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FRANCISCO DEMETRIO

INTRODUCTION

THE following pages are neither a definitive nor a comprehensive study of the beliefs of the early Filipinos concerning death, the origin of death and allied beliefs. For this study is by nature tentative and exploratory. Its purpose is twofold: to gather together as much material on the subject of death as are available in print or in manuscript and then to attempt a preliminary analysis of the motifs of these materials. Only after a sufficiency of data and analysis has been obtained may one go forward and make general statements concerning the beliefs and attitudes of the Filipinos of long ago on the subject of death. It is the hope of the writer, therefore, that what he has put together here will stir up the interest of others. This interest may be shown by suggesting corrections in the materials gathered or by reflections on the comments and observations made at the close of each section and on the hypotheses stated at the end of the article. Interest too could be shown by letting the writer share in whatever added materials there are on the subject of death and the early Filipinos.

The Sources

The source materials used by the writer in this paper are quite limited in scope. They are the following: *Robertson Text and Translation of the Povedano Manuscript of 1572*, edited by E. D. Hester of the University of Chicago (Philippines Studies Program, Transcript No. 2); Francisco Alzina's *Historia*

de Visayas (1668), provisionally translated by Paul S. Lietz of Loyola University of Chicago; the *Robertson Translations of the Pavon Manuscripts* of 1838-1839 (Chicago: Philippines Studies Program, Transcript Nos. 5 A-D); *The Manners, Customs, and Beliefs of the Philippine Inhabitants of Long Ago: Being Chapters of a 'Late Sixteenth Century Manila Manuscript,'* edited by Carlos Quirino and Mauro Garcia in: *Philippine Journal of Science* lxxxvii (December 1958). The writer also availed himself of Miguel Loarca's *Relación de las Islas Filipinas* in: Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, v, pp. 123-125 and of various books and articles carrying items on ancient Filipino beliefs and customs. Finally, he was lucky to gain access to the collection of Philippine Folklore and Mythology which the Public School teachers had gathered some years ago and which is housed in the Research Library of the Bureau of Public Schools in Manila.¹

Though unknown to the public at large, the Povedano Manuscript, the Pavon and the Alzina Manuscripts have long been common knowledge to scholars whose interests lie with the Philippines. But to date not much investigation has been made on the content of these writings. It seems that scholars are too much concerned with the problems of the authorship and validity of these writings, especially of the Pavon and Alzina Manuscripts. Until the problem of genuineness has been solved, many students of history shy away, and rightly so, from engaging in a detailed study of the content of a manuscript. And this even though the content of said manuscript may be paralleled by the contents of other works of established genuineness and historicity. Others not in the field of history

¹ F. Landa Jocano has made a study of the Sulud concept of death, etc. in *Philippine Studies* 12 (1964), 51-62. It is interesting to note a correspondence of motifs (alongside of differences, however), between the Sulud beliefs on death, etc., and those of some primitive tribes of the Philippines long ago. In both cases we meet the motifs of crossing rivers, and of being ferried across to the other side by a god, of interrogations about one's past life, of the louse acting as the witness, of the mountain (Madyaas), of guardian gods of the dead, of the soul (body?) turning liquid, of the gradually diminishing soul, etc. In subsequent studies I hope to give fuller justice to these motifs.

do hope for the day when these problems of historical scholarship are settled.

Sources Not Only Historical but also Folkloristic

However, these manuscripts are not only historical. They are also folkloristic since they contain many folk manners and beliefs. The writer believes that these writings and their content could be studied from the folkloristic point of view even before the question of genuineness and historicity has been settled, in fact, regardless of whether they are genuine and historical or not. For folklore studies move in an area that is wider and more inclusive than purely historical studies. In folklore investigation the important thing is not whether so and so did actually write such and such a passage, or whether he actually said this or that statement, and where this might be actually found in his writings or sayings, but rather, *what* is written and said, and *why* this story is told, that proverb or riddle repeated, or such a belief held. To answer these questions, the exact identification of the author, and the historicity of the statement or "fact" may be quite unimportant.

Folklore like all oral tradition is concerned not with authorship or the fact, but with what is handed down and why. Most of the time what is handed down as tradition has no author, nor can it be fully established as "fact" always. Yet the fact that a story, a proverb, a myth is handed down either orally or in writing, whether in its entirety or in part, argues for its value and importance for both the tradition bearers and receivers.

The value of a tradition of a people becomes established when the same or an analogous tradition emerges among other peoples of wide historical cultural and geographic differences. For in the shaping of myth and folklore there is more at play than purely historical factors. We must nowadays take into account what phenomenologists call the intentionality or specific object of a particular human behavior as well as what modern psychologists term archetypes and the collective unconscious. These factors have been found operative also in myth-making as well as in folklore tradition. Found to exist every-

where and at all times, for they are there so long as man is man, these factors probably account also for much of the value-making which men unconsciously engage in all the time. Whether a tradition be genuine or historical or not is quite immaterial for the assessment of the human values which it may enshrine. It is for the human values contained in our source materials that we have undertaken to study the contents of the various manuscripts which to date scholars seem quite hesitant to investigate on account of unresolved historical problems.

A: THE FIRST DEATH — DEATH OF A FISH

The first death, according to the early Bisayan, was the death of a shark. We paraphrase a tale of Povedano: Sanman and Licpo (or Sagmany and Lirbo), children of the first pair, Silalac and Sibabay-e, invented the fish corral and with it caught a large shark which they took ashore alive. But the fish died. When their ancestors in the sky, Captan and Maguayen heard of this, they sent the fly to ascertain the truth. The fly reported on its return that it was so. Maguayen, greatly incensed, hurled a thunderbolt which killed San man and Licpo. This then was the first human death.²

Loarca has a slightly different variant.

The brother and sister (Sanman and Licpo or Sagmany and Lirbo) also had a daughter, called Lupluban, who married Pandaguan, 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 he used it, he caught a shark and brought it to shore, thinking it would not die. But the shark died when brought ashore. When he saw this Pandaguan 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.* (*Italics, mine*). It is said that the god Captan, on hearing

² Diego Lopez de Povedano. The Robertson Text and Translation of the Povedano Manuscript of 1572, ed. E. D. Hester. Chicago. (Philippine Studies Program. Transcript No. 2), pp. 46-48 of translation; pp. 36-39 of text). The reader will notice that the proper names in these stories have variant spellings, e.g. Casiburauen and Ca(n)siburauen, Lupluban and Lu(n)pluban, Pandaguan and Pandagua(m), Yliguenes and Yligue(y)nes, etc. The variants are attested to by the MSS.

this, sent 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 the gods took pity upon him brought him back to life, and returned him to the world.³

Pavon, on the other hand, gives a still longer version with a number of other interesting details included. First of all, he accounts for the origin of corral fishing in this way which we here summarize: Capantaan, husband of Lunpluban (Lupluban), while strolling by the seashore one day, noticed that a number of fish was left high and dry in a rocky cove after the tide had fallen. So he decided to make himself a cove or corral out of bamboo stakes. And he set the sparrowhawk to watch over it. But everytime he came to gather in the catch he saw only scales. There was no one to guard the guard. So Capantaan in anger struck the feet of the sparrow hawk. Since then this bird cannot walk on land, but must hop.

The next day, Capantaan had made his wife guard the corral. Feeling hungry, Lunpluban started to cook *bibingka* (rice cakes) over the fish pen. But the wind was strong and it blew away the round-shaped banana leaves she had prepared for covering the cakes. They were scattered over the water where each turned into a round fish called *sapesape* (a kind of large fish: a skate). In trying to retrieve the leaves that had fallen into the water she used a long bamboo pole; but as she found this useless, she threw it away, and it turned into the first eel. She continued to cook, and a large piece of wood under her feet fell into the sea, and it became a large *pargo* (a braize, porgy) which went away

³ Miguel de Loarca. *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*. Manila (?), ca 1580. In: Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, v, 123-125; quoted in Robertson Text and Translation of Povedano MS. (1572). Hester's edition, p. 49, n. 60. Cf. also Carlos Quirino and Mauro Garcia, eds., *The Manners, Customs, and Beliefs of the Philippine Inhabitants of Long Ago: Being Chapters of a "Late Sixteenth Century Manila Manuscript,"* in: *The Philippine Journal of Science*, lxxxvii (December, 1958), Manila, p. 402

swimming on its side as *pargos* do. Incensed by these marvelous transformations, she seized the wooden paddle with which she had been stirring the rice mixture and threw it at the swimming *pargo*. Upon touching water, the paddle became the fish *lenguao* (sole, flounder). Hungry and angered still more, she unfastened a basin hanging from a piece of rope close by, in order to recover the paddle. But the rope broke and the basin hit the water and became the first ray-fish, while the rope became its tail. All she could do now was weep. Yet more happened to dishearten her. Her jar fell and became the first tortoise; the *bibingka* jar fell also and became a shellfish, while the rice was turned into very small fishes. A monkey came up to her and inquired why she was weeping. But Lunpluban gave the monkey a blow on the nose which sent it sprawling to the water, where it was changed into a siren. Finally Capantaan came and told his wife to go ashore and kindle a fire while he went to see what the corral had caught. He was glad to see a large shark in it. He brought it to shore and tried to make it live under a canopy. But it died.

