Bugan's milk kept some of her children alive for a while, but, as it slowly ran out, she became more and more anxious about the welfare of her children. And she continued to press her breasts harder and harder, until blood flowed in torrents to the ground.

Seeing Bugan's sacrifice, Mak-no-ngań took pity on her and her children. And so he made the rice plants grow once more. This time, however, some of the plants bore white grains; while the others bore red grains. The white grains were Bugan's milk, while the red grains were her blood.

3). BICOL "THE CREATION OF THE WORLD" LUZON

Thousands and thousand of years ago, there was a time when the space occupied by the universe was vacant. The moon, the sun, the stars, and the earth were conspicuous by their absence. Only the vast expanse of water and the sky was under the rule of the great god Languit while the water was under the sovereignty of the god Tubigan.

Languit had a daughter called Dagat, the Sea, who became the wife of Paros, the Wind, who was the son of Tubigan. Four children were born to Dagat and Paros, three of whom were boys called Daga, Aldao, and Bulan, and one girl named Bitoon.

Daga, a strong man, possessed a body of rock; Aldao, a jolly fellow, had a body of gold; Bulan, a copper-made man, was a weakling; while the beautiful Bitoon was made of pure silver.

After the death of the father Paros, Daga being the eldest son, succeeded in the control of the winds. Soon after, Dagat, the mother died, leaving her children under the care of the grandparents Languit and Tubigan.
After assuming the control of the winds, Daga became arrogant and ambitious, desiring the gain more power, so he induced his younger brothers to attack the kingdom of Languit. At first they refused; at Daga's anger, Bulan and Aldao were constrained to join Daga in his plot.

Preparations were made and when everything was ready they set out on their expedition and began to attack the gates of the sky. Failure to open the gates, Daga let loose the winds in all directions so that the gate was destroyed and the brothers succeeded in gaining and entrance. But they were met by the enraged god Languit who sent out three bolts of lightning after them. All of them were struck by lightning. The copper body of Bulan melted into a ball so also with the golden body of Aldao. Daga's body fell into the sea and became what is now the earth.

Their sister Bitoon, on discovering the absence of her brothers went out to seek for them. But upon meeting the enraged god Languit, Bitoon was struck also by another bolt of lightning which broke her body into many pieces.

Then Languit descended from the sky and called Tubigan and accused him of helping their grandsons in their attack on his kingdom. But Tubigan defended himself saying he has no knowledge about the attack for he was asleep far down into the sea. Tubigan succeeded in pacifying Languit and the two regretted and wept the loss of their grandchildren. Since they could not revive them, they gave to each body a light.

Thus the body of Bulan became the moon, Aldao became the sun, and the beautiful Bitoon became the stars in the heaven. But to Daga they did not give light and his body gave rise to the land on earth.

Tubigan then planted a seed which grew up into a bamboo tree. From one of its branches came a man and a woman, who became the first parents of the human race. Three children were born the them. One called Maisog invested a fish trap. One day he caught such a very big and grotesque looking whale that he thought it was a god. So he ordered his people to worship it. The people gathered around and began to pray; but so sooner had they begun when gods from the sky appeared and commanded Maisog to throw the whale to the water and worship no one but the gods. But Maisog was not afraid and defied the gods. Languit, the king of the sky, struck Maisog with a lightning and stunned him. Then he scattered the people over the earth as a punishment. In this way the earth was peopled.

Maisog's body was blackened by the lightning and all his descendants are black. But Maisog's first son was carried to the north and became the parent of the white people.

His other children were brought to the south where the sun was hot that it scorched their bodies so that all their people were of brown color.
The other people were carried to the east where they had to feed on clay due to scarcity of food. Because of this diet, their descendants were of yellow color. In this way the earth came into being.

4). JARAYAS, JIGUESINAS "THE CREATION OF THE WORLD" I VISAYAS IGNEINES

At a time many years ago — so long that man's imagination can no longer reach it back — there was no land. All was immense sea that nobody knew where it commenced or where it led to. Then the years and the ages passed. Nobody knew where the sky or the earth or the wind or the clouds were.

There was a king who guided the destiny of space. This was King Manaul. He was tired and wanted to rest. There was no place where he could rest. He decided that the earth and the sky should wage war with each other.

The war went on for a long time. Nobody knew how long it lasted. Thus the years dragged by. It was known that when the king blew with all its fury, it raised huge waves and nobody knew how far they reached above.

Tired, the king of the air, Manaul, clawed from the depths of the ocean many rocks which were so big that many people could neither raise nor move (any of) them. He lifted these rocks in the air and cast them below. He did this in various places to put an end to the war. Finally, he succeeded in separating the waves and the winds.

The rocks he had thrown below formed the lands of the islands of Iraya, one of which being that Bugto, which is now known as the islands of Negros.

There were neither trees nor plants and all got scorched in the heat of the sun. At that very moment, King Manaul wanted a place where he could rest from the heat of the sun.

So he called his general Maguayan, who up to this time took the name of the plant Kapayan or spiny bamboo. The world spiny was mag of that time, meaning "One Most High."

Maguayan afterwards went far away. He was away for a long time. At length he returned after many years. He immediately threw a piece of the spiny bamboo which floated on the water. The winds blew and the seas carried it to the island where it grew. The place was beautiful, so beautiful indeed, that King Manaul felt its charms. One day, while he sat alone under its (the spiny plant's) branches, he heard some voices which came from inside the bamboo. He went near the
bamboo plant and opened it with his beak. From one of the
nodules came forth a man and from another a woman. King Manaul
named the former Sikalak, and the latter, Sikabay. And from
these two came the other peoples from whom sprang manking.

