

philippine studies

Ateneo de Manila University • Loyola Heights, Quezon City • 1108 Philippines

Bago Mythology and the Ecosystem

Florentino H. Hornedo

Philippine Studies vol. 43, no. 2 (1995): 231–244

Copyright © Ateneo de Manila University

Philippine Studies is published by the Ateneo de Manila University. Contents may not be copied or sent via email or other means to multiple sites and posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's written permission. Users may download and print articles for individual, noncommercial use only. However, unless prior permission has been obtained, you may not download an entire issue of a journal, or download multiple copies of articles.

Please contact the publisher for any further use of this work at philstudies@admu.edu.ph.

<http://www.philippinestudies.net>
Fri June 27 13:30:20 2008

Bago Mythology and the Ecosystem

Florentino H. Hornedo



Quite casually, my guide and informant, Sati Baltazar, tells me that the gods have migrated from the eastern mountains to Mt. Tenglawan—a forested mountain on the western border of the Cordillera and to the east of the Bakun and Amburayan river valleys, which join Ilocos Sur and La Union provinces in the northwest section of Luzon. And why did they leave the eastern mountains?

“Because their forest cover is gone.”

“And how is it known that the gods have left?”

“The springs have dried up; and wildlife which people use to hunt are now extinct. Even farm crops are failing.”

“Why would the gods migrate to Tenglawan?”

“Because the place is not disturbed; it is still thickly forested.”

A tale told by Lakay Luis Amoy of Amilongan, Alilem, Ilocos Sur, which he says took place in his lifetime, suggests how the wildlife of the god-deserted mountains became extinct.

Here was Aliko of Amilongan
Whose fate it was to be a hunter,
Which was his means of livelihood.

He bought himself a hunting dog,
And then prepared to go ahunting.
He caught all the wild pigs and deer
In all the places he could reach;
He caught all the edible ants, too,
Which he could find in the woods.

His neighbors would always come
To partake of his bountiful catch.
For it was known far and wide
That whenever his dog barked,
What followed were the cries of wild pigs.

But one day, as Aliko was hunting,
Suddenly a Lady appeared and shouted,
"Aliko, you are too much!
You are too much! Aliko.
You have killed all our pets.
What you have just caught is a new one
Which we just brought here yesterday
From Mt. Kimmalugong.
Now you have taken it again."

But because the boar was already dead,
Aliko got confused and scared,
And he let his companions carry it
And brought it away from the place.

They ran away with the boar
And brought it to the crossroad
Of the trails to Buanes and to Amilongan;
And there they roasted it.

But because hunting was his livelihood,
He was back hunting the next morning.
This time again he caught a boar with long tusks.
And they brought it home to cook;
They cut its head and boiled it in a vat.
But while they were boiling it,
The pig's head suddenly cried aloud.

.....

And after several days, Aliko died,
Aliko's life on earth had ended.

Lakay Luis Amoy did not explain what he thought of the mysterious lady who claimed she owned the animals as pets, nor why the head of the dead boar "cried aloud" while it was being boiled. But there is no doubt about the sense of outrage at the hunting to extinction of the wildlife of the place, and there is a vague implication that Aliko's death is not unrelated to the anger of the lady over the extinction of her pets due to hunting. She even reveals that the animals had been imported from another place—Mt. Kimmalugong. Is the lady a symbol of Nature herself, or of the gods who own nature?

This is, of course, current mythology. But it reveals, too, the fact that myth is not to be mentally situated in the past as constituting a

dead belief. Myth, though its paradigms change, appears to be the substratum of consciousness and provides the ground of understanding and meaning, whether theoretical or pragmatic. The myth that is partially revealed in the foregoing narratives presents a belief in: (1) a world of the sacred and the secular, (2) where the sacred dwells in the secular, (3) the sacred rejects the secular when damaged, and (4) the sacred (implicitly) commands respect for the secular (the ecosystem); (5) and when the ecosystem is violated, the sacred beings who dwell in it depart so that the ecosystem may be said to have become desecrated—that is, divested of the sacred, or (6) even worse for man, as in Aliko's case, the gods (and the forces they symbolize) may take revenge and destroy the offender.

