





ANNALS
OF THE
NEW YORK ACADEMY
OF SCIENCES

VOLUME XXV



NEW YORK
PUBLISHED BY THE ACADEMY
1916-1917

112-11
4.35
1316-17

Editors
EDMUND OTIS HOVEY
and
RALPH W. TOWER

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	<i>Edition</i>
Pp. 1—308, 15 May, 1916	1200 copies
Pp. 309—416, June, 1916	1500 copies

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ANNALS OF THE NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Vol. XXV, pp. 1-308, pll. I-VIII

Editor, EDMUND OTIS HOVEY

A STUDY OF BAGOBO CEREMONIAL,
MAGIC AND MYTH

BY

LAURA WATSON BENEDICT



NEW YORK
PUBLISHED BY THE ACADEMY
15 MAY, 1916

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A STUDY OF BAGOBO CEREMONIAL, MAGIC AND MYTH¹

By LAURA WATSON BENEDICT

(Presented by title before the Academy, 20 April, 1914)

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PREFATORY REMARKS

The Bagobo form one of those Malay cultural groups in the mountainous country of southeastern Mindanao which have retained their pagan faith in its entirety and have never accepted the religious dictates of Islam. During the period when the Moro dominated

the southern coast² from Point Tagubum to Zamboanga, the Bagobo, like the other wild tribes of the Gulf of Davao, doubtless paid tribute to the Mohammedan conquerors, but they retained their independence in customs and in worship. Unlike the lowland peoples of the west, they would not fuse by conversion and by intermarriage with the Moro, though they came into trading relations with Moro groups at the coast. In their remote homes on mountain peaks, which could be reached only by hard climbing through dense and thorny forest growth, the Bagobo remained safe from attack, except as, now and then, a few of their number were caught and pressed into slavery by the Moro.

Within the last sixty years, — that is to say since the Spanish conquest of the gulf of Davao, — the Bagobo have begun to build little villages on the west side of the gulf, and there to establish their own cultural conditions. When Datu³ Ali, a chieftain of great distinction, died in 1906, he had lived for fifty years in Lübu, the old Bagobo name for the present village of Santa Cruz.

While a coast culture developed that was modified somewhat by Visayan and Moro customs and by new elements from Spanish sources, yet, on the whole, the Bagobo at the coast appear to have been but superficially influenced by these various contacts. They have clung tenaciously to the old industrial processes and to the ancient forms of worship. There is not to be found that sharp dividing line which one would look for between mountain culture and coast culture; and particularly is this true on the religious side. While there is a considerable range of local variation, not only between coast and mountain but also between different mountain groups, yet, as a general characterization, it may be said that

² For a discussion of the Moro conquests in Mindanao, see N. M. SALEEBY: "Studies in Moro History, Law and Religion," pp. 50—61. 1905.

³ *Datu*, a Malay word for grandfather, is now, as applied to the chiefs, restricted to the Moro and the wild tribes; but formerly it was in wide use among the Filipino as well. BLAIR and ROBERTSON (The Philippine Islands, vol. 16, p. 157. 1904) quote Pardo de Tavera as saying that the word *datu* or *datuls*, though not in the present day vocabulary of the Tagal, primitively signified grandfather or head of the family, the term being equivalent to the head of the *barangay*. The reference is given to T. H. PARDO de TAVERA: *Costumbres de los Tagalos*, p. 10, note 1. 1892. Cf. also, BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 4, footnote, pp. 184—185, for a discussion of the *barangay*, as meaning: (1) the slender craft, pointed at both ends and put together with wooden pegs, that formed the distinctive vessel of the Philippines; (2) the small social community of related individuals directed by the same *cabeza*, or datu, who had been captain of the same family group on the *barangay* in which they had crossed the water to the new home.

the same rites are celebrated on mountain tops and beside the sea, the same tabus are respected, the same precautions taken against ghosts and demons. Although the new doctrines and the new rites suggested to the Bagobo fresh safeguards against evil spirits, — safeguards which might well be added to their already ample collection of magic spells and of charm objects, — although they eagerly accepted foreign amulets and untried formulæ that might, perchance, subdue a fever or expel a cough, there are unmistakable signs that even those coast Bagobo who have felt most strongly the impelling force of the new forms of worship are at heart as sincere pagans as they ever were. In all essentials, they believe and think and behave like those remote mountain Bagobo who have been scarcely touched by foreign influences.

Recent history accounts easily for this situation. The Bagobo who have settled at the coast during the last half century have come with a religion well organized, and fixed by centuries of tradition. Furthermore, there has been continuous and unbroken intercourse between the mountain people and the coast people, particularly on occasions of ceremonial gatherings and for purposes of trade. Intermarriage between mountain Bagobo and coast Bagobo has not been lacking. More than this, there has occurred an intermittent flow of whole families from the hills and from the nearer mountains to the coast, and from the sea back to the upland villages, in regulated response to a varying pressure of conditions both ecclesiastical and economic. Particularly has this pressure been operative since the American occupation, on account of the demands of labor. Many houses at Santa Cruz, for example, which were built and occupied by the Bagobo early in the present century were deserted as soon as a return to their little hemp fields on the mountain slopes was made possible by a change in the local administration.