5). MANGIANS "LEGEND ABOUT THE CREATION OF THE WORLD"1 VISAYAS
NEGritos

Away back in the long ago the earth did not exist, and
there was only a vast immense sea formed by a huge ocean.

Once after the end of the long and painful imprisonment
of King Manaul by his opponent King Tubluck Lawi after a bloody
war which they fought with the result of the rout of King
Manaul, and after Manaul had broken the enormous chain with
which he was fastened, he went out flying into space with the
intention of avenging himself of his most fierce and feared
enemy, Tubluck Lawi.

Many years passed during which King Manaul wandered
through the air, flying hither and thither without finding any
place where he could alight and rest from his long and tiresome
journey. He declared himself the enemy of the earth and sky.
These in fury at such boldness, tried to punish King Manaul.
The liquid element sent out waves which raised themselves in
anger, like tremendous peaks, scattering foam and minute
particles of water into space. The sky, in its turn, called to
its assistance Canauay and Aminhan, the gods who rule the air,
to send out furious winds. The sky discharged a torrential
rain. They tried to punish him, but King Manaul, light and
agile, with his powerful wings, always escaped and mocked at
the infuriated elements, withdrawing lightly from their
colossal discharges.

Days and months went by, and then years. But no one
yielded a bit in his boasting. At last both grew weary, and
having resolved to conclude their long and quarrelsome rivalry,
begged to know each other's desires.

King Manaul begged that he be given light, and
instantly there appeared revolving about him an immense number
of little lights produced by a multitude of fireflies.
Further, he desired counselors, and in a trice he had every
kind of bird at his side.

Seeing some exceedingly fine chicks, he could not
restrain his gluttony, and in one bound ate up all that were
there. Since there were no other chicks on which to satiate
his appetite, he began successively to devour and eat, first
among the smaller birds, and ending with the largest ones.
His other bird counselors, on the other hand, began to devour his small fireflies, until not the least sign of them appeared.

Angered by so gross an insult, he called his owls, which by chance were passing that place, and swore to them that they should be punished for such a villainy. So he obliged them to stay awake during the night, and gave them double-sized eyes, so that in the future they might see better and not eat his beloved fireflies. From that time, and the desires of King Manaul having been fulfilled, we see owls with their big eyes that are wakeful during night, suffering still the punishment of King Manaul.

Enter the king of the air, many of whose counselors Manaul had devoured. His wrath was boundless. He stamped his feet, and vomitted up terrible lightnings, thunderbolts, and whirlwinds. He sought aid from King Captan of the Higue-cubas, or the genius of the men of the sea, in order to punish the boldness of Manaul. He (i.e., Captain) sent from the sky huge rocks and stones to crush Manaul, but this had no result, for it was avoided by King Manaul.

Here the earth found its beginning, for then Manaul, finding a support in those big stones made them remain fixed forever. They having become his dwelling, King Manaul lived happily forever. Those lands had their beginning from that time and are still here today. Thanks to the rage of Captan against Manaul, the world had its beginning.

6). PANAY-VISAYAN "TUNGKUNG LANGIT AND ALUNSINA" VISAYAS

One of the stories about the creation of the world, which the old people of Panay, especially those living near the mountains, do not tire relating, tells that in the beginning there was no sky or earth—only a bottomless deep and a world of mist. Everything was shapeless and formless—the earth, the sky, the sea, and the air were almost mixed up. In a word, there was confusion.

Then from the depth of this formless void, there appeared two gods, Tungkung Langit and Alunsina. Just where these two deities came from, it was not known. However, it was related that Tungkung Langit had fallen in love with Alunsina; and after so many years of courtship, they got married and had their abode in the highest realm of the ethereal space, where the water was constantly warm and the breeze was forever cool. It was in this place where order and regularity first took place.
Tungkung Langit was an industrious, loving and kind god whose chief concern was how to impose order over the whole confused set-up of things. He assumed responsibility for the regular cosmic movement. On the other hand, Alunsina was a lazy, jealous, and selfish goddess whose only work was to sit by the window of their heavenly home and amuse herself with her pointless thoughts. Sometimes, she would go down the house, sit down by a pool near their doorsteps, and comb her long, jet-black, hair all day long.

One day Tungkung Langit told his wife that he would be away from home for sometime to put an end to the chaotic disturbances in the flow of time and in the position of things. However, despite this purpose Alunsina sent the breeze to spy on Tungkung Langit. This made the latter very angry upon knowing about it.

Immediately after his return from his trip, he called this act to her attention saying that it was ungodly of her to be jealous, there being no other creature living in the world except the two of them. This reproach was resented by Alunsina and a quarrel between them followed.

Tungkung Langit lost his temper. In his rage, he devested his wife of powers and drove her away. He did not know where Alunsina went; she merely disappeared.

Several days after Alunsina had left, Tungkung Langit felt very lonely. He realized what he had done. Somehow, it was too late even to be sorry about the whole matter. The whole place, once vibrant with Alunsina's sweet voice, suddenly became cold and desolate. In the morning when he woke up, he would find himself alone and in the afternoon when he came home, he would feel the same loneliness creeping deep in his heart because there was no one to meet him at the doorstep to soothe the aching muscles of his arms.

For months, Tungkung Langit lived in utter desolation. He could not find Alunsina, try hard as he would. And so, in desperation, he decided to do something in order to forget his sorrows. For months and months he thought. His mind seemed pointless; his heart weary and sick. But he must do something about his lonely world.