The desecration is signified in the myths in two ways: the abandonment of the ecosystem by the gods and the disappearance of the life-giving resources of the desecrated environment or ecosystem (or the vengeance against the desecrator).

There is an alternative vision—Mt. Tenglawan. The gods migrate into this mountain. The sacred comes to dwell in it. It becomes "consecrated," that is, it becomes sacred as the holy and divine comes to dwell in it. The implication is that those life-giving resources (the flora, the fauna, the water springs) lost in the desecrated mountains become present in this consecrated one. In the tale, the "pets" are transferred from one mountain to another. These blessings are not what the gods seek; they are the effects of their presence. For the gods are not passive inhabitants of the ecosystem but creative agents who manifest personal attributes revealed to man in the form of positive commandments. It is the keeping or violation of these commandments which determines the reward or punishment of humans. This is articulated in more specific detail in two mythic narratives recorded from the same cultural community and ecosystemic locale where Sati Baltazar was born and grew up. The first is "The Myth of the Lightnings" and the second is "The Myth of the Harvest Rite." Both were recorded from the narration of Lakay Arsenio Ligod of Barangay Amilongan, Alilem, Ilocos Sur, on 28 December 1989.

Amilongan lies along the Bakun River and on the western slope of the Cordillera, not far from the Bontoc-Benguet border. The cultural community that lives here is a border culture that speaks a mixed Iloko-Kankanaey language called "Bago" by the lowland Ilocano. The word *bago*, which means "new" or "neophyte," was first applied to these people by the Ilocanos during the Spanish period when, after the Ilocanos had been Christianized, missionary work

began in the inland. The newly Christianized people of the inland were then referred to as "Bago," and to this day the word has remained to designate them not as "new" Christians but as a distinct cultural community (though not necessarily ethnically distinct).

The Myth of the Lightnings

The cosmos is made up of the earth and the sky world (see Text A: lines 46, 56-61, 65, 71-73). The god Kabunian once lived on earth in a place called Kay-ang (2-3). He created many things, including the land (2, 13). He had the appearance of a human (19-20) and married a human by the name of Bangan (5-6, 47), with whom he had a son (15, 38, 40-41). But what made him different was the speed and power with which he accomplished his work (16-20, 24-25). His manner of work was indeed most unusual (3-4, 25-27, 31-32). He did not want humans to witness the way he worked (11-12, 30-34). So he made a commandment (6-12, 35-36, 50-52). He punished severely disobedience to his commandment (35-36, 43-46, 47-53, 57-66). Final decisions were made by him (37-39, 42-46, 59-62). He also possessed the power to bring back the dead to life (54-56, 60-62, 65-67).

Although the god Kabunian lived on earth in the beginning (1-2) and was on such loving terms with human as to marry a human (5-6, 14-16, 37) and live in the human world, even doing the work humans do (7-11, 15-19), he left the earth for the sky world when his commandment was disobeyed (45-46, 57-61). After he left the earth, there was sorrow and the decay of death (47-53, 57-60, 64-66), for humans do not have the power to give back lost life (47-48, 53-54). The children of the offended Kabunian are not kind to the earth; after having become bolts lightning (68), they strike trees (70-71) and the earth (71-73).

Thus goes the myth of how man fell from divine favor—a fall from which man alone is unable to rise again.

The Myth of the Harvest Rite

Man had forgotten Kabunian, and although the blessings of the earth were from his goodness (see Text B: lines 5-6, 41-42), they did not thank him (1-4). So he decided to reveal to mankind that he wanted them to acknowledge his blessings and honor him (4-5, 40-43)

by their performing a specific ritual (4-6). He did this by sending his mother to the earth (4-8). To communicate to people, Kabunian's mother appeared in the form of an old woman (7-8, 11, 14-17, 29, 35, 38, 44-46, 56, 67-69). The simple, kind-hearted persons are open to Kabunian's offer of his favor (20-28), but the haughty are not (13-18).