Throughout these fluctuations, the presence of the older chieftains, like Ali, Tongkaling, Imbal, Oleng, Yting, and others of no less dominating personality, as well as the existence of such permanent centers of influence as Talun, Sibulán and Tubison, has operated to preserve the old traditions and the integrity of the tribal religion, so that no group at the coast has been swamped by foreign influences. During the last few years, however, the death of several leading datu, and the transference of entire mountain groups to provide native labor for American plantations have been operative

factors tending, unquestionably, to bring about marked modifications in Bagobo culture, such as to affect the mountain area almost equally with the coast. The disintegration of the whole body of Bagobo custom and Bagobo tradition cannot long be held off.

The material culture of the Bagobo is of a primitive agricultural type. The food staples are rice, corn and sweet potatoes; fields are cultivated without the aid of animals or of hand plough, for the mere burning over of the land gives a soft soil in which holes may be made with a digging-stick. In addition to garden products, some wild food is secured by hunting and by gleaning.

The horse and the dog are their domestic animals, while the coast Bagobo make use of carabao, or water buffalo, for dragging loads and, to some extent, for riding bareback; they snare and tame jungle fowl. They make a rough pottery and fire it without the use of an oven; they weave baskets and traps and scabbards; they do highly specialized forms of overlacing and coloring of hemp, a plant that has been cultivated by the wild tribes since prehistoric times, and almost as far back as Bagobo tradition goes. At the coast, the women have learned, in addition, to weave imported cotton in the Visayan manner.

One would say that the material culture, as a whole, suggested that of the pile-dwellings of the Neolithic age, were it not that the use of iron (of how recent introduction we do not know) has completely supplanted stone implements, and that the industry of casting various bronze and brass objects from a wax mould has reached a high degree of artistic skill.

With this brief introduction, we may pass on to our discussion of the Bagobo religion. The ceremonial is closely associated with the everyday interests of the people — interests which find expression in the ceremonial use of bamboo and of betel, of the fruits of the field, of products from loom and from forge.

The religious material here presented was gathered in 1906—7, during a personal expedition undertaken for the purpose of investigating the culture of this tribe. The bulk of the description of ceremonial, contained in Part II of this paper, was recorded in the native district of Talun, at the village of Mati,⁴ which was situated on the summit of Mount Merar, and which could be reached by a steady ride of about fourteen hours from the coast, or on foot in

⁴ Not to be confused with the town of Mati on the Pacific coast.

the same time; since the steep grade, as well as the thick jungle, made progress by horse as slow as that of the pedestrian. At that time, a very primitive culture flourished in those isolated villages of Talun, a culture which, in large part, has now passed away. It was but a few months after my visit there that the entire group composing the village of Mati moved down to the coast.

Much of the folklore and mythical material was recorded at Santa Cruz, a village to which the Bagobo resorted in great numbers, coming from long distances to exchange their hemp for dried fish and rice and salt, and to enter their cocks at the little pit. There, in the small nipa hut that I occupied, were gathered, day by day, Bagobo men and women and young people in considerable numbers, representing a large part of the rancherías⁵ of mountain and coast where Bagobo settlements existed. Some came occasionally; others, every two or three days. The method of securing material which seemed to work most satisfactorily was to reduce questioning by a set schedule to a minimum, and, following out the most promising lead that presented itself at the moment, to let any Bagobo talk on whatever subject pleased him. As a result, my material is scanty in some directions; in others, very abundant, but there is a compensating advantage for such lack of balance in view of the spontaneity with which the information was given me, in the pleasant intimacy of frequent intercourse during my stay of fourteen months.

The collection of Bagobo stories recently published in the *Journal of American Folk-lore*⁶ form properly a part of the plan of this discussion, if the mythology, the ceremonial behavior and the folk-tales are to be examined as a unit.

The ceremonial texts were repeated to me either by the same men who had sung or said them, or by other Bagobo who had heard them often; the recitations were recorded by me, in Bagobo, directly from their lips and have been translated as nearly as possible word for word. The prayers at the shrines and the interviews with the *anito* were given me at the conclusion of the respective devotions or the morning after a night seance, by Isiao, grandson of Pandia, the mantaman⁷ of Bansalan in Talun, and the

⁵ A name given by the Spaniards to the little hamlets of the pagan peoples.

⁶ Vol. 26, pp. 13—63. Jan.—Mar., 1913.