One day, while he was sailing across the regions of the clouds, a thought came to him. He would make the sea and the earth, and lo! the earth and the sea suddenly appeared. However, the somber sight of the lonely sea and the barren land irritated him. So he came down to earth and plated the ground with trees and flowers. Then he took his wife's treasured jewels and scattered them in the sky, hoping that when Alunsina would see them she might be induced to return home. The goddess' a necklace became the stars, her comb the moon and her crown the sun. However, despite all these Alunsina did not come back.
Up to this time, the old folk say Tungkung Langit lives alone in his palace in the skies. Sometimes, he would cry out his pent-up emotion and his tears would fall down upon the earth. The people in Panay today say that rain is Tungkung Langit's tears. Incidentally, when it thunders hard, the old folk also say that it is Tungkung Langit sobbing, calling for his beloved Alunsina to come back—entreating her so hard that his voice reverberates across the fields and countysides.

7). BAGOBO "COSMOGONY" MINDANAO

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 spit on them, and they became man and woman. The old man was called Tuglay and the old woman was Tuglibung. The two were married and lived together. The Tuglay made a great house, and planted seeds of different kinds that Diwata gave him.

Diwata made the sun, the moon, the stars, and the rivers. First he made the great eel (kasili), a fish that is like a snake in the river, and wound it all around the world. Diwata then made the great crab (kayumang), and put it near the great eel, and let it do whatever it liked. Now, when the great crab bites the great eel, the eel wriggles and produces an earthquake.

When the rain falls, it is Diwata throwing out water from the sky. When Diwata spits, the showers fall. The sun makes yellow clouds, and the yellow clouds make the colors of the rainbow. But the white clouds are smoke from the fire of the gods.

8). BILAAN "THE STORY OF CREATION" MINDANAO

In the beginning there were four beings (Melu, Fiuweigh, Diwata and Saweigh), and they lived on an island no larger than a hat. On this island there were no trees or grass or any other living thing besides these four people and one bird (Buswit). One day they sent this bird out across the waters to see what he could find, and when he returned he brought some earth, a piece of rattan, and some fruit.

Melu, the greatest of the four, took the soil and shaped it and beat it with a paddle in the same manner in which
a woman shapes pots of clay, and when he finished he had made
the earth. Then he planted the seeds from the fruit, and they
grew until there was much rattan and many trees bearing fruits.
The four beings watched the growth for a long time and
were well pleased with the work, but finally Melu said:
"Of what use is this earth and all the rattan and fruit
if there are no people?"
And the others replied, "Let us make some people out of
wax."

So they took some wax and worked long, fashioning it
into forms, but when they brought them to the fire the wax
melted, and they saw that men could not be made in that way.

Next they decided to try to use dirt in making people,
and Melu and one of his companions began working on that. All
went well till they were ready to make the noses. The
companion, who was working on that part, put them on upside
down. Melu told him that the people would drown if he left
them that way, but he refused to change them.

When his back was turned, however, Melu seized the
noses, one by one, and turned them ass they now are. But he
was in such a hurry that he pressed his finger at the root, and
it left a mark in the soft clay which you can still see on the
faces of the people.

9). MARANAÒ "THE ORIGIN OF THIS WORLD" MINDANAO

According to Maranao folklore, this world was created
by a great being. It is not known, however, who exactly is
this great being. Or how many days it took him to create this
world.

This world is divided into seven layers. The earth
also has seven layers. Each layer is inhabited by a different
kind of being. The uppermost layer, for example, is the place
we are inhabiting. The second layer is being inhabited by
dwarfs. These dwarfs are short, plump, and long-haired. They
are locally known as Karibanga. The Karibanga are said to
possess magical powers. They are usually invisible to the
human eye. The third layer of the earth which is found under
the sea or lake is inhabited by nymphs. These nymphs also
possess certain powers. It is stated in the story of Rajah
Indarapatra that he met and fell in love with the princess-
nymph with whom he had a child.

The sky also consists of seven layers. Each layer has
a door which is guarded day and night by huge mythical birds
called garoda. The seventh layer of the sky is the seat of
heaven which is also divided into seven layers. Every layer in
the sky is inhabited by angels. Maranaos believe that angels do not need food. They all possess wings with which they fly.

Heaven which is found on the seventh layer of the sky is where good people's spirits go after death. Saints are assigned to the seventh layer while persons who "barely made it" are confined to the lowermost layer which is found at the bottom of heaven.

It is in heaven where we find the tree-of-life. On each leaf of the tree-of-life is written the name of every person living in earth. As soon as a leaf ripens or dries and falls the person whose name it carries also dies.

The soul of every person is found in tightly-covered jars kept in one section of heaven. This particular section of heaven is closely guarded by a monster with a thousand eyes, named Walo. Walo, in addition to his thousand eyes, has also eight hairy heads. The epic Darangen speaks of Madale, Bantugan's brother Mabaning, husband of Lawanen, entering this section and retrieving the soul of Bantugan.
10). TIRURAY "THE CREATION OF THE EARTH" MINDANAO

Countless ages ago, there was no land throughout the world. There were only the sky and the sea.

In those days of long, long ago, there already lived in heaven a superhuman being whom the Tirurays know as Sualla (or Tallus-God). Sualla had a sister who lived in Bonggo, the kingdom of the dead. Both Sualla and his sister were very powerful, and were able to change any object to other forms.

One day Sualla went to the palace of the rising sun to visit eight Khnenentaos (statue) which stood against the walls of heaven. The eight khnenentaos were made from the pith of a very hard wood, and had been there since the beginning of time. When he arrived, Sualla touched one of the central figures. The Khnenentao he touched was given life, and thus the first man was created.

Sualla left the man he created. But the first man was always sad. Oftentimes he would visit his creator, and ask what he could do.

When Sualla found that the man he had created was always sad and lonely, he took one of the man's ribs and made a woman out of it. Sualla married the man and the woman.