If people believed in Kabunian and did as he commanded, he would reward them by multiplying their harvest (49-51, 54-56, 59-60, 70-72). But if they did not accept his commandment, even if it is because of ignorance (13-18, 67-69), they would not be blessed (55-56).

The helplessness of man was so great that, unaided, he could not come to a true understanding of Kabunian's will, so the initiative had to come from Kabunian himself (4-6, 10-18, 24-35). To prove the revelation was truly from him, a miracle was made to happen so that humans might believe (45-51, 54, 59-60).

The acceptable way in which Kabunian was to be thanked for his blessings consisted of offering rice wine (33-35, 38-40, 63-65) and a small amount of meat (37, 39-40, 63-64), explicit acknowledgment of Kabunian's blessings (40-43, 46-47), thanking him, too, for teaching people to perform the thanksgiving ritual (47-48), and bundling the harvest according to a specified manner (45-47).

The ritual was not to be kept secret but to be disseminated to all and passed on down the generations (66-78) so that people would prosper (71-72) and because the thanksgiving ritual was revealed and commanded by Kabunian (75-78, 80-82).

The God-Man Relationship in the Two Myths

The myths in this note, although distinct and separate narratives, present a somewhat coherent worldview concerning the relationship of man with the divine.

The first myth shows how Kabunian loved humans, how he manifested his will, and how for mere curiosity's sake the human especially loved by him disobeyed such a simple commandment. For this, he punished the disobedient and abandoned the earth to its misery, even allowing it to be tormented by his sons—the two bolts of lightning.

The second myth picks up the story long after the original falling out had taken place. Mankind is presented as ignorant of god and ungrateful for the fruits of the earth that he had provided for man's life. But Kabunian is good and generous, and he would have man

enjoy more blessings if man were willing to recognize his lordship through appropriate thanksgiving and homage. He wants mankind to be reconciled with him—as if saying that the ancient disobedience could be healed, provided that mankind could demonstrate that this time they would obey his new commandment.

Fortunately, through a poor and simple nursing mother (*tagtagibian*), Kabunian's messenger was received and obeyed. Through such obedience, homage and thanksgiving is given to Kabunian, and through the popular acceptance of the new commandment, god and humans are reconciled—and Kabunian's blessings will always continue for as long as his commandment is obeyed.

It is significant that the manner of revelation to humans of the thanksgiving sacrificial ritual is by a divine being herself (Kabunian's mother). Moreover, the revelation of the divine will is not merely verbal. The first to perform the sacrificial ritual is Kabunian's mother herself. The myth presents her as performing the first act of sacrificial thanksgiving. She is the first to utter the thanksgiving prayers, and she is the first to bundle the rice harvest with the *bettek*. The humans in the narrative, whenever they perform the same ritual, are merely imitating what the divine did *in illo tempore*, as Mircea Eliade usually puts it. In fact, Eliade himself has noted in connection with rites of passage—that is, passage from ignorance to knowledge—that “these rites have superhuman origin, and by performing them the novice imitates a superhuman, divine action” (Eliade 1987, 187). The performance of the ritual, therefore, is not merely an act of the reversal of an original disobedience but also a symbolic act of union with the divine by doing a divine act. Because the act is divine, it is creative and causes the harvest to multiply. This multiplication, in Eliade's symbolistic view, indicates a belief of the culture concerned that the effect of the divine presence is abundance, and conversely, his absence is marked by scarcity or death. In this light, the drying up of springs and the vanishing of wildlife in an area is associated with the departure of the gods, or that the destruction of nature and its impoverishment is an assault on the divine presence.