Then he began to moan bitterly, crying out and sobbing and invoking the god because of this monstrosity, for until then he had never seen any death, nor had there been any death. Thereupon, he was heard, it is said, by *Captan* and *Maguayen*. They sent the crow to see what was happening. But as the crow saw many flies, it did not dare to go up to the place, but complained to *Captan* and *Maguayen* of the boldness and impudence of the flies. The latter afterward sent the worm, but it failed to return, saying that it was good entertainment to eat the flesh of the fish. Then they sent the weevil, and it returned to *Maguayen* and *Captan* reporting that the deceased was a fish. . . . ⁴

This is followed by the story of the first human death. Capantaan and his wife invited their friends to a large banquet at the burial of the fish. They had plentiful and rich food, but an

insolent black cat began to devour the food. Thereupon Capantaan scared it off, by hitting it with a stick. The cat escaped howling

⁴ Jose Maria Pavon. The Robertson Translations of the Pavon Manuscripts of 1838-1839. D: *Stories of the Indios of Olden Times and of Today*. (Chicago. Philippine Studies Program Transcript No. 5-D,) pp. 26-27.

loudly, and went to complain to *Maguayen* and *Captan*. Then the latter in anger, in order to punish the sin of respecting the fish and hurting the cat, launched a thunderbolt from his place. It struck *Capantaan* so that he died. They believe that cats have been the friends of thunderbolts since that time. Seeing the confusion, *Lunpluban* and her son *Angion*, together with their other companions, escaped in flight.⁵

COMMENT

In these variants, there are two first deaths: that of the shark and that of Sanman (Pandaguan or Capantaan); but it is always the death of the animal which precedes the death of man. The flies figure in all three accounts. In the first two they are sent to the death scene, in the third they went unbidden. In the first variant they actually verified the death of the shark; in the second they would not dare to go, even as the crow refused to go in the third variant. In both the second the third it was the weevil who finally went to the scene and came home to report on the actual death of the fish. The third variant besides the mention of the flies, the weevil, and the crow also mentions the sending of the worm which failed to return after having tasted of the death shark's flesh. In Povedano's version it is the children of the first pair who caught the shark; in the second it is the son of the first pair, Pandaguan, and a grandchild who was his wife, Lumpluban. In the third version the first fish was caught by a son of the first parents, called Capantaan, and his wife Lunpluban. In the first version it is the death of the shark alone which made Maguayen (no mention of Captan at all) mad; in the second, it is the "obsequies to a fish" that displeased the ancestors; in the third version the thunderbolt was hurled on two counts: to punish the sin of respecting the fish and hurting the cat. The second version includes the motifs of a 30-day sojourn in the infernal regions and of resurrection. It seems that some Christian bias against idolatry has been introduced into the second and third versions; for instance the phrase "displeased at these obsequies rendered to a fish."

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28

A significant detail in the last story is the large share held by water in the transformations witnessed by Lunpluban. Might this be also a distant survival of the very ancient theory of water as the *fons et origo* of all possible existence. An Indian text reads: "Water, thou art the source of all things and of all existence." [*Bhavisyottapurāna*, 31, 14; cf M. Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (New York, 1963), p. 188]. We hope to be able to delve into this motif in Philippine folklore and mythology in future studies. Let us mention in addition that one of the characteristics of water divinities is their power of metamorphosis. Phorkys, Proteus, Nereus (the "Old Ones of the Sea"), and Poseidon, could change their shapes at will. For they held the key to all possible forms: the seeds of all things are found in the waters, according to very ancient primitive theory. Again, the journey to the land of the dead is quite often depicted in the stories which we shall see below as traversing a river or the sea, (cf. *infra*, pp. 363 f.). Perhaps this, too, has a significance. The dead after all undergo a radical mutation of their ontological condition. Life, though remaining intact in death, is yet changed: *vita mutatur non tollitur*. Thus it is quite apposite that the passage from this life to the strange new existence should be symbolically grasped by primitive man as a journey over the waters, the principle par excellence of change and new birth.

Worth noting, too, is the link between the thunderbolt and the first human death. Could the fear people everywhere in the Philippines and in other lands have for the thunderbolt be also partially accounted for by this ancient belief that the first human death was caused by being struck by lightning?

Finally these stories also refer to an ancient belief among Filipinos that cats attract thunder and lightning. And why? Because, we are told, the soul of the lightning is said to be shaped like a medium-sized black cat. In one version Pavon tells how Capantaan and his wife offered a banquet at the burial of the fish. But an "insolent black cat" ate up the food. Infuriated, Capantaan hit it with a stick. It then scam-

pered away howling and went to complain to the god Magwayen. In turn the god was angered and consequently released the lightning bolt that hit Capantaan. Local superstitions still witness to this ancient belief in the connection between the cat and the lightning. In Balacanas, a barrio in Northern Mindanao, to bathe a cat is said to induce a thunderstorm; likewise, the making a dog fight a cat among the Eta of Zambales.

B: THE FATE OF THE SOUL AFTER DEATH

Alzina reports that there were rumors current in his time that the Bisayans believed although without certitude that the soul of man was born and died nine times. After the ninth cycle, the soul is supposed to have become so small that it could fit a *longon*, or coffin, the size of a grain of rice. On the other hand, the body after burial is said to be changed into water by night, but lives with the body by day.⁶

There are other beliefs about the dead which he reports. We give a foreshortened version here: After death, the soul is said to go to a place called *Sayar*. Bararum (or Badadum), the *diwata* who governs the world and knows when a man dies, calls all the relatives who had preceded the newly dead in *Sayar*; and he informs them that so and so has died and that he is coming to join them; then he orders them to go meet him with their *calasags* (or shields) and their spears at the mouth of a river. With great feasting and shouting the dead await the newcomer. When he arrives, they remove the lid of his coffin and Badadum asks him if he were the particular person who was reported dead. When he sees the dead adorned with gold and other ornaments, Badadum himself replies that "this is the man who has died because he has much gold on

⁶ Francisco Alzina, S. J. *Historia de las Visayas* (1668). Part 1, Books 1-4. *A Preliminary Translation of the Muñoz Text of Alzina* by Paul S. Lietz. Chicago, 1961. Part I Bk 3, p. 197. (For a fuller account of the history of the text of Alzina's *Historia*, cf. E. D. Hester's *Alzina's Historia de Visayas: A Bibliographical Note*, and Paul S. Lietz's *More About Alzina's Historia de Visayas*. The Bibliographical Society of the Philippines, Occasional Papers. No. 3. Manila 1962. Offprint from *Philippine Studies* x (July, 1962), 331-347.

his person." But he fails to recognize those who carry little or no gold with them. That is why the living deck the dead out with precious stones and metals for burial. Then the relatives of the newly arrived member of the pale kingdom carry him to the village of the father of Badadum, Ayaoy, to the pueblo called Bariias. Here the dead engage in exactly the same pursuits they were wont to follow in life. The warriors continue their raiding expeditions or *pangaiaos*, the laborers, to plough and plant, the women, to weave and sew.

Loarca reports that there was a belief among the Yligueynes (Bisayans), that when a man dies it is Maguayen who carries him in a *barangay*, a kind of boat, to Inferno (hell). Then another divinity named Sumpoy comes forth and leads him to Sisiburanen, a high mountain in Burnei. But only the rich like the Yligueynes (i.e. the Bisayans of Cebu, Bohol, and Bantay) can come to Sisiburanen. The poor (who have not friends to offer sacrifice for them) remain forever in Inferno.⁷

Pavon once again supplies us with more details. What follows is a shortened version of his tale: After Capantaan's death he was carried by an old man called Mama Guayen to the end of the world where it was very warm. Here the dead man came to life again on account of the heat. Seeing himself thus situated he inquired from the old man why they were there; but the latter would not answer; so Capantaan struck him on the nose with his oar.⁸ The old man in anger retaliated by pushing him downward where there was no water at all, and where he came upon another old man who was called Casumpoy roasting a root of the *banhayan*. When he saw Capantaan he ordered him to build a fire in the great fireplace; but the latter refused to do so. Infuriated, Casumpoy pushed him another layer lower into a hole in which a great fire was burning, and shut the iron lid over the hole. There

⁷ Loarca, *op cit.*, p. 131.

⁸ Pavon MS., Transcript No. 5-D, p. 29. It is interesting to note the motif of nose-striking in connection with these tales of the dead. The same motif is found also among the Malekulan of Vao, cf. *infra* n. 26. Among the Malekulan, Layard tells us, the nose is a phallic symbol. To flatten it is to do violence to a person's psychic masculinity.

Capantaan met an old man who was extremely ugly, whose name was Casiburauen. He was, however, kindhearted and he gave Capantaan plenty of food. One day while Capantaan was eating *pinquin*, Casiburauen asked him for some which he readily gave to him. This warmed the old man's heart, and he began to take pity on Capantaan whom he eventually allowed to return to earth. But when Capantaan arrived home, his son told him that his mother had gone to live with another man.

Capantaan sent his son, Arion, to bring his mother home. At that time, her new husband, Marancoyang, was preparing a great feast to celebrate his marriage with Lunpluban. And in order to do this Marancoyang had committed the first theft of a pig from an old man called Ygjocan in a place called Caiuican. Marancoyang stole the pig because the old man refused to give it away when he asked for it, and also because the friends of Marancoyang, the animals, had agreed previously to eat the pig on account of its impudence. It was the only animal who failed to show up and welcome Marancoyang and his bride when they arrived and thus made no promise to contribute his bit to the big feast. The monkey, the dog, the cat, the birds, the ant, the sparrowhawk, the tortoise, the bear, and even the weevil were around and made their pledges. It was while Marancoyang, his bride and their friends were celebrating that Arion came to inform his mother that his father having returned to life desired her presence at home, and to leave feasting upon stolen pig. She was about to go, but her new man restrained her, protesting that the dead do not return to this world except within the first seven days after death. (From other sources we know that Capantaan had been dead for thirty days. (Cf. *supra*, p. 359).⁹ Arion returned home and informed his father of his mother's refusal to come home.

This incident of the return of Capantaan to earth and the complications it caused in his family is told by Pavon

⁹ Cf. also Quirino-Garcia, *op. cit.*, p. 402: " . . . After his (i.e., Pandaguan's) death, the gods took him to heaven and conferred with him; and thirty days sent him back to earth to live"

in four consecutive narratives respectively entitled: (1) "Of What happened to Capantaan After Death. How His Soul Was Taken," on page 29 to page 30; (II) "Of What Is Told of the First Concubinage of Lunpluban with Marancoyang," on page 32; (III) "The First Theft of Marancoyang Is Told," on page 33; and, finally, (IV) "The Dead Do Not Return to Earth," on page 35.