Not long afterwards a very good looking son was born. But alas, the boy would never stop crying. His crying was so loud that it was heard throughout the universe. He became sick, and the parents were much worried. The woman sent her husband to Sualla to ask for medicine for their sick child.

When Sualla heard that this omat (man-creation) was in distress, he was sorry and said that he would never again directly increase his human creations. He gave the necessary medicine for the sick boy.

Before sending the man away, however, Sualla said, "You will meet a man on your way. Do not let him see or take hold of the medicine I have given you."

On his way, the Omant met the king of the demons who had been sent by Sinonggol, the sister of Sualla.

"What do you have in your hand there?" the king of the demons asked.

The omat did not answer, so the king of the demons grabbed the medicine and deftly changed it. As soon as Sualla's creation had back what he thought was the medicine, he hurried on.

When he arrived home, the omat gave the medicine to his boy. The boy died immediately.

The wife again sent her husband to the creator, this time to ask for a burial place for their dead son.

"What did you do to the medicine I gave you?" Sualla asked.

"The king of the demons took it from me," replied the man.

"My sister has been envious of my works again,"
muttered Sualla, and he felt sorry. Then he called for this four brothers from the four corners of the world. Their names were Mentail, Micael, Mintlafis, and Osman Ali. When his brothers arrived he ordered them to buy soil from Navi (Prophet) Mohammad so that Mentalalan, the boy who was dead, might be buried.

From different parts of the body of Mentalalan various food crops grew. The first corn grew from the teeth of Mentalalan. From the navel the first rice sprouted. The hands grew as the first banana trees. God is really a loving and wonderful being.

Sualla’s sister, Sinonggol, was so jealous of her brother’s work that she threw down her comb, which became the first pig - to eat and destroy the first bananas and other crops. She also spit out her buyo and threw it away. The buyo became the first rats, and thus to this day the rats eat and destroy our rice and corn.

It is said that had it not been for the jealousy of Sualla’s sister we should all be living now as immortals. We should never be hungry because the crops should not perish away. The bananas, the rice, the corn - all things that Sualla made for us - were changed or modified by Sinonggol.

But we must also take into consideration that Sinonggol did all these things because she loves us. Persons, beasts, insects, plants, and other things have to die, because she wants them in her abode at Bonggo, the kingdom of the dead.

11). YLIGUEYNES "THE PEOPLING OF THE WORLD"¹ VISAYAS

The people of the coast, who are called the Yligueynes, believe that heaven and earth had no beginning, and that there were two gods, one called Captan and the other Maguayen. They believe that the land breeze brought forth a reed, which was planted by the god Captan. When the reed grew, it broke into two sections, which became a man and a woman. To the man they gave the name Sicalac, and that is the reason why from that time on men have been called lalake; the woman they called babayes. One day the man asked the woman to marry him, for there were no other people in the world; but she refused, saying that they were brother and sister, born off the same reed, with only one knot between then and that she would not marry him, since he was her brother. Finally they agreed to ask advice from the tunnies of the sea, and from the doves of the air; they also went to the earthquake, who said that it was necessary for them to marry, so that the world might be peopled. They married, and called their first son Sibo; then a daughter was born to them, and they gave her the name of Samar. This brother and sister also had a
daughter, called Lupluban. She married Panbdaguan, a son of the first pair, and had a son called Anoranor. Pandaguan was the first to invent a net for fishing at sea; and the first time when he used it, he caught a shark and brought it on shore, thinking that it would not die. But the shark died when brought ashore; and Pandaguan, when he saw this, began to mourn and weep over it—complaining against the gods for having allowed the shark to die, when no one had died before that time. It is said that the god Captan, on hearing this, sent the flies to ascertain who the dead one was; but as the flies did not dare to go Captan sent the weevil, who brought back the news of the shark's death. The god Captan was displeased at these obsequies to a fish. He and Maguayen made a thunderbolt, with which they killed Pandaguan; he remained thirty days in the infernal regions, at the end of which time the gods took pity upon him, brought him back to life, and returned him to the world. While Pandaguan was dead, his wife Lupluban became the concubine of a man called Maracovrun; and these people say that at that time concubinage began in the world. When Pandaguan returned, he did not find his wife at home, because she had been invited by her friend to feast upon a pig that had been stolen; and the natives say that this was the first theft committed in the world. Pandaguan sent his son for Lupluban, but she refused to go home, saying that the dead do not return to the world. At his answer Pandaguan became angry, and returned to the infernal regions. The people believe that, if his wife had obeyed his summons, and he had not gone back at that time, all the dead would return to life.

12). TAUSUG "THE STORY OF ADAM AND EVE" MINDANAO

God, when about to create man, said to the angels; We should create Adam from a solidified earth. This was a revelation to the angels. And he asked them to fetch soil from the four corners of the earth.

But the angels were unable to obtain the soil because they were seduced by the satans or devils.

The reason for the seduction was that the satans were jealous of the angels. God had not revealed the them as he did to the angels the kind of substance to use in creating man. They promised, however, to help the angels obtain the soil from the four corners of the earth if they were also given the parman (of revelation).

The angels reported to God this complaint of the Satans. Then God, through the angels, gave his parman also to the satans. So the satans and the angels together went to fetch the earth needed for the making of man.

When the soil had been obtained, it was mixed together.
But Adam had no movement. Besides, he began to crack up because of the sun's heat.

God ordered the angels to pour water on him. But a new problem arose: Adam would not get dry. So God gave another order to apply air to him. But the problem remained; Adam would not move. This time, God commanded them to put fire in Adam. This made him better: he now had within himself: earth, water, air, and fire.