The Bago Myths and the Ecosystem

The Bago traditionally saw their world as profoundly enchanted. Their oral literature repeatedly indicates their belief that there exists in their midst a superhuman power that has the ability to use or transform nature for its purposes. Certain persons attuned in some

way to this power have access to its favors.¹ A group of monkeys is guardian to a great treasure in a secret cave. They reward a good and generous man, but they frustrate the selfish designs of a greedy one. A woman named Annagud owns a pig without a tail. The pig has the magical ability to transform itself into different shapes as situations faced by its mistress demand. A practitioner of herbal medicine, deformed by ring worm, puts back together the dismembered body of a beautiful young lady, applies herbs to it, and by so doing brings her back to life. A frog falls in love with Gumatan, a hunter, and by eating crumbs which fall from his meal, it becomes pregnant with the hunter's child. The embarrassed but patient hunter is rewarded when, after dutifully performing the after-birth rites of bathing the new mother in the river, the frog emerges from the water as a beautiful woman who gives herself to the hunter as his wife. The folk hero Annusan Lumawig (Allusan in another version) owns bamboo pipes by which he can temporarily remove and keep human life then return it at will in order to effect a resurrection. He also has a rattan cane that, when ordered by him, can magically beat an enemy or troublesome person. He also has the magical ability to transform big stones, wood stumps, and other objects into pigs, oxen, or carabaos by his mere touch. A naked child, feeling cold, prays that it become a grasshopper, and it does become a grasshopper.

In the Bago version of the *Lam-ang*, there is an infant that has preternatural strength and skills. He owns a red-legged (*karurayan*) rooster and a pure black dog (*tiw-tiwan*). The rooster has the ability to put flesh back on the bones of a dead man by fanning them with its wings. The dog can reconnect the bones by licking them. Both rooster and dog, by crowing and barking, can call back the spirit of the dead man and awaken him back to life, as they do to Lam-ang's dead father.

This is the traditional Bago world—open to the cosmos, seeing human life as not separate but continuous with the universe and therefore open to its mysterious powers, powers that are ultimately drawn from divinity. Here in this sacral universe, the transcendent operates in immanence. But it does indicate by signs its chosen instruments: the precocious strength of an infant, the red leg of a rooster, the spotless blackness of a dog, the taillessness of a pig, the unusual handsomeness (*lawlawigan*) of a hero, and the deformity of appearance of an unusual healer (who could not heal himself). The sacral or divine is also a *deus absconditus*. It is the beauty of a lady hidden behind the appearance of a frog; the life-giving power hid-

den in the form of a rooster, a dog, and a healer deformed by skin disease; the reconciling goodness of Kabunian disguised as a weak old woman; and the human openness to faith in the garb of a poor and humble tagtagibian through whom humans receive god's revelation of his will. And his will is that man recognize him as the source of all life and the blessings that make life possible and worth living, and that man pay him homage and thanksgiving through a specific ritual for the harvest so that man may have his blessings in even greater abundance. The obverse of this is ungrateful, disobedient man, who reaps misery and destitution. Nature—symbolized by the harvest—is god's normal way of giving to his people.

In the two myths presented in this note, the same worldview appears. In the midst of the world is a working (creating) god from whom all good things come, who demands obedience to his commands, and who punishes severely when disobeyed. But because he is good, he opens ways for humans to reconcile with him. The way to reconciliation is through the offering of fruits of the earth (rice wine and meat) in thanksgiving for the "fruits of the earth." For the Bago whose life is intimately bound up with the soil and its fruits, the divine goodness is both revealed and acknowledged by the fruits of the natural environment—the fish and other edible life from the Bakun and Amburayan Rivers, the forest products and agricultural crops by which they feed and shelter themselves. In such a world, god is palpable in the bounty of nature. Thus, while they feed on its fruits, they also intuit the limits of such exploitation. If too much is taken from nature, it becomes barren and "the gods abandon it," leaving it dead and fruitless. Angry nature—probably symbolized by the shouting, angry lady in Lakay Luis Amoy's story—can cause death. She complains not about hunting itself but against "too much" hunting of the resources of the environment to the point of extinction, as Aliko did. Nature's animals are referred to by the mysterious Lady as her "pets." She replenishes losses by importing from other mountains, but if even these replenishments are killed, she protests and, impliedly, kills offenders.