COMMENT

The four accounts in Pavon (cf. Appendix VII) do not altogether jibe with one another. The first account tells us that Capantaan because of his "good manners and good heart" merited to be returned by Casiburauen to his home which he reached after a journey of thirty days. On the other hand, account number three explicitly says that Capantaan never returned to the earth. It is said that when he heard of his wife's infidelity, presumably from his son who, according to the flies in Pavon's tale No. II, had also died (p. 32) he became

very angry, and tried to return to earth. But they say that this was not permitted by the old *Casiburauen*, who they say cares for all the dead.

From that time, the angry and furious man did not wish to return to earth. Neither would he remember his wife, but stayed dead forever. But had *Casiburauen* permitted him to return to the earth, then the dead would return to earth.

Again, when Arion advised his mother to return home, Marancoyang, her new man, refused to let her go alledging that dead men do not come back to earth except within seven days after death. And when Lunpluban agreed with him and would not go home, the text tells us that

At that her son showed great rage, but he returned and told his father that the *latter was in the region of the dead. Thereupon the latter was very angry, and tried to return to the earth...* (The italics are mine).

From the context of Pavon's tale No. I (p. 29), it is borne out that Arion had been sent by Capantaan who had just arrived from the underworld to fetch his mother home. And it

is to Capantaan recently returned from the dead that Arion reported his mother's "concubinage" and refusal to come home. In this connection the passage quoted above is quite confusing. It is puzzling to figure out who the "latter" is who "was in the region of the dead," and who "was very angry, and tried to return to the earth," (Pavon's Tale No. IV, p. 35).

This and other discrepancies among the four narratives¹⁰ can be explained only by the fact that Pavon used a variety of sources: the "good Montesco Ynoy," (pp. 10, 11, 15, 21, 23, 25, 26, 30), his "good old cook, Eustaquio," (pp. 21, 23), and the "*bailana*, or priestess, Mabintay," (pp. 30, 31, 32, 34). And these informants in turn had garnered their stories from other sources, like written documents: "old dog-eared documents," (p. 25), "stories written on parchment or tree bark, which were said to be very old" (p. 30), as well as oral tradition as when Pavon notes the following: "Here follows below the story which was told me by my good old cook, Eustaquio, who says that he heard it from his grandfather in the town of Panay. . . ." (p. 21).

From Pavon's account alone, therefore, one cannot with some probability, maintain that the early Bisayan believed that man was meant not to die, or that, after death, he was to be returned to earth alive again.

¹⁰ Cf. the Appendix VII for the texts of these four narratives. A note of Pavon on page 36 purporting to account for the early Bisayan belief that only the soul of the dead returns to the house after three days need hardly be taken seriously I think. It is clearly a case of taking as proven a premise that needs proof. The argument runs this way. The early Bisayan believed that only the soul returns to the house after three days. For if Capantaan in summoning his wife Lunpluban had come into the world (i.e., soul and body, had been resurrected). then the dead would return alive. But it was not so. This is the reason why only souls return to the world.

What needs proof, it seems to me, is the condition or the first part of the above mentioned hypothetical proposition, namely, that the Bisayan believed that in summoning his wife, Capantaan did *not* come in his total person (i.e., body and soul) into the world. No proof is adduced. In fact most of what goes before this note tends to argue to the opposite: that Capantaan did appear in his body as well as in his soul.

There are other sources, however, which clearly point to these beliefs. We have seen Loarca's account which explicitly says that "the gods took pity upon him (Pandaguan), brought him back to life, and returned him to the world." (Cf. *supra*, p. 359). More importantly, the so-called "Late 16th Century Manila Manuscript" contains the same narrative, with slight variations, especially in the names of the son—Anoranor instead of Arion—and of the husband—Pandaguam (cf. Loarca's Pandaguan), instead of Capantaan. The woman is called Lobloban instead of Lunpluban."

Among other things, this passage shows that Pandaguan did not return to earth alive and seek his wife back, and that being disappointed, he left his house again and returned to hell. His action was exemplary for all mankind; since then no man has ever come back to life after death. We read that when Anoranor reported to his father that his mother would not go home he, i.e., "Pandaguan, felt this deeply, and, leaving his house in great anger against his wife, went to hell... which in their tongue is called *sular*¹²... and never returned nor appeared in this world."

According to this account, the Bisayan, one might conclude, believe men became mortal because Pandaguan offered rites to the dead shark; and they also believe that the reason why the dead do not return after death to life in this world is that the woman Lobloban did not want to come at the command of her husband Pandaguan,

"because before all this . . . all men were immortal. And if somebody was killed, the gods resurrected and returned him to this world to live, as they did with Pandaguan. But from that time on, all who died went to hell . . . until among them there was a woman called Sibaye or Mahelucy—others call her Sibay or Mastrasan—who it is said ordered a sacrifice to their gods so that the spirits of those who died would not go to hell, but would be sent to a certain part of those islands in the most rugged mountains where they would not be seen by any living person and where they were in life regaled and feasted¹³. . . "

¹¹ Quirino-Garcia, *op. cit.*, pp. 402 ff. Cf. also Plasencia in Blair and Robertson, *Islands*, vii, p. 196.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 403

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 403

Pavon, however, adds that after Capantaan had returned to hell, Casiburauen still pitied him greatly. Thereupon, after many years had passed, Casiburauen turned Capantaan into a fish and then threw him into the sea where he has been ever since.¹⁴ Hence the belief that sharks were originally descended from Capantaan *redivivus*.¹⁵

GENERAL SUMMARY

From the above accounts one might be able to formulate the following as a recapitulation of the beliefs of the early Bisayans concerning death; that men were immortal from the beginning; later on when men became mortal the gods returned them to life again; that the first death was the death of a shark; that bringing the shark alive to shore causing it thereby to die, or paying obsequies to a dead fish, or hurting a black cat were offenses against the gods who thereafter caused the first death of man by striking him with a thunderbolt; that when a man died the gods took pity on him and sent him back alive to earth. (How long after death did they restore him to life—thirty days? Alzina's cycle of nine lives and deaths seems to postulate a longer time between lives and deaths.) The fact that the dead no longer return to life is due to a free, voluntary decision, made by Capantaan or Pandaguan, which decision has become exemplary for all mankind ever afterwards. But there were other contributing reasons to this decision of Capantaan to return to hell and to remain dead forever, first, the refusal, again voluntary, of his wife to leave the house of her paramour (really not, after all he i.e., Capantaan or Pandaguan had died already), and to return to her former husband newly resurrected; second, the fact that she partook of the feast Marancoyang prepared for her out of the first act of theft: the pig of the old man Ygjocan.

¹⁴ The first man to invent the fish corral which caught the shark, and who occasioned the shark's death by bringing it to land was himself changed into a shark; since then he has lived in the sea.

¹⁵ Pavon MSS., 5-D, p. 35.

THE BISAYAN AND IFUGAO VERSIONS

Along with the Bisayan stories one might mention a story from the central Ifugao about the origin of death. A summary follows: The survivors of the great deluge were a brother and a sister, Wigan and Bugar, respectively. They bore children, and the god Magnongan instructed them to sacrifice to the gods when in trouble. Trouble came when the crops failed and the people became sick. So at the advice of Wigan his sons first killed a rat, then a snake, butu both sacrifices were of no avail in alleviating their troubles. Wigan decided the gods were not satisfied with their animal sacrifices, so he instructed his sons to kill Igon, one of their own brethren in sacrifice. Igon had no wife. This sacrifice was acceptable to the gods who came in person and attended the feast. Then the sickness vanished, the crops were plentiful, the chicken, the pigs, their children increased. Then Maknongan declared:

It is well, but you have committed an evil thing in spilling human blood and have thereby brought war and fighting into the world. Now you must separate to the north, south, east, and west, and not live together anymore. And when you need to sacrifice to the gods, do not offer rats, snakes or your children, but take pigs and chicken only.¹⁶

COMMENT

This myth obviously contains the almost universal motifs of the Flood and the survivors of it, the re peopling of the earth by the descendants of the survivors. It also contains motifs of the origin of war, of the first human sacrifice and the eventual supplanting of this sacrifice by the sacrifice of pigs and chicken.

But there are two quite important points to notice in connection with the origin of death. One, the first human sacrifice was also the first human death *after* the flood. This myth does not portray the absolutely first death. Impliedly, death had been rampant among men during the flood. At this point this Ifugao myth opens up long perspectives in the history of comparative religions. The flood, the survivors,

¹⁶ H. Otley Beyer, "Origin Myths Among the Mountain Peoples of the Philippines," *Phil. Journ. of Science*, VIII, Section D., p. 113.

the children of the survivors, and the first death among them can only be fully understood in the context of the very primitive belief in the eternal return to the beginnings; a return which necessarily implies a universal catastrophe which wipes away all existence only that a new creation, a new life, a new humanity may emerge. The universal catastrophe could come in the form of a universal deluge or a cosmic conflagration. As Eliade writes: "Almost all the traditions of deluge are bound up with the idea of humanity returning to the water whence it had come, and the establishment of a new era and a new humanity. They display a conception of the universe and its history as something 'cyclic': one era is abolished by disaster and a new one opens, ruled by 'new men.'" (*Patterns*, p. 210). However this universal purgation of the "wickedness" and "sins" of humanity happens only periodically and at very large intervals. In between the catastrophes, a return to the beginning, a temporary regeneration, is obtained through the sacrifice of a human being in imitation of the self-sacrifice of a deity or a culture-hero who had himself mangled and mutilated for the sake of giving men food. This brings us to the second important point.

The first human death after the flood was also a *sacrifice* to the gods. The sacrifice of Igon in our tale may be a remnant of another very ancient primitive theory, namely, the sacrifice of a god or hero at the beginning of a new eon in order to ensure the fertility, increase and growth of the crops and the animals, thereby ensuring the physical and material salvation of mankind. Now the sacrifice of a human being or of an animal in *lieu* of him is aimed at a periodic regeneration of the various forces of fertility and growth and increase which had been taught by the primordial self-immolation of a cosmic deity or hero (Tiamat, Yima or Purusha, in Mesopotamian, Iranian and Indian traditions respectively).