⁷ The assistant datu to a head datu.

son of a Tuban man. He was a boy well versed in tradition and in ceremonial material, a close observer, and possessed of a fair knowledge of English. He was present with me at the above-mentioned rites, and listened carefully to the formulæ, already familiar to him from many previous hearings. For purposes of checking, I often took the same texts from him both in English and in Bagobo. Although the festival at Talun took place after I had been for several months with the Bagobo, and could make my way fairly in the language so far as everyday conversation was concerned, yet, when listening to devotional exercises, it was impossible for me to record more than small portions of the text. This difficulty was due, in part, to a difference in ceremonial vocabulary from that used in ordinary affairs; in part, to the necessity of giving attention to various ritual activities that were going on at the same time.

It would be ungracious to omit mention here of my great indebtedness to many Bagobo friends who gave me, freely, stories and magical devices, as well as explanation of the ceremonies; who entertained me at their homes; who excused my blunders, and who helped me in a hundred ways. Chief among these native friends are my hosts at Talun: Datu Oleng, Datu Ido, Miyanda and all of the members of their large families; Sambil of Talun, her mother and her brother, and others of the village of Mati; my hosts at Tubison: Datu Imbal, his wife, their sons and their daughters; Datu Yting of Santa Cruz, his wives Soleng and Hëbë and his son Melanio; Ayang, Liwawa, Simoona and many other old women; Egianon's family; Kaba and his wife Sugë, and their five sons — Tungkaling, Gayo, Uan, Baya and Balusan; and also a great number of young people, both girls and boys, who brought me, with joyful alacrity, the songs and folklore and traditions that they had learned from the old people.

INTRODUCTION. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RELIGIOUS ATTITUDE OF THE BAGOBO

The religion of the Bagobo is characterized by the highly sacrificial nature of public and private ceremonial; by the composite make-up of the rites, in which are blended both offerings of the blood of slain victims and agricultural products; by the non-esoteric character of the religious life of the community, where the people

— women, young men, children — are freely admitted as spectators of almost all ceremonies, and as valued participants in many of them.

Of prime importance are those irregularly periodical assemblages of neighboring groups of villages for the celebration of the festival known as *Ginum*,⁸ at which event sacrifices of human victims or of fowls are presented to certain gods; sacred liquor is ceremonially drunk; formal lustrations in the river for the expulsion of disease take place; rites magically protective against ghosts and demons are manipulated; material wealth in garments, ornaments and weapons is offered up with the primary intention of obtaining an increase of riches; special types of chant and of percussion music are performed; festival dances are in order, and social feasting is shared in by all present.

Other ceremonial occasions are incident upon the annual rice sowing and the harvest; while still others are associated with individual events, such as marriage and burial. It is specially at the night gatherings called *Manganito*⁹ that the Bagobo may come into a more nearly direct and personal relation with the gods. Here, various divinities collectively known as *manganito* speak to the people; ask and answer questions, and issue oracles through the mouth of some recognized individual — usually a woman — who, in the capacity of medium, speaks or sings as she is prompted by the spirit for the moment possessing her.

While group assemblages are of fundamental value in obtaining benefits for the participants and in averting from them all disease, yet it is noteworthy that the parents of every family, at their own house-altar, are accustomed to perform devotions and to make offerings for the health and well-being of the members of the household.

The priesthood is not closely organized, but there are recognized several classes of official functionaries among whom ceremonial activities are distributed with a fair degree of distinctness. (a) The chieftain, called *datu*, who is both civil and ecclesiastical head of his village or group of villages. It is he who repeats the central liturgies of the *Ginum* festival and offers the sacrifice, and who,

⁸ The word *inum* means "to drink," or "a drinking;" *g-* is a particle used before initial vowels, and appears to have a purely formal or a phonetic value.

⁹ *Manga-*, a nominal element with a plural force; *anito*, a god who communicates with the people through a medium.

assisted by prominent old men and a few old women,¹⁰ deliberates in informal council when any problem arises with respect to religious behavior or to secular activities. The datu is thus preëminently the official functionary of the people. (b) The group of brave men called *magani*, each of whom has killed one or more persons on such occasions and in such manner as is regarded by the community as orthodox and justifiable;^{10a} these men only may cut the ceremonial bamboos; they alone are permitted to lay hold of the bamboo poles while they recite their exploits, and it is their prerogative to wear the chocolate-colored kerchief as a mark of distinction. (c) Priest-doctors, who have some knowledge of the art of healing by the use of native vegetable products commingled with magic spells. Many of these persons are old women, who are summoned in cases of sickness, accident and childbirth; certain women of distinction officiate as chief priestesses at the harvest ceremonies; while others conduct the anito seances, at which times they both reply to the questions of the spirits and draw responses from the medium to the queries of the people, and afterwards prepare any medicine or offering that may be divinely ordered. A few men are priest-doctors, and either a man or a woman from this class may be called upon to perform the marriage rite. In recognition of such an office, a small gift is made to the priest, but the Bagobo are in no way burdened by the imposition of heavy ceremonial fees. There is to be found in their communities no sign of an autocratic shamanistic control¹¹ on the part of a functionary belonging to any

¹⁰ The Recollect fathers wrote of the natives of the Visayas: "The duties of priest were exercised indifferently by both men and women . . ." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 21, p. 203. 1905. The situation among the Bagobo is not quite parallel to this; for with them the men-priests have certain functions, the women-priests have certain other functions, while still other offices may be performed either by men or by women or by both sexes in cooperation.