There are better ways to deal with nature: recognize its sacral character and reverence this sacredness by a faith, that is, accept the divine providential origin of the creatures in the environment; live out this faith by recognizing the divine author's will as revealed in nature, which means recognizing the limits of exploitation of natural goods so as not to exhaust them; and realize the perpetuity of the need for the environment's renewal if it is to continue being a

blessing to man—a perpetuity symbolized by Kabunian's command for all people to perform the thanksgiving ritual in all the cycles of harvest. This is probably as close as the folk mind can come to what present day secular man calls "sustainable development."

Dr. Ruben Corpuz, a native son of the Bago lands, informed me in a note dated 1 July 1993 that today's generation of Bago have now become alien to the lore of their ancestors. The vision of a sacred environment is now gone except among the old and dying generation. It is this generation that has crossed the limits allowable by nature and its god and has now denuded the mountains of its forest cover, dried up the sacred springs, caused massive erosion of precious topsoil on the slopes, and silted the rivers, killing the fish and the shrimp. Poverty stalks many of Kabunian's people, and they, like the gods who leave their desecrated mountains, are migrating to lowland towns and urban centers to join the multitudes of slum dwellers and the poor. This is how Kabunian has cursed them for their infidelity—an infidelity that is both a blindness and a disobedience to the laws the Creator has imbedded in nature.

By way of a final word, I would like to reiterate what I have said elsewhere regarding a need today for a mythic understanding of contemporary science and a scientific understanding of myth (Hornedo 1988, 157). In this way, we may be able to achieve the paradox of keeping our cake and eating it too, by taking from nature only as much as she allows and consuming only as much as is reasonable. In this way, we may forestall the death of the only son of Bangan (the earth) and Kabunian (the Creator) and prevent its hopeless decay and ultimate dissipation.

TEXT A

THE MYTH OF THE LIGHTNING

Narrator: Lakay Arsenio Ligod

Recorded at: Amilongan, Alilem, Ilocos Sur

Date recorded: 28 December 1989

In the olden days, Kabunian taught us how to live well on earth in a place called Kay-ang.² It was there where he lived and created many things. His hands became crowbars, his feet became shovels, and his intestines became measuring lines.

5 As everything was going fine, Kabunian told his wife named Bangan, "Please, my wife, I will make something for you that you will play whenever you approach the place where I work." So Kabunian made the *pakkawkaw*.

10 Giving the *pakkawkaw* to her, Kabunian said, "Whenever you come near the place where I work, such as when you come to bring me my food, play on this *pakkawkaw* so that I will always be warned of your approach or presence." This was the command of Apo Kabunian who created the land.

15 So Bangan obeyed faithfully her husband's command. But one day, when they already had a son, she said to herself, "I wonder how he works. My husband is working so fast. So wide is the land he has levelled today, but yesterday it was not so. I wonder how he does so much although he works alone. Maybe I should observe secretly how he works. I had thought he was just another human, but
20 he seems to have extraordinary powers."

So she did not play on the *pakkawkaw* when she was coming close to where Kabunian worked. And then she watched with wonder how he worked.

25 Because Apo Kabunian is powerful, he can do things by both his word and his strength. When he stretched his intestine, it became a straight line. When he struck his crowbars, the earth moved immediately and dumped itself into the deeper parts of the land. That is how he worked.

30 It was only after she had watched that she sounded the *pakkawkaw*. So Apo Kabunian, caught by surprise, was suddenly confused and tried in great haste to bring together his body, which he had disassembled to do his work. But as he hurriedly pulled the parts together, they got tangled with vines, grass, and dirt, which got mixed up with his body. And he did not feel well.