Still, another difficulty came up: whenever Adam sneezed his neck would be pulled off. God gave a revelation to the angels to the effect that Adam should say when sneezing: "Praise be to God." Besides, whenever Adam yawned, his chin would drop and remain fallen on his chest. To prevent this, another parman was given on joining him to say this ejaculation whenever he yawned: "God send the satans away from me." All these problems solved, the partubuhan of Adam was complete.

But Adam was alone. God put him to sleep and in his sleep, he dreamt that a rib of his of his was pulled out of his side and placed on his arms. He woke up and found the beautiful Eve pillowed on his arms. From then on the world began to be peopled.

Their first offspring were a white boy and a white girl. Next they gave birth to a black boy and a black girl. Then white children married each other! and the blacks did likewise. After their marriage, the children left to fond their own home. They bypassed the silver and gold mountains and remained on the iron. The children of the whites and the children of the blacks also married their own color. Thus the white and black races began.

In the paradise or Surgah, a man came to Eve and offered her a fruit to eat. Eating the fruit had been advised against by God and Adam. Probably Eve did not eat the fruit. That was why Eve was tempted again but in another form.

A little child, newly born, was crying; and Eve hearing the poor thing, ordered the angles to bring the child to her. The baby spoke and said that it was crying because Adam and Eve would be sent out of Paradise because they would not eat of the fruit of the tree. It stopped to cry [sic] only after Eve did actually partake of the fruit. Afterwards, Eve induced Adam to eat of the fruit despite his repeated refusals. Since then, both she and Adam began to urinate and defecate in Paradise. Thus they were sent out of it. Until now they can't be found. It was Eve's napsu, or greed, which sent them out of paradise.
Meal time found Bugan on mount Amuyao one day. And so she built a large fire to cook her dinner, causing a tall column of smoke to rise above the trees.

Bugan's brother, Balitok, who was on the other side of the mountain, saw the smoke. And wondering what was causing it, he hurried towards it.

Balitok was very much pleased to see his sister. After eating, they went down the mountain together. When they came to a river, they followed its course, until they reached a place called Kiyanggan. There they built themselves a hut.

After they had lived together for some time, Bugan felt that a change had come over her. She knew she was going to have a baby, but she did not quite know why.

To find out, she put some lime on her navel one night. The following morning, she saw the lime on Balitok's navel. She knew then that her own brother was the father of her baby. And it made her so angry and ashamed that she ran away.

"Where're you going?" asked a voice. It was that of Kabigan, an anito, or spirit.

"I don't know," said Bugan, "but I'm running away from Balitok."

"Why?" asked the voice.

"Because," Bugan answered, "I've just found that he's the father of the baby I am carrying in my body. And I'm very much ashamed of myself, as well as angry with him."

"You don't need to run away," the voice pointed out.

"In the hut by the river, to get married to Balitok, you know."

"Married to Balitok?" Bugan repeated in surprise. "But he's my own brother."

"I know," said the voice.

"Well," began Bugan, "then..."

"But it doesn't matter," said the voice.

"No?" asked Bugan, as though she could not believe her ears.

"No," said the voice, "provided that you perform the binobon ceremony."

And so Bugan went back to the hut by the river, to get married to Balitok. And in time, they had nine children - five boys and four girls.

Balitok built another house across the river. And Bugan and the four girls went there to live. But he and the four boys remained in the old house.

As each boy grew old enough, he went across the river, courted one of the girls, married her, and built a separate house for her. Thus the four brothers and the four sisters started four separate families.

That was how the people grew in number and spread over the land. These were the ancestors of the Ifugaos.
older brothers. When he finally grew old enough to marry, there was no one left for him to marry.

This made him bitter with disappointment. And so he decided to run away. It was some time before his father and brothers missed him. When they did, they looked all over for him. But he was nowhere to be found.

However, they noticed that a bird usually came at night and flew over their houses, singing a lonely and pitiful song. It was a jealous bird, and it would take away the souls of little children.

The people called that bird the kilkilang, after the fifth and youngest son of Balitok and Bugan. For they believed that it was that unhappy bachelor who had changed himself into a bird.
Kabunian used to come to earth, which he had created. Every time he saw it he felt unhappy, because there were no people on it. And because there were no people, there was no laughter.

One day, Kabunian decided to do something about it. He took some clay and molded the images of two people out of it — one of a man, and another of a woman. Kabunian stood the images up on their feet, but they remained silent and motionless. They had no life. And so Kabunian said to himself, "I'll make them laugh. Then they'll be alive."

So saying, he caught a chicken and plucked off all its feathers. Then he poked it with his finger, so that it jumped. At this, one of the images came to life and laughed — becoming the first man. The other image heard the first one laugh, laughed also, and became the first woman.

Kabunian was the chief god of the Ibaloi people. His home was the sun, but once in a while he came down to earth. While on earth, he lived on the top of Mount Pulog. Kabunian saw that the earth was a lonesome place, because there were no people in it. And so he made a woman. He told her that she and her children, and her children's children must always live in the mountains.

To make the woman contented, Kabunian gave her wild pigs for food. But soon she found out that it was hard to catch a pig, just when she was hungry and she needed one. For this reason, Kabunian made man to help her. The man was stronger than the woman. He also could run fast, so that it was easy for him to catch pigs.

The man built a house for the woman. He also built a pen, so that the woman might have a place for the pigs that he caught. In this way, the woman could always kill a pig whenever she wanted to.

That man and that woman were the first people on earth. The mountain people of this day are their children.
The Nabaloi people believe that, in the beginning, the sky was low. But as the trees grew, they kept pushing it up. And now it is very high.