^{10a} The following are recognized as occasions when killing is justifiable:

a) Human sacrifice, ceremonially performed; *cf.* under this caption.

b) The blood-feud.

c) Slaying a man in a fair fight between two.

d) The killing of foes in war.

e) Slaughtering the women of a village when the men have all fallen in battle.

f) A private assassination of an undesirable individual, at the hands of a deputed agent acting under commands of his datu.

¹¹ Skeat calls attention to the fact that the shaman among peninsular Malays enjoys an exalted rank and a political influence not accorded to him by the wild tribes of the islands. *Cf.* Malay magic, p. 59. 1900.

one of these official religious classes. (*d*) Mediums, by whose instrumentality alone messages from the unseen beings can be regularly transmitted. A medium may also have ceremonial offices of a more formal character to perform, such as effusing candidates with water shaken from medicinal twigs in the rite of pamalugu.¹² If all the intermediaries with the spirits were old people, we might simply call them a specialized variety of priest-doctors; but the fact is that some young men give oracles at the seances, and young men are not ordinarily called upon to perform priestly offices.

Formal worship of the gods is carried on at fixed altars or at temporary shrines of recognized types, where fruits of the field and manufactured products are placed, or the slain victim is ceremonially offered up. But acceptable devotions may be performed by the wayside or in the forest, merely by laying on the ground an arecanut¹³ and a betel-leaf,¹⁴ with a word of prayer to some divinity.

The gods¹⁵ of the Bagobo may be roughly grouped, in part, with reference to traditional concepts associated with them and, in part, as touching those human interests to which their characteristics make appeal, namely: (1) Gods of exalted rank who are felt to be remote from human affairs, from whom neither help nor harm is to be looked for, and to whom, therefore, no devotions are addressed; (2) Divine beings closely associated with man's interests and the objects of his worship, among whom are nature spirits and war-gods and protectors of home and field and industry. At this point, it will suffice to mention briefly the names of Pamulak Manobo, creator of the earth; Tigyama, guardian of the home; Tarabumč, god of the crops; the Tolus, a class of omniscient beings who are in charge of special forms of worship and of particular industries; the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig,¹⁶ a divine man whose home is at the mythical source of all the mountain streams, and to whom the Bagobo may freely turn in sickness and in perplexity; and the Mandarangan, who inspire men with fierce courage and who love to drink the blood of the slain.

Yet less concerned is the Bagobo with gods than with demons, so far as the routine of daily life is involved. Countless pains and

¹² For an account of the ceremony of Pamalugu, see Part II, p. 117—123.

¹³ *Areca catechu*. See footnote 165.

¹⁴ *Piper betel*. See footnote 166.

¹⁵ For a characterization of the various classes of divine beings, see pp. 15—29.

¹⁶ For the etymology of this name, see footnote 41.

miseries come to him through the direct manipulation of those fiends called buso¹⁷ who, in all events, must be propitiated by offerings, tricked by subterfuges, banished by magical rites. These evil beings, some anthropomorphic, some zoöomorphic, dominate the Bagobo's attitude toward life and toward death, and keep him constantly on the watch lest he be out-manœuvred, and thus become a prey to bodily suffering.

Of the two souls that are recognized as inhabiting every human body, the one on the left side, called *gimokud t'ebang*,¹⁸ becomes a buso at death; this is the bad soul. The right-hand or good soul, called *gimokud ta-kawanan*,¹⁹ goes to the Great Country below the earth and there lives forever, engaged in the same activities as those of earth and, except for the shadowy nature of all phenomena, in a like environment to that of this world.

Disease is always referred to a supernatural agent who attacks the human body, either through direct possession or by means of a baneful influence which, though often working at a distance, is transmitted by some potent force. To forestall the chances of sickness, the behavior of a Bagobo is checked or re-directed by rigid prohibitions at many points, each of which prohibitions has come to be associated with a specific penalty attached to a hypothetical transgression. The central motive in a large number of the religious ceremonies performed by the Bagobo is the expulsion of disease and the prevention of death, such matters being subject to control and to influence along definite lines.

The character of individual existence after death, on the other hand, cannot be determined or modified by ceremonial behavior, however scrupulous the exactness with which the rite is performed. Traditional accounts of what goes on in the country of the dead form simply another chapter in the annals of mythical narrative, which is accepted without question as familiar truth.

¹⁷ For a discussion of the buso, see pp. 29—42.

¹⁸ *Gimokud*, "soul;" *t'(to)*, "the;" *ebang*, "left, left-hand." See pp. 58—61.

¹⁹ *Ta-(to)*, "the;" *kawanan*, "right, right-hand." See pp. 50—58.