35 Because of what Bangan did, Kabunian said to her, "You have disobeyed my command. Now, let us go home for I am not feeling well."

When they arrived home, Kabunian said to his wife, "Now we will divide our only child into two. The half with the head will be mine, and the half with the feet will be yours."

40 So Bangan began to cry, saying, "How can we divide our child? If we do, he will surely die. And he is our only child!"

"You take care of your share, which is the one with the feet, and I will take care of mine, which is the one with the head," said the angry Kabunian. "You put a head on yours and I will put feet on
45 mine since we have only one child," he added. Then he picked up his share and brought it up to the sky world.

Because Bangan is only an ordinary human, all she could do was cry over the lifeless lower half of her child's body. The words of

Kabunian kept ringing in her ears, "It is up to you to put a head on
 50 your share because you did not comply with my commandment to
 play on the pakkawkaw everytime you approach my place of work
 so that I would be warned of your presence." Then the body began
 to decay, and she felt even more helpless.

But the share of Apo Kabunian had been brought back to life and
 55 new feet had been given to him, and he was happily laughing in
 the sky world.

Then Apo Kabunian, who watched from the sky world, saw that
 Bangan's share was beginning to decay, so he came down to earth
 and said to Bangan, "Since you cannot put a head on your share and
 60 it is only going to rot here, I will now take it with me to the sky
 world and I will take care of putting a new head on it, and it will
 live again."

But Bangan could do nothing but cry because her share was now
 being taken from her. And so Kabunian took the decomposing lower
 65 half of their child with him to the sky world and created a head for
 it. And now there were two children of Kabunian who were only
 one in the beginning.

The two children of Kabunian became bolts of lightning: the
 stronger and the weaker lightning. The one with the original head is
 70 the stronger lightning. It is the one that strikes trees. It strikes high
 because it was the head. And the one with the original feet is the
 one that strikes and plows the surface of the earth. It is the weaker
 lightning, and it strikes the earth because it was originally the feet.

TEXT B

THE MYTH OF THE HARVEST RITE

Narrator: Lakay Arsenio Ligod

Recorded at: Amilongan, Alilem, Ilocos Sur

Date recorded: 28 December 1989

During the olden days, people on earth did not perform any ritu-
 als to thank Kabunian before harvesting their crops. During that time,
 people who went to harvest their crops did not even think of
 Kabunian. So Kabunian said, "Go down to earth, Mother, and teach
 5 the people how to do homage to me who am the giver of all the
 good things on earth."³

So Kabunian's mother went down to earth and disguised herself
 as a very old woman. She went to a crossroad where people passed
 on their way to their farms.

10 When it was morning, when many people were passing by on their way to their farms, the old woman asked them, "Where are you people going?"

And the people answered, "We are going to harvest our rice because it is now ready for harvest. But we cannot invite you to come
15 with us because you are old and cannot work anymore. Besides, we do not have much rice to harvest. Better go home and find something to do there." This was what they said to Kabunian's mother whom he sent.

And because the people did not want to invite her, she remained
20 there at the crossroad until she saw a nursing mother pass by. "Where are you going?" she asked the nursing mother.

The nursing mother answered, "I am going to harvest the rice in my small clearing."

"May I come with you and help harvest your rice?" she asked
25 the nursing mother.

"Yes, you may. But please do not despise the smallness of the harvest," answered the nursing mother. And so they went together.

As soon as they arrived in the kaingin, they were going to start harvesting the rice. So the old woman asked, "Do you not perform
30 the rites of thanksgiving to Kabunian before you start harvesting?"

"No, Mother, because we do not know how to do it," answered the nursing mother.

"That should not be. Go home and get a bottle of rice wine (*tapey*) and a little piece of meat, which we will offer to honor Kabunian,"
35 said the old woman.

So the nursing mother went home to get a bottle of rice wine and a piece of meat.