It rained almost all the time. And once it rained so hard, and the water rose so high, that even the mountains were covered - that is, except Mount Chantog.

Of course, all the animals and all the people were drowned - that is, except a woman called Aran. She was the only one who was able to climb to the very top of Mount Chantog.

For some time after the great flood, Aran had to live alone. Then one of the bones in her right side became a man, and he became her husband.

Soon they had a baby. This baby grew up to be the ancestor of the Nabaloi people.

Later, Aran went from place to place; and every year she had another baby. This went on for thirty years.

Because they were born and brought up in different places, these babies were different from one another. And so, when they grew up, they became the ancestors of different tribes - the Kankanai, the Ifugao, the Bontoc, the Kalinga, the Tingian, the Ilocano, the Tagalog, the Visayan, and so on.
Lumawig of the skyworld was sorely displeased with the people of the earth, because they were wicked and sinful. And so he flooded the earth to destroy them.

But the great flood did not kill all the people of the earth. A man and woman were saved. The man had found shelter on top of Mount Kalauitan; and the woman, on top of Mount Pukis.

While darkness still covered the earth, the man saw a fire burning on Mount Pukis. And so he sent a lizard there to get fire. He wanted to have some light, and to keep himself warm.

When the lizard failed to return, the man sent a snake. When the snake came back empty-handed, he sent a cat. But the cat did not want to go, and so he sent a dog.

The man put a bundle of rice straw in the dog's mouth, so that it might swim across without wetting the straw. When the dog reached Mount Pukis, it gave the bundle of rice straw to the woman who was tending the fire.

The woman understood right away what the dog wanted. And so she put a live charcoal inside the bundle of rice straw. Then she put the bundle back in the dog's mouth.

The woman also tied a small bag around the dog's neck. In the bag, she put the flint which had once belonged to her brother. She knew that, if the person who had sent the dog was her brother, he would readily recognize it. Then he would know that she, his sister, was still alive.

Sure enough, when the dog returned to Mount Kalauitan, the small bag tied around its neck caught the man's attention at once. Hurriedly, he opened the bag. And when he saw the flint inside it, he knew that it was his sister who had sent it. For it was the same flint that he had given her before the flood.

And so, as soon as the flood had subsided, the man went to Mount Pukis to fetch his sister. Then, together, the two of them went to Bontoc, their former home.

In Bontoc, Lumawig appeared to them and urged them to marry right away.

"But we can't marry," they protested. "We're brother and sister."

"You'll have to," Lumawig said. "For how else can I people the earth again."

As they still refused to marry, Lumawig made a musical instrument out of bamboo. When it was finished, he gave it to the man and said, "Make music on this instrument, so that your sister will fall in love with you."

The man played on the bamboo musical instrument, but the woman would not even listen to the music. Getting impatient, Lumawig rolled a tobacco leaf for the man to smoke. As the man began to smoke, the aroma of the tobacco attracted the woman. And she snatched the cigar from his mouth.

Lumawig knew then that the man had succeeded in
attracting the woman. Again commanding them to marry, he prepared a prayer for the marriage ceremony, called the amuro. Thus the only woman and the only man who had survived the great flood were married. And they had hundreds of children. Lumawig told the children to go and live in different villages. He also gave them different dialects to speak, in order to make it appear that they had not come from the same parents. And that is why, until now, the people speak different dialects, although they have similar customs.
After the Luap (deluge) only two people were left on earth: a man who was on top of Mt. Binulbulangan and a woman on top of Mt. Atip. The man, looking around him, saw a flash of light in the direction of Mt. Atip. It was the sun caught flashing on the betel-nut container of the woman. The man was surprised at this and decided to go find out what the flash of light meant since he kept seeing it now and then. The man took a jar, placed fire in it to keep him warm and getting inside the jar floated towards the light. He found the woman there. It is from this couple that the earth was peopled.
19). IFUGAO "THE CREATION"3 LUZON
Source: Giano, an old mumbaki (a priest or one taught to offer sacrifice or caniao) from Banaue, Ifugao. This legend was reconstructed from the prayers said during the caniao for the blessing of a new rice terrace.

In the beginning Kabunian had created a world which he later destroyed with all the people in it because of their many faults. Then Montalog, (an Ifugao term meaning to create) the god who taught all the customs and traditions of the Ifugaoos, married Montinig, a goddess. From this union were born Bugan and Wigan who were not supernatural beings but were just extraordinary in the sense that they were being guided directly by the gods.

Montanog, looking down from the sky, saw that the two were naked. He dropped some plants and trees that could be turned into thread. Then he inspired Bugan and Wigan to remove the thread and to weave these into cloth: a G-string for Wigan and a tapis for Bugan. In the beginning Bugan wove the cloth without any design. Then she added designs when she saw in her dreams all the beautiful designs that are now found in the tapis of the women of Ifugao.

Meanwhile, Bugan was inspired to prepare the ground for rice fields by choosing stones to prop up into terraces. When their first child was born, Bugan, while feeding her child one day, spilled some of her milk into the ground. This grew and bore fruit which Wigan ate since he knew it was good to eat as it was Bugan's milk. This was the first rice.

After many years, it happened that Lidum (pronounced Lichum), a supernatural being, was looking down on earth as he sat on his resting place on top of a mountain. While viewing the earth he came across Wigan preparing a field for rice. Lidum said: "Oh, Wigan is preparing another rice field." After Lidum said these words, Wigan suddenly became very weary and tired and so he went home. He called on Hinumbian, another supernatural being, and asked him why he felt tired and weary of planting and cultivating his field. Hinumbian said he would go to find out who had made him tired. He then went to visit all the heavenly places and came across many people but he could not find anyone. So he went to Kabunian to ask his help and Kabunian said: "I will have to consult my right hand men" and he came across Lidum who said: "I always see Wigan preparing very many rice fields for planting but I have never seen him or heard him offer any to us." So Kabunian instructed Hinumbian to go down to earth to tell Wigan to offer sacrifices.