PART I. MYTHOLOGICAL CONCEPTS

THE BAGOBO PANTHEON

The number of supernatural beings that figure in Bagobo mythology and that form the main source of stimulation for ceremonial rites must reach an extremely high count. At present we know but few of these mythical personalities, even by name, and only a very long and intimate acquaintance with the people, with their ceremonies, and with their oral literature, would enable one to make a satisfactory analysis of the polytheistic system. In reply to a question touching this matter, any well-informed Bagobo will probably give the names of several gods, and remark that there are "no more." Presumably, at the moment, there are no more present in his consciousness. Yet, when the investigator has even limited opportunities of assisting at Bagobo ceremonies; of listening to mythical tales; of learning little songs; of joining in the spontaneous talk of the young people, the mention of one and another divine being, each in a natural setting, gives something like familiarity with a few of the gods, and suggests that the larger number of them still await discovery.

What we do find is a number of divine personalities whose individual characteristics can often be identified with such associations as would be made, perhaps non-reflectively, by the Bagobo in the daily activities of work and combat and worship, or in connection with those emotional responses that natural phenomena would draw forth. We have here a people whose simple agricultural existence — spent in the care of hemp and rice and corn, and in the enjoyment of family relations that are remarkably pure and tender — is varied by sacrificial acts of (to us) relentless cruelty and of not infrequent occurrence. We find, correspondingly, supernatural individuals who

seem to be identified, more or less completely, with these wide-ranging interests of the Bagobo. Yet many of these gods may be of foreign origin, for the chances for the diffusion of religious culture in this entire area have been considerable for a long period; and gods borrowed from other peoples drift easily into places where they hold a permanent relation to the native gods and to the native worshipers. At the same time, a simple ritual while growing slowly into an organized scheme stimulates the appearance of newly-created beings with the functions of supernatural agencies, as soon as the need for them rises into consciousness. It is clear enough that investigations into the native cultures of the Islands, and of their relations to adjoining cultures, are as yet in too rudimentary a stage for us to determine definitely which of the unseen beings revered by the Bagobo are exotic and which are indigenous.

The Sanscrit-Malay word *diwata*, which has long been in wide use by many tribes throughout the Philippine Islands, is employed by the Bagobo in reference to all of the gods, or to any one god, but it has no specific content.²⁰ On hearing casual remarks like the following, from various persons, one is led at first to infer that *diwata* is some particular divine being: "Diwata cares for the rice;" "Diwata watches over the sun, the moon, the stars, and all the people;" "Diwata is a good manobo who lives in the sky;" "Diwata is the highest god." In the first statement, however, the *diwata* meant is Tarabumé; in the second, Pamulak Manobo is very possibly referred to; the "good manobo" in the sky may be one of several deities, while the "highest god" suggests Salamiawan or Lumabat or, perhaps, Pamulak Manobo.

I should take with some caution any statement that assigned one or another of the supernatural personalities to the rank of "the supreme god of the Bagobo." It all depends upon the point of view of the Bagobo who happens to be talking. The story-teller

²⁰ This seems to be the ordinary Malay connotation of the word. Favre defines *diwata* as, "condition divine, les dieux." Dictionnaire malais-français, vol. 1, p. 848. 1875.

Mr. Cole, on the contrary, has reached the conclusion that the *diwata* are "a class of numerous spirits who serve Eugpamolak Manobo." "The wild tribes of Davao district, Mindanao." Field Museum of Natural History: Publication 170, Anthropological series, vol. 12, no. 2, p. 107. 1913.

This very interesting work has come to hand too late for discussion in the body of my paper; but in time, fortunately, for the incorporation of a part of Mr. Cole's valuable material in the form of footnotes, so that a wider comparative viewpoint may be gained.

who gave me the myth of Lumabat wound up by saying that, after entering heaven, "he became the greatest of all the diwata." At another time the same young man mediatively proffered the remark that he thought Salamiawan was the highest god. That many Bagobo regard Pamulak Manobo, in his function of creator, as the supreme divinity, is undoubtedly true; but I have been present at a ceremony when the aged celebrant addressed the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig as "the head of all the anito," and this god is appealed to, again and again, as the all-knowing and the all-powerful helper. Yet it is not to any one of the above-named spirits, but toward Mandarangan and the Tolus ka Balekát that the central ritual acts of the fundamental ceremonies are directed.

Therefore, in speaking of the composition of the Bagobo pantheon, I shall make no attempt to place the supernatural beings according to rank, but shall try to cluster them with a view to their special functions as determined by the interests of the Bagobo, or in relation to mythical associations. Two main groups may be recognized: —

- A. The myth-gods of the nine heavens;
- B. Gods associated with human interests.