And as soon as she was back at the kaingin, the old woman took the bottle of rice wine and the *ben-ag* (preserved meat) and offered
40 them for the honor of Kabunian. Then she prayed to ask Kabunian for blessings and thank him for all the good things he had given the people. And after she finished the offering and prayers, they started to harvest together.

And when it was lunch time, the old woman taught the nursing
45 mother the proper way to bundle the harvest. "This is the way to do it," the old woman said. She took the *bettek* and began to bundle the rice panicles, then prayed again to thank Kabunian for showing and teaching the proper way to enjoy the fruits of the earth.

And while she was praying and bundling their harvest at the same
50 time, a wonderful thing happened. The few panicles of rice in their hands multiplied when bundled. And it was amazing to see.

When it was time for the people to come home from their farms in the afternoon, the people passing by the nursing mother's kaingin were

55 amazed. For although the kaingin was very small, the number of bundled harvests piled up was great. And the people who ignored the old woman were even more amazed because their harvests were small.

So when they arrived in the village, they asked the nursing mother, "What did you do, sister, when you harvested your rice? For your kaingin is small but your harvest is so bountiful, and it amazes us all."

60 The nursing mother answered, "Did you not see the old woman sitting by the trail? She was the one who taught me what to do before starting to harvest my crops. She sent me home to get a bottle of rice wine and a little meat to be offered to Kabunian, to thank him for the fruits of the earth that he has given us."

And all her neighbors said, "Do not keep this only for yourself. We should all perform it. We thought the old woman was merely an ordinary old woman. We did not know that she was sent by Kabunian."

70 So the following year at harvest time, they performed what Kabunian's mother had taught them, and their lives prospered thereafter. And since then, the people have kept this tradition.

And the people of long ago also said, "We should not keep this tradition only to ourselves. Let us also teach other people to do it, because Kabunian taught us this so that we can thank him for his blessings everytime we harvest our crops."

And so the people of olden times performed this ritual and passed the tradition down to our times. They are our forefathers and they always did it before they harvested their crops.

80 We tell you now, younger people, what we learned from our forefathers, so you will know our tradition that Kabunian showed and taught.

Notes

1. See Hornedo (1990a). For additional notes on Bago literature, see also Hornedo (1990b).

2. According to Saturnino Baltazar of Anannao, Alilem, Ilocos Sur, a native Bago and one of my primary informants, the tradition is that "Kay-ang" is what is now known as the municipality of Kayan, Mountain Province.

3. In a version of this myth from the southern Bago who live in the barangays Saytan and Cuenca in the southern La Union town of Pugo, the messenger is Lumawig, who is regarded in the southern Bago communities as the "son of Kabunian." He appears as an "old man." In the same version, the person to whom the revelation is given is also a nursing mother, but she is presented as having left her baby with her husband while she went to the farm to harvest. See Vibar-Basco (1956).

4. The ritual to which this narrative refers is called "*apas*" according to Brown (1975, 109). See also Hornedo (1988, 148-49).

References

- Brown, Jose. 1975. The impact of education on the cultural life of the Bagos. Master's thesis, Lyceum of Baguio.
- Eliade, Mircea. 1987. *The sacred and the profane*. Translated by Willard R. Trask. New York: Harcourt.
- Hornedo, Florentino H. 1988. The traditional Filipino notion of nature. In *Nature, science and values: Readings*, edited by Norberto Castillo. Manila: Santo Tomas University Press.
- _____. 1990a. The alien in the Bakun-Amburayan river valley oral literature. *Philippines Studies* 38:199-225.
- _____. 1990b. "Indayan," an Amburayan migration song. *Philippine Studies* 38:358-68. Also published in *Saint Louis University Research Journal* 21 (1990):256-70.
- Vibar-Basco, Carmen. 1956. Two Bago villages: A study. *University of Manila Journal of East Asiatic Studies* 5, no. 2 (April): 204-6.