In many traditions, the act of creation was simultaneous with the death of the primordial hero or giant. And the institution of sacrifice, human or animal, was intended to recapture the original forces which were launched at the beginning of creation. For men have always sensed the law

of progressive degeneration and decay which is writ deep in the heart of things. Every sacrifice therefore is tantamount to a repetition of the creative act. It is a return to the beginnings, to those "strong" times, when the world was young and full of holiness, vitality, power. This sense of the law of progressive degeneration built into the very heart of things, and of the need to stem decay by sacrifice becomes even more acute with man's awareness of having been responsible in part for the process of disintegration by transgressing the bounds set up by the gods (or by Nature) between mankind and them, a transgression of the natural law (*moira, dike, asha, justitia, etc.*). In this way, sacrifice begins to take on the nature of propitiation and reconciliation with the forces active in the world. Eliade writes in this regard;

'Primitive' man lived in constant terror of finding that the forces around him which he found so useful were worn out. For thousands of years men were tortured by the fear that the sun would disappear forever at the winter solstice, that the moon would not rise again, that plants would die forever, and so on. It was particularly acute when faced with such seasonal manifestations of 'power' as vegetation, whose rhythm includes moments of apparent extinction. And the anxiety became sharper still when the disintegration of the 'force' appeared to be the result of some interference on the part of man: the gathering of the first fruits, the harvest, and so on. In this case sacrifices known as "the first-fruits" were offered to reconcile man with the forces at work in them and obtain permission for him to use them without danger. (*Patterns*, 346).

For proofs of these statements, one could consult Eliade's work esp. pp. 341 ff., and pp. 364-366.

Again the sacrifice of Igon is instructive on account of its ambivalence. And ambivalence is, in the language of historians of religions, one of the characteristics of the sacred. The gods were evidently pleased by the sacrifice of Igon: they personally attended the feast; and fertility and growth were returned to both crops and beasts. Yet the sacrifice was called "an evil thing" by the supreme god Maknongan and, consequently, human sacrifice was tabooed altogether.

Whether the first human death was inflicted as punishment for "crime" as in the case of Capantaan (Pandaguan)

or as a generous gesture of self-sacrifice for the good of the community in imitation of the deed of a primordial deity or hero (as in the case of Igon), it is always an animal which undergoes the experience of death first: the fish, the rat and the snake. Might this be another instance of primitive man's symbolic grasp of a universally valid truth: the fraternal solidarity that exists between animals and mankind.

The Moro

The Moro believe that when people die, they go to serve Batala. The purpose of sacrificing to the *anitos* is to conciliate these spirits so that they may intercede for the dead person before Batala.¹⁷

The Tinguian

The Tinguian set their dead afloat on a raft down the river. They believe that all streams and rivers flow past a place called Nagbobobotan where lives an old woman, Aloko-tan, a relative of the people of Kadalayapan and Daodanan. Her duty is to keep an eye on dead relatives passing by, in order to secure them and to make them live again.¹⁸ She owns a magic pool, the waters of which revive the dead and renew their youth.

COMMENT

Several interesting points should be noted before this section is concluded. First of all, in Alzina's report we may have a Hindu influence in the cycle of nine lives and nine deaths and the gradually diminishing size of the soul. The motif of the land of the dead across the water (E481.2)¹⁹ is suggested by the command of Badadum to the relatives that

¹⁷ Loarca, *Relacion* in: Blair and Robertson, *Islands*, p. 175.

¹⁸ Fay Cooper Cole. *Traditions of the Tinguian: A Study in Philippine Folklore*. (Chicago, 1915), pp. 19, 132.

¹⁹ The capital E and the numbers refer to Stith Thompson's classification in his *Motif Index of Folk Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955). Subsequent references to this work will be likewise noted.

they meet the newcomer at the mouth of the river. Just why they should come armed is not clear. The same motif of crossing water to the land of the dead is clearly stated in Pavon's first account where the old man Mama Guayen conducts to the end of the world the dead body of Capantaan in a small boat with two sails. And Maguayen, Loarca tells us, carries the dead Yligueynes to Inferno in his *barangay* or boat. The same motif is found in the custom among the Tinguian of sending their dead on a raft down the river.

Among the early Bisayans there is an emphasis on material wealth as a badge of distinction even in the hereafter. Badadum is overtly prejudiced against the poor or the less opulent dead. So is Maguayen who leaves them in Inferno either as prisoners or prey to the god of that region.

We recognize a Vergilian ring when our chronicle tells us that the early Bisayan maintained that in the land of the dead, people pursue exactly the same occupations that were theirs in life (Compare with *Aeneid* VI, 640 ff).

Capantaan's descent into the land of the dead by being pushed down suggests the motif of a hole in a ground as entrance to hell or the underworld (F92.5, A682).

The motif of resuscitation by extreme heat is clear from the story of Capantaan and Mama Guayen. (E 15.1=by boiling; E 15.2=by sweating) By bathing is clear in the Tinguian belief in Alokotan, the old lady with her magic pool (E80.1). The "hole where all streams go" may be connected with the belief concerning the navel of the sea.

One should also mention the predominance of old persons, especially men, in the stories of the Bisayan, Mama Guayen, Casumpoy and Cansiburauen; also the old woman who is said to have introduced the sacrifice of the Bisayans to the gods in order that not all the dead be forced to go to hell. Her name was Sibaye, Mahelucy, Sibay or Mas-trasan. Among the Tinguian, we have already mentioned Alokotan.

The prevalence of old persons in these stories is I think in keeping with the universal belief of the dead being the fount of wisdom and hidden knowledge. The wisdom of the dead is, of course, derived from the wisdom of Mother earth herself in whose bosom they lie. And the wisdom of Mother Earth, like the wisdom of Water which contains the seeds of all forms, is the wisdom of experience, that is, of old age: the earth and the water being the elemental wombs as well as tombs of all things. Thus the old people both men and women, who feature quite strongly in these stories about the dead, are very apt symbols of wisdom, and therefore are also worthy on this account of sitting in judgment over the dead.

Anger Motif

Impatience either on earth or in the underworld is depicted in these stories as deserving of immediate reprisal on the part of the gods both of the heavens and the underworld. Capantaa's anger at the black cat which devoured the food during the banquet he had prepared at the burial of the fish led to his striking it. This merited the anger of Maguayen who struck him with lightning. After his revival by heat Capantaa inquired of Mama Guayen "why he was there". Because the old man refused to answer, he became angry and struck his guide on the nose. This act of violence is requited by violence. Capantaa is pushed into the earth one level lower. Again because of his infuriated state he refused to obey the command of Casumpoy, the ancient guardian of the second level of hell, to build a fire in the great fireplace. Thus he is pushed a third level deeper into the ground. There he comes upon the old man Cansiburauen who showed Capantaa kindness. We see how this show of kindness in turn mollified the furious heart of Capantaa towards the ugly but kindhearted judge. Capantaa returned selflessness with selflessness. And this, we are told, so touched Cansiburauen that he began to pity Capantaa and even to send him back to the world.

Again, impatience and anger forfeited immortality for mankind. When Pandaguan heard of his wife's infidelity" in taking a second husband, he became very angry. Upon

trying to return to earth and being prevented by Casibuarauen (Pavon's tale No. IV), the "angry and furious man" no longer wished to return to the earth; nor would he remember his wife, but chose to remain dead forever. Since then the dead never return to the earth again.

The Manila Manuscript tells how Pandaguan was allowed to return to the earth and how he was disappointed in his wife. And so, "leaving his house in great anger against his wife, (he) went to hell . . . and never returned nor appeared in this world." His action was exemplary. So dead people return no more.

Sociologists might take note of this concrete way of reinforcing the need for the cultivation of the virtues so necessary for a smooth, harmonious social life: patience, kindheartedness, selfishness, generosity and forgiveness.

C: THE GODS OF THE DEAD

The Pintados, Loarca relates, offered *maganitos*²⁰ or sacrifices to Pandaque in the sight of Mt. Mayas in Panay; and it is he who redeems the souls from the gods of the infernal regions: Simuran and Siguinnarugan.²¹ The some Loarca (*ibid*) mentions another god in the sky called Sidapa who owns a tall tree on Mt. Mayas on whose trunk he places a mark for every child that is born. Death comes when the person's stature equals the mark on the tree-trunk. Pavon has also acquainted us with divinities of the dead among the early Bisayan, three such, namely, Mama Guayen, Casumpoy, and Cansiburauen. (Cf. *supra*, pp. 364ff.).

²⁰ *Maganito* is the term for the sacrifice which the early Bisayan believed was introduced by the woman Mahelucy or Matrasan to implore the gods not to send all the dead to hell after the example of Pandaguan who voluntarily returned to the underworld because of the adultery of his wife. (Quirino-Garcia, *Manners*, p. 403; cf. also Antonio Pigafetta in: Blair and Robertson, *Islands*, xxxiv, pp. 163 ff; Plasencia, *ibid.*, vii, pp. 185, 190, 191; Chirino, *ibid.*, xii, pp. 265-272, 302, 304, Colin, *ibid.*, x1, pp. 75-77; and finally, Jose Llanes, "Dictionary of Philippine Mythology," *University of Manila Journal of East Asiatic Studies*, vii (January, 1958), 136-138.

²¹ *Relacion*, Blair and Robertson, *Islands*, v. p. 133.

Another early Bisayan tale recorded by Pavon gives an account of how the crow got its black feathers and at the same time acquaints us with a god of the dead, the place where this god dwells, and the means whereby he measures out the life of every man. It also tells of a great flood. The substance of the tale is as follows:

In the earlier times, when men had become wicked, a great war was fought among them so that many were killed. Soon afterwards, a great flood occurred which took away the lives of many more. Aropayang, a short fat man, judged the dead and took their number. He did so by sending the dove to take the count after the crow whom he had first sent failed in its mission (in punishment for which Aropayang threw his inkwell at the bird, dyeing its feathers black and hurting one foot.) Aropayang lived in a tree on a very high mountain. The tree had twelve branches, each branch had four smaller branches and each small branch had thirty leaves. Below the mountain was a larger field where grew many high bamboos with many joints. Each joint represented one day in the life of a man; each day a red monkey took away one joint from the bamboo.²²

Oral tradition among the Bukidnon in the hinterlands of Balingasag in Mindanao considers Mt. Balatukan to be the home of the gods. Balatukan is perhaps cognate noun to *batok* meaning "sentence, verdict or judgment."²³ So that Mt. Balatukan means "the mountain of judgment." The community of gods and goddesses on Balatukan is composed of first, Himigtutu-o-kung Amigtanghaga, the father of all the gods; Ebalbalan and his wife, Gumugunal. She is said to have caught a plate which fell down from heaven on which grew a flower which sings a song calling the souls of the dead to proceed to Balatukan for final judgment. They even give the name of the flower, Mangmawngemaw Kadlum Sumasagubang. And finally, there lives also Tumanan, the god to whom the Bukidnon pray for salvation.