Myth-Gods of the Nine Heavens

Above the sky is a region of indefinite topography in which lie nine heavens, perhaps one directly above another, perhaps spread out more or less irregularly in space. They are inhabited by a considerable number of diwata and are ruled over by nine deities, some male, some female, of whom one hears occasionally in the songs and in mythical romances. Two or three of them were once mortals.²¹ All of the diwata in these upper regions exist blissfully, without ever experiencing hunger, yet able to summon food magically by a word; chewing betel like the Bagobo; riding on horses and sailing in boats; living in houses built on the conventional Malay pattern. The manner of this celestial life is not very clearly visualized by the Bagobo, nor does it at all concern them, for the diwata of the nine heavens have only an abstract

²¹ The Sarasin brothers note that in Minahassa the gods who have their dwellings on mountain-tops, in water-falls, among great trees or under the earth, are simply deified heroes of antiquity. Cf. Reisen in Celebes, vol. 1, p. 44. 1905.

interest for man. So far as my observation goes, worship is not directed toward these myth-gods,²² and sacrifices are not offered to them. Of gifts of rice and sugar cane wine they apparently have no need, for they are without bodily wants; perhaps worship would be wasted on them, since they pay so little attention to the affairs of man, and seem to exert no influence, either malign or friendly.

The god of the first heaven is Lumabat, one of the first of mortals to achieve the sky. A myth relates that he alone, of a large family who started for the sky-country, succeeded in jumping between the sharp edges of the horizon as it opened and closed in rapid sequence; and that one of the diwata above the sky changed him into a god by cutting out his alimentary canal, so that he hungered no more.²³ One tradition says that he became the greatest of all the diwata.²⁴ The second heaven is presided over by Salamiawan, who, in his turn, is sometimes called "the greatest god of all." His home is in "the shrine of the sky" (*tambara*²⁵ *ka langit*), which is mentioned in one of the mythical romances that I have heard Bagobo women recite. A quotation from this story will be found below, in connection with the reference to Pangulili. Salamiawan married Bia-t'odan of the fifth heaven. Ubnuling rules over the third heaven; he is the father of Pangulili of the ninth celestial region. The divine rulers of the fourth, the fifth, the sixth and the seventh heavens are women. Tiun is goddess of the fourth heaven; she is a virgin (*daraga*) and is elder sister to

²² According to Rizal, the chief deity of the Tagal people was not the object of worship. He says, "it appears that temples were never dedicated to *bathala maykapal*, nor was sacrifice ever offered to him." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 16, p. 122. 1904.

²³ A similar episode occurs in Indian myth, in the story in which the hero says of himself that 'when he had attained the divine nature, from that moment his hunger and thirst disappeared.' Cf. Somadeva: *The Kathá Sarit Ságara*; tr. by C. H. TAWNEY, vol. 1, p. 36. 1880.

²⁴ For the details of Lumabat's adventures and of his deification, see L. W. BENEDICT: "Bagobo myths." *Jour. Am. Folk-lore*, vol. 26, pp. 20—24. Jan.-Mar., 1913.

According to one of the traditions collected by Spanish missionaries, Lumabat "represents the divine name of this hero, who, on earth, bore the name of Tagadium." According to another story, Lumabat and Tagadium were two different individuals. Cf. F. BLUMENTERR: *Vocabulario mitológico*, pp. 73—74. 1895. (Bound with W. E. RETANA: *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino*, vol. 2, 1896).

²⁵ *Tambara*, a house altar consisting of a bamboo standard and a white bowl — a shrine which is fully described in Part II, pp. 87—90; *ka*, prep. "of;" *langit*, "sky," "heaven." See p. 17 for further mention of Salamiawan.

Kadeyuna. In the fifth heaven reigns the divine lady, Bia-t'odan,²⁶ spouse of Salamiawan, who himself is sometimes assigned to the fifth heaven. This apparent confusion is easily explained in view of the Bagobo custom requiring a newly married man to take up a temporary residence, at least, at the parental home of his bride. There is a little song containing the lines: "Go to the city far away, to a sky above this sky . . . where Diwata rides the heavens in a *banca*"²⁷ — a reference which is said to indicate the fifth heaven. The sixth heavenly region is ruled by one whose name is Bia-ka-pusud-an-langit,²⁸ a word-cluster which means, "Lady of the navel of heaven." Kadeyuna, queen of the seventh heaven, is the younger sister of Tiun, and wife of Malaki Lunsud, one of the heroes of romantic tales. Malaki Lunsud presides over the eighth heaven. The name Lunsud is that of a great town known in the prehistoric days of fable, and in the old story, "Adventures of the Tuglay,"²⁹ there are many men bearing the name of Malaki Lunsud that figure as characters in the action. The one who presides over the eighth heaven married the goddess Kadeyuna, but the myth of how he achieved divinity for himself is yet to be unrolled. Pangulili is god of the ninth heaven; he is the son of Ubnuling, the ruler of the third heaven. In the romance above-mentioned, we find the following reference to Pangulili and Salamiawan.