When Wigan heard this he called his companions and told them that after they had finished their work in the fields, they would offer sacrifice. After their work they all went to Wigan's house where he prepared wine. He then called his neighbors and he performed the first caniao by burning a chicken. The smell of the chicken went up to Kabunian and Lidum and the two came down.
They blessed the fields so that they would produce good crops of palay but reminded Wigan to give offerings always. Before leaving they said: "Whenever the crops fail, or the fields are in danger of sliding or when the plants are attacked by worms, call on us in the same way."

That is why people follow this custom.

20). IFUGAO "THE CREATION" LUZON
Source: Mr. George Pepe, head-catechist of the mission of Banaue, Ifugao.

In the beginning, there were only two people on earth: Wigan, who was living on Mt. Amuyao and Bugan, a woman, on top of Mt. Pimmagui. Both were so rich, however, that the man could not court the woman since he could never outdo her in wealth. Kabunian got angry because Bugan did not like Wigan so he flooded the whole earth. When the waters subsided, Wigan needed fire as he wanted to smoke. He looked around him and saw smoke rising from another mountain. He was surprised to see it as he thought he was the only one saved from the flood.

Before the flood, there were no high mountains on earth. Now he saw that the smoke came from a high one. Wigan called his dog and together they started to climb it. Upon their doing so, wild pigs came running down the slopes causing such a force as to create rivers and high mountains as the earth was still loose. On reaching the place of the smoke, Wigan saw that it came from Bugan's house. On seeing that she was saved too, he told her that she had to marry him now since both of them were saved from the flood. And so it is from them that all the Ifugaos are descended.

21). IFUGAO "THE CREATION" LUZON
Source: Atty. Raymundo Baguilat, Kiangan, Ifugao.

One day, Wigan, god of the Eastern World went hunting. His dogs chased a wild boar and were soon so far from him that he could only guess their direction by their yapping. Unfortunately, however, he could not hear them after a while because of the noisy rushing of the big Ibulao river. Wigan took his hunting bag and placed it between the two precipices that lined both sides of the river so that it was dammed and the water rose and overflowed into Kiangan and Lagawe killing all the
people except for those who went to Mt. Napulawan, the highest peak there. These were a brother and sister named Balbalitoc and Bugan. The two offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving to Wigan. As Wigan looked down he saw the deluge which he had caused. He went down, removed his hunting bag, and the river returned to its normal course. Balbalitoc and Bugan then went down and settled in Kiyangan.

One day, while Balbalitoc was feeding the chickens, he saw the rooster mating with its own sister-hen. This made him think. So that night he went to his sister without her knowledge. In the morning Bugan knew that something had happened to her but she did not know who did it. She then placed apug (lime) on herself that night and the next day she found out that it was her own brother. Bugan was so ashamed, she went down to the river to lament. The gods saw her and asked her the reason for her sorrow. She told her story to them. They consoled her and told her it was the way of mankind to increase their race as they were the only two left. Bugan then went back to her brother and the two were married. Out of their union came the Ifugao tribe.
In the beginning there was no world existing. There was only a community of the dead under the care of Queen Sinonggol. The Queen had a brother, Sualla, who was a herb doctor and treated the other gods who got sick in their kingdom.

The two lived in a palace on the east side of which stood eight statues made of strong wood. The first statue was created by Queen Sinonggol into the First Man. The first woman was then taken out from his ribs, and thus they lived as husband and wife under the rule of the Queen. The two had a son whom they named Mentalalan.

The First Man, one day, did something wrong and displeased the Queen and due to this, Queen Sinonggol made him sick as his punishment.

Sualla, the Queen's brother gave the man something to cure him of his sickness, but it was a conditional cure: whosoever would touch this thing would cause the death of the first man's son Mentalalan.

The Queen knew about this condition, so she asked the devil to touch the thing Sualla gave the man, just to prove to her creatures her power over them. Consequently, the man's son, Mentalalan, died.

The Queen took some earth, and together with the body of Mentalalan, transferred it to another world, and buried it there.

After some time had passes, the place where Mentalalan was buried grew into a hill, and gradually became bigger and wider, wherein plants of different kinds grew, and life soon flourished.

This became the world and that is how it came into existence.
23). BAGOBO "THE LEGEND OF CREATION" MINDANAO

Source: Miss Luzviminda Llobrera; Banga, Cotabato.

A long, long time ago, long before time was ever reckoned, even before man was made, the universe was peopled by monkeys called lutung. At that primeval period, the monkeys had the form of men and were in all respects human. It was then man appeared on earth that the apes took on their present form, although the line of separation between the monkeys and the human beings was, even then, pretty well established.

And now there came to live on earth very old people called mona whose home, some say, was in the center of the earth. Others, however, believe that the ancestors of the Bagobos, as far back as the mona, have always occupied the mountainous sites in Mindanao where their descendants live today. The old men were called tinglay while the old women were called tuglibung.

When the god Pamulak Manobo decided to create the earth and the mona he was assisted by the first tuglay and tuglibung in making the plants and the things that appeared on earth. There were no young people in those days; besides, no babies were born for a very long, long time. All the mona were extremely poor. They had not yet discovered the art of weaving hemp into garments and were accustomed to clothe themselves in ginit, the soft, dry sheath that envelops the branches of coconut palms.