The elders of the Bukidnon maintain that when a man dies his soul must make its way to Mt. Balatukan. This journey

²² Pavon MSS. (1838-1839), Transcript No. 5-C, p. 28.

²³ *Batoc* (*batok*), according to Juan Felix de la Encarnacion, can mean "*pagar de condigno, ó con la pena del talion.*" He gives an example: *Batoc man gayud ang sóhol sa Cabúdlay.* "The pay is commensurate to the labor." (*Diccionario Bisaya-Español* (Manila, 1885), p. 41.

is long and tedious, full of many obstacles. First of all, the soul must pass through Liyang, a huge rock, in upper Napiliran. Thence it proceeds to Binagbasan where the Tree of Record grows. Here the soul makes a notch on the tree to show that it has arrived at Pinagsayawan, where it dances the ritual dance of atonement for sins. It does not stop dancing until it begins to sweat profusely. Next it undergoes a haircut at Panamparan, thence it proceeds to Kumbirahan where a banquet is offered it to satiety. Then the god Andalapit conducts the soul to Kadatu-an which is at the foot of Mt. Balatukan. Here the gods pass judgment on the soul. And if it is adjudged good it is sent to Dunkituhan, at the summit of Balatukan, the cloud-capped stairway to heaven, but adjudged wicked it is sent to a river where it is punished. Along with other wicked souls, it is made to fetch water night and day until its sins are forgiven. The wicked souls sweat blood through exhaustion; and the river is red with their blood and it reeks with a bloody smell. That is why it is called Lalang-sahan (i.e., having the fishy smell of blood.) ²⁴

The Tagbanua believe that the dead man enters a cave, descend into the bowels of the earth where it meets Taliakod (or Haliakod), a man of gigantic stature. Taliakod tends a fire which burns forever between two tree-trunks. He inquires whether the man has lived well or badly. But it is not the man who gives the deciding answer. It is a louse which is found in the body of every dead person, young or old, that gives the incontrovertible reply. If the louse pronounces him evil, Taliakod pitches him into the fire which burns him up. If good, he is admitted into a place where crops and game abound. There a house awaits him. Spouses are reunited in

²⁴ This story, however, also tells of the fate of the dead. *Report on Balingasag and Other Towns of Northern Mindanao, Philippines* (Manuel C. Gapuz Collection, Cagayan de Oro City, n. d.) This is part of a Folklore Collecting Project sponsored by the Bureau of Public Schools through the agency of the public school teachers. Most of the original manuscripts in typescript are kept in the Research Library of the Bureau of Public Schools, Manila, Philippines. The legend recounted here is supplied by a certain Mang Poldo Vega, a native of Balingasag, Misamis Oriental.

this place. But the good people can get sick and die again seven times. Everytime they die they sink deeper into the earth and improve their condition without having to undergo Taliakod's judgment again.²⁵

COMMENT

Let us for a while look back at the motifs as yet unremarked in the above discussions. First, the mountain motif is rather common in these stories. We have referred to the old woman Sibaye who by sacrifice obtained from the gods permission for the spirits of the dead to repair to some very rugged mountains far away from the living, instead of going to hell. In the sight of Mt. Mayas in Panay sacrifice is made to Pandaque who redeems the dead from the gods of the underworld. Aropayang, a judge of the dead, is said to dwell in a tree on a very high mountain. Likewise with Sidapa. Mt. Balatukan is the final resting place for the just among the Bukidnon, Mt. Mayas for the Arayas and a very high mountain in Burney for the Yliguenes.

The mountain in myth is symbolic of the center of the universe (Eliade, *Patterns, passim*). It has connections with creation, therefore of new birth and life, because in many traditions creation is said to have taken place at the center of the universe which was either an island jutting out of the primordial sea, or the summit of a mountain. The mountain, like the cosmic tree, is therefore also symbolic of life, especially human life which is at the center of that creation, as well as of death. It is at the point where life begins, man's included, at the center of the world, at the zone where the cosmic regions meet: heaven, earth, and the underworld, that one finally loses his life in death. The journey to the land of the dead, whether by water or by land, implies a journey to the Center, to the point in the universe where life *here* is changed to life *hereafter*. At the Center one might find a mountain, a tree, a ladder, etc. But the same symbolism is expressed: to lose life where it was originally given. Among the Maleku-

²⁵ Dean Conant Worcester. *The Philippine Islands and Their People* (Manila, 1910), pp. 109-111 quoted by Beyer in *Origin Myths*, p. 87.

lan of Wala it is only after the soul has gnawed at the bark, and eaten the fruit, of a tree which grows outside the Cave of the Dead at the foot of a mountain, that the mourners cease to weep saying, "he has gone away now."²⁶ It is said that the mourners, by some special faculty, sense when the dead has gnawed at the bark and eaten the fruit of the tree.

The tree of life, so common in connection with the folklore of death (E90 ff and F162.1), is amply attested to in our Philippine material. *Maca aco*, the supreme being of the Bisayan is said to live on a very high mountain where he measures the life of men on a very high tree which is called *siasad*. (*Povedano Manuscript*, p. 46 of translation, p. 34 of text). Sidapa also possesses a tall tree on Mt. Mayas, and on the tree-trunk he measures the length of the life of every person (Loarca, *Relacion*, p. 130). And the belief of the early Bisayan (Povedano, Loarca, Pavon) that the first man and woman emerged full blown from a bamboo trunk which a bird (King of the Turtle-doves, Manaul) had pecked seems also to be connected with the motif of the tree of life. Again the tree of life for each individual is symbolised by the forest of bamboos, wherein each bamboo stands for a person, and the many joints in the bamboo stand for the days in each man's life. (Pavon's tale of Aropayang).

The tree of record which may be connected with the tree of life seems also to be attested. But the tree where Aropayang dwells seems more like a symbol of the year itself: it has 12 branches, each branch has 4 smaller branches, and each small branch has 30 leaves: 12 months, 4 weeks to a month, 30 days to a month equal a full year. In the Bukidnon journey of the dead, Binagbasan is where the tree of record grows. Having arrived at this tree, the dead man makes a notch on its trunk to indicate his arrival. (Note again how the Malekulan picture their dead as knowing at the bark of the tree instead of simply notching it). The symbolism of the two tree-trunks in the underworld between which Taliakod tends the fire that burns forever is not very clear. But it may perhaps be homologized also with the symbol of the Center (A875.1),

since it is there that the judgment and the final separation is effected.

The motiff of metempsychosis or transmigration of souls may also be seen in Alzina's cycle of nine lives, the soul gradually diminishing in size until it can fit a rice grain for coffin. Just what forms the soul enters into in the course of the cycle we are not told. In the Tagbanua tale the just whom Taliakod admits into the Elysian Fields are yet subject to sickness and death seven times. However, they are supposed to sink deeper into the earth with each succeeding death and improve their condition, and are exempt from the gruelling fires of Taliakod.

There are two other motifs in these stories about the dead which have been referred to so often in our analysis that they hardly need to be explicitly mentioned: the judgment motif and the fire motif.

The tale from the Bukidnon of Mindanao, alone contains several rather interesting motifs, for instance, the judgment of the dead, their having to overcome obstacles in their journey, such as the rock of Liyang; the tree of record, the ritual dance, the ritual haircut, the banquet, the ascent up the mountain-top to heaven; the punishment of the wicked through endless fetching of water; the plate falling from heaven, and the flower that grows on it and sings a song calling the dead to judgment.

The giant Taliakod of the Tagbanua may be classified as a native Rhadamanthus (*Aeneid*, VI, 566); the testifying louse is rather unique, I think. Though like the jimminy-cricket it seems to stand for conscience. The belief that the good live and die seven or nine times seems to reveal some Indian influence. That the dead sink deeper into the earth after each cycle, and that they improve their condition by passing the fires of Taliakod may also be connected with the rather common folklore motif that mankind ascends from under the earth (A682, A1232, A1631).

²⁶ It is interesting to compare these tales, especially the one from Mindanao with John Layard, "The Malekulan Journey of the Dead,"

in *Spiritual Disciplines: Papers from the Eranos Yearbook* (Bollingen Series xxx, 4). New York, 1960, p. 130.

The dead man journeys on foot along a long, black sandy beach. He enters the Cave of the Dead "Barang na Tamat." As he goes in he is blocked by Le-hev-hev, the Devouring Ghost. They struggle as the man tries to push his way through and the ghost to pull him back. The dead is helped by another mythical ghostly being, Taghar Lawo who tells Le-hev-hev to "Leave him alone and let him come to join all his friends—in there." (Pointing to the inside of the cave). Le-hev-hev lets him go, in return the dead man presents the ghost with the spirit of the pig which had been sacrificed at his burial. He also pays a pig-offering to Tag-har Lawo. He enters the cave, but he does not tarry there. He must walk another forty miles along the beach until at sundown he comes to a promontory called Tsingon Bung-na-un. There he lights a great fire in order to attract the ghostly ferryman of Ambryn. He also gathers a particular kind of seaweed and beckons with it. At this signal the ferryman pushes his craft called *Wywun* or "banana skin," which could be any kind of flotsam on the water, and heads for the other shore. He ferries the dead man over to Ambryn where he is led up a big volcano called Bot-gharambi or "Source of Fire." The dead are said to dance there in the form of skeletons and at the coming of dawn, their heads fall apart and their bones are scattered all over.