"After these exploits, the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig went on his way . . . From the mountain peaks, exultant over his foes, he gave a good war cry that re-echoed through the mountains, and went up to the ears of the gods. Pangulili and Salamiawan heard it from their home in the Shrine of the Sky (*Tambara ka Langit*), and they said: 'Who chants the song of war . . . ? Without doubt, it is the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig, for none of all the other malaki could shout just like that.'" ³⁰

The attitude of the Bagobo toward the myth-gods of the nine heavens suggests that these gods are not of native origin,³¹ but

²⁶ *Bia*, "lady;" *t'(to)*, "the;" *odan*, a word which sometimes has the meaning of "a shower;" but it is questionable whether this divinity is associated with rain.

²⁷ *Boats* of the dug-out type, some of which have out-riggers.

²⁸ *Pusud*, "navel"; *-an*, a locative particle; *langit*, "heaven."

²⁹ Cf. Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. 26, pp. 33—34. 1913.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³¹ For Skeat's discussion of this question in connection with the peninsular Malays, cf. his Malay magic, p. 85. 1900. "The evidence of folk-lore, taken in conjunction with that supplied by charm-books and romances, goes to show that the greater gods of the

Bagobo dialect carries the idea of "something to be taken care of," "a pet," like a tame bird. I have seen a boy pull from a snare a little wood-pigeon and hold it to his breast with a caressing touch, as he murmured, "It is my yama." He had caught the bird in order to cage, to tame and to care for it. Tigyama means "One who takes care of or protects." Like Pamulak Manobo, Tigyama is lovingly summoned to come and be present at a ceremony;³⁷ a little hanging altar, also called *tigyama*, is placed in many Bagobo houses, and on it betel is laid for this god when anybody in the family falls sick.³⁸ It is possible that Tigyama is a divinity borrowed originally from Indian myth and given somewhat different attributes, for, in the Vedas and in the Sagas, Yama was god of the dead.³⁹ The character of the Bagobo Tigyama seems more nearly identical with that of Yima of Mazdeism,⁴⁰ the protector of the Iranians and the mythical founder of their postdiluvian culture.

Among the chief of those unseen beings that care for the Bagobo, there is a divine man called Malaki t'Olu k'Waig⁴¹ who, unquestionably, represents the highest ideal of goodness and of purity, as the native visualizes that ideal. He figures as a hero in mythical romance, where, indeed, one finds many malaki t'olu k'waig, who go through remarkable adventures and achieve distinction. On the devotional side, however, all of these fabulous characters are fused into the impersonation of one beloved individual, whose home is associated with a legendary spring far up in the mountains which is called "the source of the waters." Here two rivers are said to take their rise, and it is just at the point where the two streams separate that the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig lives. He is the great

³⁷ See Ceremony of Pamalugu, Part II.

³⁸ See Various types of Altar, Part II.

³⁹ Cf. Somadeva: Kathá Sarit Ságara, tr. by C. H. Tawney, vol. 2, p. 188, 1884. In the story, Sinhavikrama is led off by Death to the hall of Yama, where he is to be judged. See also "A funeral hymn," in the Rigveda, where the following lines occur. "To him that passed along great heights and sought out a path for many, Vivasvat's son, the gatherer of men, Yama the king, to him bring worship and offering." Peter Peterson (tr.): Hymns from the Rigveda, p. 288, 1888. In the same hymn, the bystanders are thus addressed: "Stand aside, go away, disperse, the fathers have made this place for him, furnished with days and waters and nights: Yama will give him rest." *Ib.* p. 289.

⁴⁰ Cf. James Darmesteter (ed.): The Zendavesta; part I, The Vendîdâd, pp. lviii—lix, 1895. (Sacred books of the East, vol. 4).

⁴¹ *Malaki*, "good man;" *t'(to)*, "the;" *k'(ka)*, "of;" *waig*, "water;" the Divine Man (or the god) at the Source of the Waters.

healer, and to his home are carried all the diseases which the Bagobo, by magic rites, have coaxed into leaf-dishes or into little manikins. Here, at the mythical spring, the Malaki destroys all sickness that is sent to him. He winds one end of a string, or fibre, around the neck of each disease, ties the other end to some post or tree, and quickly strangles the disease. The Malaki t'Olu k'Waig is believed to know the whole world; he never sleeps; he answers prayer wherever offered. The range of his influence is now generously extended to include even recently-known foreigners, for I was told that if I, while praying in the United States, should ask anything of the Malaki, he would give me an answer. In ceremonies⁴² on the mountains, this god is invoked again and again — indeed, there is no other divine person who is so often appealed to for help, who is so frequently mentioned in song and story, or who is so affectionately regarded by all of the Bagobo.

There is also a family of gods — a male deity, his wife, and two children — known as Olu k'Waig, and associated with the mountain streams. All of them are said to be extremely small in size, but otherwise they are not definitely described, although it is currently reported that Datu Yting once caught sight of them on the mountain trails. In spite of the identity in name, they do not appear to be traditionally associated with the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig.

There is said to be "a Bagobo god who lives everywhere" and is called Tambara. This is the name given to the bamboo prayer-stand found in many Bagobo houses, yet I have heard but a single mention of a divine personality called by the same name. While possibly this extremely common type of altar was once associated primarily with the worship of the god Tambara, it is certain that its use is not now so limited, for tambara are set up in honor of many different spirits.