The old people had rice and fruits to eat but they were living in very miserable conditions because the sky hung so close to the earth that nobody could ever stand upright. Everyone was obliged to go about in a stooping posture but what made everything worse was the fact that the sun blazing in the sky so close to the earth forced the mona to take refuge in deep holes in the earth to escape from the terrible heat.

One day, an old woman, stung to exasperation while stooping to pound rice, cried out at the sky for impending her work. Straightway the sky rushed up until it attained a great height away from the earth.

Now things were better. The people could stand up straight and walk at ease. They built houses of bamboo thatched with nipa palm or cogom grass. The air was cooler and plants grew in abundance. The mountains were covered with coconut palms, banana plants, and sugar cane. The mona had plenty to eat except in seasons of drought. Yet they were still poor as they had no material wealth nor fine clothing.

After some time, the mona began to give birth to children. The first boy was called Malaki and the first girl, Bia, two famous names retained in myth for brave heroes and ladies of distinction. All the earth was soon full of people for no one died in those days. The buso (demons) were very kind and friendly. But later, a quarrel was alleged to be the cause of the enmity between the buso and man.

One of the most famous of the men at that time was Lumabat. Several incidents are based on his achievements and
those of his brothers and sisters. One incident narrated how several people following the lead of a brother of Lumabat were all turned into monkeys.

Another incident relates of a quarrel between Lumabat and one of his famous sisters which fixed the destiny of man, consigning him after death, not to heaven, but to the country below the earth.

It seems that Lumabat had insisted on his sister's accompanying him in an attempt he was preparing to undertake to reach heaven. His sister refused to go with him and the two began to fight. After the fight, his sister sat on a rice mortar and caused it to sink down into the earth. As she disappeared, she threw out handfuls of rice on the ground as a sign that many would follow her below the earth but none would go to heaven. This sister is known as Nabuyon, a famous character in myth for she is the guardian of the entrance the One Country of the Dead and it is she who determines the age at which a person shall die. Down there in Guinokudon she shakes a lemon tree and the random fall of green or ripe fruit, like the blind snipping shears of the Greek fate Atropas, calls youth or old age to the lower world. (This element seems very suggestive of Aryan influence, since the tendency of pure Malay myth is to make demons and ghosts responsible for all sickness and death.)

Shortly after the disappearance of Nabuyon, Lumabat went on an expedition to gain entrance into the country above the sky. A great number of his relatives went with him but all, save Lumabat, were punished in one way or another, on the road. He alone succeeded in jumping between the sharp edges of the horizon which flew apart and then locked again in rapid succession.

Lumabat thus reached heaven alone and became the great Diwata.
24). **BILAAN "STORY OF CREATION"**

It is said that the Bilaans are a recreation of Milo, the Creator of the Universe. Milo was white in complexion and lived above the clouds. At first, he created the first two human beings but it was Tao Dalum Tana who continued molding the two beings, making one different from the other until he had fashioned them into the first man and woman.

The Bilaans are said to have first dwelt in Java. They belonged to the first wave of Indonesians who came to the Philippines. They migrated to the Philippines in boats and settled in the lowlands and around the hillsides of Southern Cotabato until they were driven into the mountains by the Christian and Muslim settlers.

Their language is the Java-Polynesian language consisting of seven vowels.

25). **SUBANUN "THE LEGEND OF CREATION"**

Source: Liberty Culanculan; Dapitan, Zamboanga del Norte

In the beginning, God created seven brothers and seven sisters who married each other and from whom sprung out very many people, the very first woman being called Bailendang.

Some of the people became invisible and went to live in balete trees. These people were so sensitive about their privacy that anyone who touched their dwelling got sick. And so today no one dares cut down or go near a balete tree. These unseen people also helped their friends clear their kaingins if they were offered a chicken or some other food. Today when a farmer offers this food, he simultaneously asks permission to begin clearing the kaingin. Then he is sure of having a good harvest. The same is also done at the harvesting of crops. In this way, the farmer insures the good friendship of his unseen neighbors.

God also gave his people signs in the sky as warnings. When a rainbow appears around the sun, this means that a datu will die. If the sun is very red, children should not go out to play because the Balbal (witch) is around.

When people have done something to displease God, He sends a big bird to cover the sun which causes a tibagak or eclipse. When this happens, the people all shout to God asking him to drive the bird away so the light may come back. Then the priest begins a pagdiwara ritual to accompany their prayers. When God is pleased with their sacrifice, he uncovers the sun or the moon and light comes back again.
Another way of punishing man is by strong winds. In the hollow of a tree there is coiled a big piece of rattan. When God sends out strong winds, he uncoils the rattan and stretches it upward to send out his winds. When his anger is appeased the rattan is coiled back.

At other times, though, God shows his anger by rolling big stones thus causing thunder and when these big stones meet each other, fire is emitted called lightning.

God also gave prophets or Manalagna. These men are able to see the future and tell anyone's fortune. Also, when their valuables are lost, they can go to the manalagna who locates the lost articles. In return for this service, the Subanuns pay them to prophesy.

When God saw that everything was fixed on earth for his people, he gave the earth to them.

3. taken from Coronel, Maria Delia. Stories and Legends from Filipino Folklore University of Santo Tomas Press, 1967.
REFERENCES CITED


Demetrio, Francisco R. "Philippine Folklore Against the Background of Western Folkloristics." 1975.


Eugenio, Damiana L. Philippine Folk Literature: An Anthology. Quezon City: Folklore Studies Program, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of the Philippines, and the UP Folkloristics, Inc., 1981.


McKinley, Robert. "Human and Proud of It! A Structural Treatment of Headhunting Rites and the Social Definition of Enemies"


Song, Sunmin. "Anthropology and Myth" American Anthropology 1989: 8-19,