In another Vao version, the dead is said to "buy the fire" from Le-hev-hev. That is, he pays the ghost a pig-offering in order that he may be allowed to follow the path of the fire. For them "walking in fire" is equivalent to attaining beatitude; for fire means power and life. And every native yearns after death to attain life in the volcano. (*Ibid.*, pp. 127-129).

The Wala and the Atchin versions of the journey of the dead have these highlights: (1) a bamboo stick called *ne-row* is cut to the exact length of the dead man and laid with him in his grave. This stick will serve as his magic wand to divide the waters in the under-world; (2) the sacrifice of a fowl whose ghost the dead man is supposed to carry on the outer end of his magic wand, while he makes for the mountain underneath which lies the Cave of the Dead; (3) a magic tree, *nu-wi-men-men*, grows outside the cave; he gnaws at the bark and eats of the fruit of the tree. By some special sense, the mourners back on earth are able to mark when this has taken place; it is then that they cease to mourn saying: "he has gone away now;" (4) outside the Cave, too, is the whistling stone, *ni-wt-wen-wen*; the dead man goes around this stone and enters the Cave unmolested; (5) then he heads southward along the black sandy beach; halfway along the beach he comes upon a river; he divides the river with his wand and passes through until he comes to the end of the beach where is located the solitary upright stone called the "Nose Devouring Stone." (6) When the dead man arrives at the promontory of pinalum he unwraps the mats which have

D: THE VILLAGE OF THE DEAD

In much of the folklore of the various Philippine tribes we come across references to the place where the souls of the dead repair either to be punished or to be rewarded; either high up in the summit of cloud-covered Balatukan, or way down below in the bowels of the earth where Taliakod tends his fires. The folktales and myths are not quite as graphic in their descriptions of the pains as they are in depicting the life of the dead in the place of reward and rest. The Tagbanua, for instance, believe that souls remarry in that place; a man who dies ahead of his wife marries a woman who has died ahead of her husband, and vice versa. Husbands and wives who die together remarry in the underworld. But no more children are born (Alzina). The rich are far less comfortable there, although all are well off.²⁷

The early Bisayan of Leyte and Samar, according to Alzina, maintained that married persons were joined together again after death; the husband having the same woman he had before he died. (What of him who had more than one wife or concubines, or who married once or twice after the death of his wives? They say nothing about this.) They

been his winding sheets; (7) then he comes to a place called Wenush; here he encounters the Devouring Ghost called in Wala Le-saw-saw; this Ghost dwells on a stone standing in the sea, it is also called a shark, and upon it is perched a bird which lures to it the passing dead. The soul offers the spirit of a pig that had been sacrificed at his burial in order that he might be allowed to pass and not be drowned. (*Ibid.* pp. 130-31).

It is related that the ghost of a man from Vao was followed by two living women of Atchin on his journey. And they saw the Stone Wetu (the Nose-Devouring One) rise up and hit the nose of the man with his finger, not in order to break it, but in order to make it flat, which means to deprive him of his psychic masculinity. For the nose is a phallic symbol among these people, and well-formed nose is priced as being symbolic of psychic strength. For this reason, the dead man at once presented the Stone with the ghost of the fowl which he carried. If he delayed, his nose would be flattened. If he had no fowl to offer, he would be devoured. (*Ibid.*, p. 131).

²⁷ Dean Conant Worcester, *op. cit.* p. 111 in Beyer's *Origin Myths*, p. 87.

eat and drink and cohabit as man and wife; but the women are no longer fertile once they have died. And we have already referred to the village of the dead earlier (cf. *supra*, p. 364), a place called Bariias whither the souls are conducted after they have been confronted by Badadum. The place where the dead repair could also be on a top of a high mountain like Mt. Sisiburanen in Burnei (cf. *supra*, p. 364). There the dead follow their occupations when still alive, farmers farm, hunters hunt, weavers weave, etc. But one salient feature of this place of rest is always that of feasting and merry-making.

As a conclusion to this study let me add an interesting story of Banggilit of Hinagangan, and the jars which he brought down with him from his visit with the dead in their village. It is interesting to note that in this story, the man gets lost while hunting on earth, and finds himself in the village of the dead which turns out to be somewhere in the sky because he had to climb down a betel-nut tree in order to go home. The following is a synopsis of the tale.²⁸

Banggilit was a wealthy man; he had four rice granaries and a very large house. He was not a priest, and he delighted in the hunt. One day, having gone out hunting, he was overtaken by night in the forest; and it was only after a long while that one and then another of his hunting dogs answered his call. As he went his way, the dogs whined and whimpered and pulled at the leash. Banggilit ran and soon come to a place of light where there were many people. They asked him where he had been speared; and he told them his story, and how he came there.

They brought him to their village; but they could not prevail upon him to eat their rice because he told them he would take their food only after provisions he had brought along were consumed. When they asked him how long he intended to stay, they laughed at his answer; for he told them he intended to stay only four days; and four days in the spirit world means four years in the world of mortals.

²⁸ For fuller text, cf. Beyer, *ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

He visited all the towns in the dwelling place of the dead. He worked in their fields; and, for wages, they gave him four jars, one for each of the four years.

After taking leave of his hosts, he was instructed to go down a ladder and shortly he would find himself in his house. And sure enough this happened. But as he started to climb down, one of the jars struck heavily against the ladder and broke. At the foot of the ladder he came upon the top of a betel-nut tree. He slipped down the smooth trunk to the ground. The cocks were just crowing in the morning. His relatives recognized him who had been lost for four years. They inquired where he got the jars. He told them he had brought them down from the sky-world. They were amazed and went to look for the ladder, but it was gone.

HYPOTHESES

Despite the limited material at our disposal, and the fact that this work is by nature exploratory, it is quite legitimate, after some analysis of motifs, to draw some tentative conclusions. These conclusions are subject to further modifications and revisions as the writer gains access to more and more materials. Here then are a recapitulation and reformulization of much that we have already pointed out in the course of the paper.

1. The early Filipinos, especially the Bisayan, believed that the first death was that of a shark. The fish died because of the action of either the first human beings or their children who brought the shark to shore. It had first been caught either by a net or by a fish corral.

2. The early Bisayan also believed that the first human death was caused by a lightning bolt in punishment for at least two faults: (a) rendering obsequies to the dead fish and (b) hitting a black cat which had helped itself generously to the feast prepared by Capantaan or Pandaguan at the burial of the fish.

On the other hand, the Ifugao believe that the first human death was also the first human sacrifice after the

flood. This sacrifice was necessitated by the desire to replenish the forces of fertility, growth and increase which were on the wane.

3. Belief in the Golden Age, i.e., a primordial existence in which mankind was not destined to die, seems to be borne out by the materials which we have investigated. However, one must modify this statement further. For the concept of the Golden Age may be taken at least in two senses: (1) an *absolutely* primordial state of bliss which no other existence has ever preceded; this concept is common perhaps to the Persian (Zoroastrian) and to the Judaeo-Christian traditions; and (2) a *relatively* primordial blissful life of mankind which does not preclude previous existences. This second concept of the Golden Age is more in keeping with the Indian, Greek, Oceanian and other traditions. The materials studied do not inform us enough as to which of the two senses might with sufficient probability be claimed to have been held by our ancestors. The possible belief in transmigration of souls among the Bisayan and the tradition of the Flood among the Ifugao and the birth of a new humanity to repeople the earth are too tenuous to base any solid probability.

4. It seems that the early Bisayan believed that after death a person could return to earth on the third, the seventh or the thirtieth day. But the voluntary choice to remain dead of a culture-hero who was infuriated by the fact that his wife took a second husband after he had died, and would not return to him when he appeared from the dead, shattered forever the hope of a return to life on the part of mankind. Some Bisayan, however, and the Tagbanua believed in a cycle of lives: nine for the Bisayan, seven for the Tagbanua.

5. It seems that both the Bisayan and the Tinguian believed that the dead are first revived before they are judged: the means of revival is by extreme heat for the first, and immersion in a magic pool for the second.

6. Death is rightly considered by most Filipinos as an altogether new existence, different from life here, yet, strangely enough, somewhat similar to life on earth. The difference is expressed in the symbol of a long journey, usually over the

waters, or by a descent into the bowels of the earth through a cave under a high mountain. The journey as we mentioned earlier seems to be symbolized by a number of things: a tree, a mountain, a cave, "the ends of the world." The great difference between death and life is accentuated also by the symbol of judgment which the dead undergo once they arrived at the center. For judgment brings about a separation of the good and the bad, the rich and the poor, sometimes, even between various tribes. The good are sent up the summit of a high mountain or enter into a realm where there is plenty of food and game. The evil ones are either pitched into the fires of Taliakod, or else are made to fetch water endlessly. There is hope of purification, and, therefore, of entry into the resting grounds after this. Once more the difference between life and death is reinforced by the progressively widening distance between the dead and the living as they set on their journey. However many stages the journey may entail, there seem to be really only three essential stages: (a) the journey to the cave, mountain or tree (the Center) and (b) the judgment or separation at the Center (c) the further climb up the summit of the mountain for the just, and the descent into the place of punishment: fire or water, for the wicked.

The belief in some kind of similarity between life on earth and the life after death is, I think, evident in the fact that the early Filipinos supplied the dead with abundant gold and silver and other kinds of wealth to pay for his way into the land of the dead. Also the fact that for many, the place of rest for the just is pictured as very much like life here except that the evil people are no longer there to create trouble. The just are said to engage themselves in exactly the same noble occupations they had been used to do during life.

7. Even in death a certain prolongation of life is believed to exist. We have seen how the dead are said to be revived for judgment; how the gods in the beginning did allow people to return to earth after death and only the voluntary choice of Capantaan or Pandaguan to remain dead forever sealed the fate of mortal men subsequently; and again we are told that some Bisayan believe in a metempsychosis lasting for nine cycles, while Tagbanua believe in one lasting for only seven.

APPENDICES

The following texts are quoted directly from the documents which the writer used in preparing this paper. References to them were indicated in the discussion.

I. From the Robertson Text and Translation of the Povodano Manuscript of 1572, ed. E. D. Hester. Chicago. (Philippine Studies Program. Transcript No. 2), pp. 46-48.

(The numbers found within the first text refer to the footnotes of E. D. Hester.)

TREATING OF HOW THEY TELL OF THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD AND OF THE SKY AND OF MEN, AS THE OLD MEN TELL IT.

They believe and regard it as very certain that there is a supreme being whom they call *Maca aco*,⁵⁴ It is said that he lives in a very high mountain, where he measures the life of men on a very high tree which is called *siasad*. He was the father of the first people whom he shut up in two joints of the bamboo tree. Then came the King of the Turtle-doves. When he alighted on the bamboo, there came forth from the joints a man, who was very dark but very handsome, who was named *Silalac*; and one other, a woman, who was named *Sibabay-e*. As soon as they beheld each other, they fell in love; but she rejected him, saying that it could not be, since they had both issued from one and the same hallow stem. Then they agreed to speak to the King of the Earthquake, *Macalinog*. As soon as he saw them, he said that it was very good, and that they ought to marry, for there were not enough people.⁵⁵ After they were married they had two children, one of them was named *Sagmany* and the other *Lirbo*.⁵⁶

One day they were ordered to clean rice. When they did so, they used some *lancadas*⁵⁷ so long that they pushed against the sky so that the sky became high [above the earth]. They say that before this the sky was very low and that people touched it with their heads. Next the children of these first people had to make a fish corral. As soon as they saw it finished, they caught a large shark, which they took ashore alive. But then the fish died. When their parents in the sky, who were called *Captan* and *Maguayen*,⁵⁸ learned about this, they sent the fly to see whether it were true. The fly said that it was. *Maguayen* was so greatly incensed that she hurled a thunderbolt and lightning which killed *Sanman* and *Licpo*.⁵⁹ This then was the first death.

As he delayed in returning to the earth, his wife *Libas* sent her son to see where his father was. When the latter saw him, he told him

to call his mother, for he was among the dead. But the mother did not wish it so, for she said that the dead did not return to the earth.⁶⁰

II. From Miguel de Loarca, "Relacion de las Yslas Filipinas," Blair and Robertson, *Islands*, v, pp. 173-174:

"When the natives were asked why the sacrifices were offered to the anito, and not to the Batala, they answered that the Batala was a great lord, and no one could speak to him. He lived in the sky; but the anito, who was of such a nature that he came down here to talk with men, was to the Batala as a minister, and interceded for them. In some places, and especially in the mountain districts, when the father, mother, or other relative dies, the people unite in making a small wooden idol, and preserve it. Accordingly there is a house which contains one hundred or two hundred of these idols. These images also are called *anitos*; for they say that when people die, they go to serve the Batala. Therefore they make sacrifices to these anitos, offering them food, wine, and gold ornaments; and request them to be intercessors for them before the Batala, whom they regard as God."

III. From the *Relacion*, pp. 129 ff:

"It is said that the souls of those who are stabbed to death, eaten by crocodiles, or killed by arrows (which is considered a very honorable death), go to heaven by way of the arch which is formed when it rains and become gods. The souls of the drowned remain in the sea forever. By way of honor to these, they erect a tall reed and hang upon it a garment—that of a man, if the dead be a man; but a woman's, for a woman. This garment is left there until it falls to pieces through age. When the children or other relatives of drowned persons are sick, the relatives are taken and placed in a barangay, in company with a *baylana*, who is a sort of priestess; and at the place indicated by the priestess, they throw into the sea a chest filled with robes and other articles, which they have brought with them. At the same time their ancestors are invoked to protect and help the sick man during his illness."

"If those who die from disease are young, the Pintados say that the *mangalos*, who are goblins, are eating their bowels, wherefore they die; for these people do not know that the corruption of humors causes diseases. They say of those who die in old age that the wind comes and snatches away their souls. And of those who die thus, the Arayas (which is a certain alliance of villages), they say, go to a very high mountain in the island of Panay called Mayas. The souls of the Yliguenes, who comprise the people of Cebu, Bohol, and Bantay, go with the god called Sisiburauen, to a very high mountain in the island of Burney.

"*The God Sidapa.* They say that there is in the sky another god, called Sidapa. This god possesses a very tall tree on Mount Mayas. There he measures the lives of all the new-born, and places a mark on the tree; when the person's stature equals his mark, he dies immediately.

Belief concerning the destination of souls. It is believed that at death all souls go directly to the infernal regions; but that, by means of the *maganitos*, which are the sacrifices and offerings made to the god Pandaque in sight of the mount of Mayas, they are redeemed from Simuran and Siguinarugan, gods of the lower regions.

It is said that, when the Yligueynes die, the god Maguayen carries them to Inferno. When he has carried them thither in his barangay, Sumpoy, another god, sallies forth, takes them away, and leads them to Sisiburanen, the god before mentioned, who keeps them all. Good or bad alike, he takes them all on equal terms, when they go to Inferno. But the poor, who have no one to offer sacrifices for them, remain forever, in the Inferno, and the god of those regions eats them, or keeps them forever in prison. From this it will be seen how little their being good or bad avails them, and how much reason they have to hate poverty."

IV. From Juan de Plasencia, O. S. F., "Customs of the Tagalogs" in Blair and Robertson, *Islands*, vii, pp. 195-196:

"These infidels said that they knew that there was another life of rest which they called *maca*, just as if we should say 'paradise,' or, in other words, 'village of rest.' They say that those who go to this place are the just, and the valiant, and those who lived without doing harm, or who possessed other moral virtues. They said also that in the other life and mortality, there was a place of punishment, grief, and affliction, called *casanaan*, which was 'a place of anguish;' they also maintained that no one would go to heaven, where there dwelt only Bathala, 'the marker of all things,' who governed from above. There were also other pagans who confessed more clearly to a hell, which they called, as I have said, *casanaan*; they said that all the wicked went to that place, and there dwelt the demons, whom they called *sitan*."

V. The following is a transcript of the Muñoz Text of Alzina's History of the Bisayan Islands (1668): Part I, Book 3, pp. 184-186, transliterated from a microfilm of the Spanish text in the Biblioteca Palacio, Madrid by Victor Baltazar for the Philippine Studies Program, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.

En general es cierto que nada y que mas eran Atheistas que otra cosa lo que algunos de los mas entendidos decían, y esto mas por con-
sejos que por tenerlo por cierto, era: que el alma nacía y moría nueve
vezes; conque parece estaban vintados de la transmigracion Pithagorica,
que tanto ha cundido en el mundo, aun entre mui entendidos, y que
al cabo de las nueve vezes venía á quedar tan chiquita que quando moría
la vltima vez cabía en vn Atand, que ellos llaman: *Longon*, del
tamano de vn grano de arroz; tanto como esto se gastaba en el
vso del repetido morir! Del cuerpo nuestro decían, que después
de enterrado se convierte en agua de noche y que de dia vive vnto con el
alma; y si les preguntaren con qual de los nueve cuerpos pasados
vivía pues habiendo mudado nueve era fuerza ó con todos ó con vno?
no saben responder a proposito. Decían, que los casados se juntaban allá
después de muertos teniendo el Marido allá las mesmas mugeres que
había tenido acá viviendo maridablemente y comiendo y bebiendo
como aca antes que murieron; pero que las mugeres no parían más
después de muertas acá vna vez, ni tenían mas hijos de los que acá tu-
vieron.

Después de muertos decían que iban todos á vn lugar que llamaban:
Sayar, que pintaban al modo de los Elisios; y que *Bararum*, el Divata,
que ya diximos que es el que gobierna el mundo, y que sabe quando
vno muere llamaba todos los parientes como Padres, Aguelos y ante
pasados de difunto, y les decía que fulano su hijo era muerto y asi
que le saliesen todos á recibir; entonces tomaban todos sus lanzas y
Calasag, que son sus Escudos y pavenses y en compañía del dicho
Badadum iban á la boca del rio, que era al modo de Letheo
de Virgilio, y allí le aguardaban con grande fiesta y algazara: En lle-
gando el difunto destapaban el Ataud ó longon, y el dicho Badadum
preguntaba si era aquel fulano, y en viendolo mui arreado con oro y
otras preseas, que como veremos quando tratemos de sus entierros, les
adornaban y enterraban con todo suero, decía: verdad es este es fulano
por que trae mucho oro, desconociendo á los que no lo traían; y
esta era la causa de ponerles todo el oro que podían, y luego
decía a sus Parientes que le llevasen al Pueblo de su Padre del dicho
Badadum, llamado: Ayaoy, y al Pueblo llamaban: Bariaas y que llevado
al dicho Pueblo el difunto se ocupaba en las mesmas cosas que acá solía
quando vivo; de modo que el valiente y guerrero se ocupaba en robos
y Pangaiao, que es cautivar: el Labrador en cultivar la tierra: las
mugeres en sus texidos y costuras como acá; y en esto se ocupaban
siempre. Que parece copiaron esta mentira como otras de aquello de
Virgilio: *que cura nitentes armatum que fuit vivis eadem sequitur tel-
lures (tellure) repostos, etc.*

VI. Excerpted from The Robertson Translations of the
Pavon Manuscripts of 1838-1839, Transcript No. 5-D, p. 28.

OF THE FIRST PUNISHMENT FOR SIN

They say that sin was not punished in the olden days, but that *Capantaan*, when preparing the obsequies [of the shark], invited several friends and his wife to partake of a great banquet at the burial of the fish. At that time, they prepared good food and rich, but an insolent black cat began to devour the food. Thereupon *Capantaan* scared it off, by hitting it with a stick. The cat escaped howling loudly, and went to complain to *Maguayen* and *Captan*. Then the latter in anger, in order to punish the sin of respecting the fish and hurting the cat, launched a thunderbolt from his place. It struck *Capantaan* so that he died. They believe that cats have been the friends of thunderbolts since that time. Seeing the confusion, *Lunpluban* and her son *Angion*, together with their other companion, escaped in flight.

VII. The following are the four accounts of Pavon to which reference has been made on pp. 365 ff. of the paper.

(I) OF WHAT HAPPENED TO CAPANTAAAN AFTER DEATH. HOW HIS SOUL WAS TAKEN.

After the death of *Capantaan*, they say that a boat which they call *balangay*, came from very distant places. This is a kind of small schooner, but it has two sails. In it was an old man called *Mama Guayen*. On seeing the dead one, he was frightened, and taking him, carried him away in his boat. He went very far away near the end of the world, where it was very warm. Once there, the deceased was raised to life because of the heat of that place. Beholding himself in a very distant place, he asked the old man why he was there. But the latter would not answer him, and the dead one infuriated struck him a blow on the nose with the oar. Thereupon the old man already greatly irritated, forced him downward. But down there, no water was to be found. All that was to be seen was a big old man, who was roasting the root of *banhayan*. On seeing him the old man told *Capantaan* to build up the fire of the great fireplace. But *Capantaan* refused again. Angered, the old man seized him and pushed him down into another hole, which was deep and where there was a great fire. The old man, who was called *Casumpoy*, returned [above] to put a bit of iron on top, so that *Capantaan* could not get out again.

There was another very tall man there, called *Casiburauen*, who gave them food, but who was very ugly. But he gave them good things and was good. Once when he was eating *pirquin*, he asked *Capantaan* for some, and the latter gave it to him. Consequently, the former, out of his great compassion, returned *Capantaan* to his home, a thing he is said to have merited because of his good manners and good heart. *Capantaan*, thereupon, set out for his home. It was so far that he had to journey for thirty days. On his arrival, he did not find his

wife. He asked his son about her, and the latter told him that she had gone away with another man.

Note: Here the good and amiable Ynoy ended his long narration of stories, saying that he had no more of them. But he promised me he would speak to the *bailana* priestess, *Mabintay*, who had many stories written on parchment or tree bark, which were said to be very old. They are given below, then, just as she told them to me. (Pp. 29-30).

(II) OF WHAT IS TOLD OF THE FIRST CONCUBINAGE OF LUNPLUBAN WITH MARANCOYANG

They say that, when the wife of *Capantaan* found herself alone on the earth, the first thing that she did was to withdraw to her house. After a bit she began to lament very bitterly. They say that when she was in this condition another man called *Lumpluban* [i.e., *Marancoyang*] came along. He invited her to take a little tobacco in a piece of the *bunya* leaf. She took it with very good grace. Then he asked her whether she would follow him to his house, which was about two cannon-shots' distance away. She refused, but as the man persisted, she allowed herself to be taken thither. So they went along, and it is said that they lived happily and gave origin to the first concubinage.

A few days later the dead *Capantaan* came to his house, and sought his wife and son, but did not find them. Then he questioned the people about them, but the latter could not tell him. Then he asked the birds, but the birds did not know where they were. Then the flies told him that his son was dead, and that his wife had gone off with another man. Then he spoke to the animals and asked which one could guide him to the place. Thereupon the animals told him that the dog was the one that knew the place. But at this there arose a heated dispute, for the ant claimed to know the place better. The dog said that it could smell well, and the ant said that it could enter into very small places. Then the man resolved to follow the dog. Since then dogs have been the friends of mankind, and ants their enemies. They set out.

At this point *Mabintay* said: "Let us leave *Capantaan* with his dog going in search of his wife *Lunpluban*, and let us see what passed during the husband's absence." (p. 32)

(III) THE FIRST THEFT OF MARANCOYANG IS TOLD

It is said that, as soon as *Lunpluban* and *Marancoyang* arrived at the place where they were going to stay, they were met by many of the latter's friends, for as yet no woman had gone to that place. Then they desired to celebrate the event with a big feast. When they were asked what they would give, the monkey replied that he would bring bananas. The dog said that he would bring meat; the cat, birds; the ant, rice; the sparrowhawk, fish; the tortoise, salt; the bees, honey; and so on

with the other animals. Only the pig and the weevil were lacking, but in a short time the weevil came bringing the *balatong* seed. But the pig did not appear. Then the other animals agreed to eat it for its impudence. The dog begged its ears; the cat, the snout; the sparrowhawk, its belly; the monkey, its buttocks; the ant, its fat; and the weevil, its guts. Then they agreed to drag it out, but no one was bold enough to do it. But *Marancoyang* went far away to a place called *Caiuican* to steal it. In that place was a very old man called *Ygjocan*. *Marancoyang*, on seeing him, asked him for the above-mentioned pig, but the old man said that he would not give it to him, for it was the only one he had. Then *Marancoyang* resolved to take it by means of theft, and accordingly did so. That was the first theft in the world.

Marancoyang took the stolen pig and they ate it as above—said amid great rejoicing. At that moment a youth passed and asked them to give him something to eat. They refused him saying that he had not given them any aid.

Thereupon, that youth, who was *Arion*, went away very angry, and immediately after this, advised his father *Capantaan* that a pig had been stolen and that his mother was eating it in company with another man.

His father thereupon sent him to call his mother *Lunpluban*, and to tell her that it was a great shame for her to have left him in order to eat a stolen pig. At this point, Mabintay ended the present story, in order to commence the next one, which he who sees and reads will see. (pp. 33-34).

(IV). THE DEAD DO NOT RETURN TO EARTH

Arion went immediately to her who was called his mother, whom he found eating pig. She showed great pleasure at seeing him, but he showed himself very impudent and told her that he was come by order of his father to get her away from there. Then she was frightened. But she was ready to go, and asked *Marancoyang* to grant her permission to see her first husband for a few days. But the latter grew very angry, and would not consent, telling her that dead men do not return to earth unless within [the first] seven days [after death]. Thereupon, she replied to her son in the same way. At that her son showed great rage, but he returned and told his father that the latter was in the region of the dead. Thereupon the latter was very angry, and tried to return to the earth. But they say that this was not permitted by the old *Cansiburauen*, who they say cares for all the dead.

From that time, the angry and furious man did not wish to return to earth. Neither would he remember his wife, but stayed dead forever. But had *Cansiburauen* permitted him to return to the earth, then the dead would return to earth.

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It is said that, as soon as *Lunpluban* and *Marancoyang* arrived at the place where they were going to stay, they were met by many of the latter's friends, for as yet no woman had gone to that place. Then they desired to celebrate the event with a big feast. When they were asked what they would give, the monkey replied that he would bring bananas. The dog said that he would bring meat; the cat, birds; the ant, rice; the sparrowhawk, fish; the tortoise, salt; the bees, honey; and so on

with the other animals. Only the pig and the weevil were lacking, but in a short time the weevil came bringing the *balatong* seed. But the pig did not appear. Then the other animals agreed to eat it for its impudence. The dog begged its ears; the cat, the snout; the sparrowhawk, its belly; the monkey, its buttocks; the ant, its fat; and the weevil, its guts. Then they agreed to drag it out, but no one was bold enough to do it. But *Marancoyang* went far away to a place called *Caiuican* to steal it. In that place was a very old man called *Ygjocan*. *Marancoyang*, on seeing him, asked him for the above-mentioned pig, but the old man said that he would not give it to him, for it was the only one he had. Then *Marancoyang* resolved to take it by means of theft, and accordingly did so. That was the first theft in the world.

Marancoyang took the stolen pig and they ate it as above—said amid great rejoicing. At that moment a youth passed and asked them to give him something to eat. They refused him saying that he had not given them any aid.

Thereupon, that youth, who was *Arion*, went away very angry, and immediately after this, advised his father *Capantaan* that a pig had been stolen and that his mother was eating it in company with another man.

His father thereupon sent him to call his mother *Lunpluban*, and to tell her that it was a great shame for her to have left him in order to eat a stolen pig. At this point, *Mabintay* ended the present story, in order to commence the next one, which he who sees and reads will see. (pp. 33-34).

(IV). THE DEAD DO NOT RETURN TO EARTH

Arion went immediately to her who was called his mother, whom he found eating pig. She showed great pleasure at seeing him, but he showed himself very impudent and told her that he was come by order of his father to get her away from there. Then she was frightened. But she was ready to go, and asked *Marancoyang* to grant her permission to see her first husband for a few days. But the latter grew very angry, and would not consent, telling her that dead men do not return to earth unless within [the first] seven days [after death]. Thereupon, she replied to her son in the same way. At that her son showed great rage, but he returned and told his father that the latter was in the region of the dead. Thereupon the latter was very angry, and tried to return to the earth. But they say that this was not permitted by the old *Cansiburauen*, who they say cares for all the dead.

From that time, the angry and furious man did not wish to return to earth. Neither would he remember his wife, but stayed dead forever. But had *Cansiburauen* permitted him to return to the earth, then the dead would return to earth.

Cansiburauen pitied *Capantaan* greatly. Thereupon after a long time, this *Cansiburauen* turned him into a fish, and threw him into the sea. Since then *Capantaan* has been there. (p. 35).

VIII. The following note is on page 36 of Pavon Manuscript, Transcript No. 5-D; reference to it was made *supra*, p. 367 n. 10.

IN WHICH IS EXPLAINED ABOUT THE DEAD, AND WHY
THEY DO NOT RETURN TO EARTH

Note: It is fitting to explain here for the proper understanding of this story that it was believed among the old-time Indios of this island [Panay?] that the soul of the dead returned to its house after three days in order to see its relatives. In this, they say that it is only the soul that returns, for if *Capantaan* on summoning his wife *Lunpluban* had come into the world, then the dead would return. But it was not so. This is the reason why only souls return to the world.

In certain places of the old town of Yloc in this island, I have had opportunity to see on certain occasions that after a person had been dead for three days, they prepared some food, and were even accustomed to throw ashes round about near the entrance of the house. When they eat they leave a vacant place in the house, because they say that when they eat the dead person is present with them and eats for the last time at the first meal.

I do not know nor have I heard that the people of our country believe in this return of the dead, which is equivalent to the resurrection of our Redeemer and Lord. And here I shall give an end to this recital which I insert as a note for the clearer understanding of the preceding story.