A supernatural protector to whom at least one ceremonial chant is addressed is Duma-Tango, who is otherwise called, "the god who keeps the people," and a shrine is sometimes set up in the festival house for this divinity. The word *duma* is variously used to mean companion, wife, or husband, and it is possible that Duma-Tango will eventually be found to be related to one of the other Bagobo deities, for we have to bear in mind, continually, the Malay fondness for paraphrase and for indirect allusions.

⁴² See Part II.

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Yalatandin (var. Yanatandin) is a diwata whose office it is to protect solitary women in the meadows, and to permit no man to molest them. In one Bagobo song, there is a reference, in highly allegorical language, to a maiden alone in a field where the blades of rank cogon grass⁴³ are sharp like needles; but from whose sting she is saved when Yalatandin spreads over the ground a richly-embroidered textile, the *tambayang*, for her to lie down upon.

One other mythical person associated with the meadow grass is called Malaki Lisu Karan,⁴⁴ who, from his name, would be conceived to live in the very densest part of the tall, waving, cogon growth. He is mentioned in the songs together with malaki who live in various species of bamboo.

Of high importance in relation to daily life, is T̄arabumě,⁴⁵ who cares for the growing rice and for the hemp plants, and who, if the ritual at planting is properly performed, gives an abundant rice crop.⁴⁶ The beautiful ceremonial called *marūmmas*, with its waving of plumes and its striking of clappers is carried on for the pleasure of T̄arabumě. "We make the digging-stick pretty to please T̄arabumě; when the clapper goes, he can hear the pretty sound." "Diwata makes the rice and the hemp grow; he lives in the sky;" and again, in this connection the Bagobo say that they mean T̄arabumě.

In close association with the industry of casting brass, stands the god Paneyangen, another so-called good manobo, of huge size, who dwells far up on the mountains where he protects the swarms of wild bees that hive in the flowering trees. That the comb-building and the honey-making of the bees should go on unmolested and under divine care, is of vital interest to the Bagobo, for the young men must secure wax for the moulds used in the process of casting bells, betel-boxes, armlets and leglets. The honey gathered with the wax is a favorite article of diet, and the young bees are relished too, the tablet-shaped comb containing the newly hatched

⁴³ *Cogon saccharum koenigii* a meadow grass that grows rankly in the mountains of Mindanao, large areas of it alternating with dense forests.

⁴⁴ *Lisu*, "pit, kernel, center;" *karan*, "meadow grass."

⁴⁵ The same name is recorded by Mr. Cole as *Taragomi*. *Op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁴⁶ The Recollect fathers wrote of the Calamianes, in 1624, that "they adored a deity who resembled Ceres, to whom they commended their fields and offered their fruits." BLAIR and ROBERTSON; *op. cit.*, vol. 21, p. 228. 1905. The ceremonial at ice sowing is described in Part II.

bees being lightly toasted and dipped into liquid honey, or eaten unbrowned. Thus the office of Paneyangen, as protector of the bees, is a highly important one and a special dance, performed by one girl alone, is danced in his honor. Several legendary episodes cluster about bees, which are visualized in the myths as white.⁴⁷

The god who controls success in the hunt is Abog (var. Ubog), an old man with a big belly who is engaged much of the time in killing game. He is reputed to have his home on the small island named Samal, in the gulf of Davao, and here he keeps a great store of bows and arrows for shooting the wild boar and the deer, which he brings down in great numbers. Offerings of arrows are made to him by the Bagobo, and in return he helps them to track and to spear their game.

Certain interesting water-gods, known as Gamo-Gamo, are distinguished in bodily aspect by mermaid characters, though they behave in a different manner from the traditional mermaid. The female gamo-gamo are divinities of little streams, while the gamo-gamo men are in charge of large rivers. Both sexes are human down to the waist; below that, fish — resembling a big fish called mung-agat. In the test for theft, these river-people seize the guilty one, and torment him with pricks from their sharp iron punches. Another type of gamo-gamo is a good manobo who lives in the ocean, and takes care of large vessels. He is said to be of enormous height, with a head as high as a Bagobo man's full stature.

Gods of the sky⁴⁸ are Sebandal and Salangayd. There is a beautiful dance called *salangayd* that I saw performed by Salimán, one of the most artistic dancers on the mountains. They said it was done for the sky-god, Salangayd. Another pretty dance is executed by one girl for the "God-brother in the sky," who, it was explained to me, is brother to girls only, and is hence called Ug-Tubē.⁴⁹ A myth accounting for the origin of the "god-brother" is yet to be discovered.

⁴⁷ In an unpublished manuscript, I have a song that refers to a certain malaki who was nurtured by a white bee. Note also a Spanish version of the story of Lumabat which represents this hero as passing up into heaven escorted by a swarm of white bees. Cf. F. BLUMENTRITT: *Diccionario mitológico*, p. 73. 1895.

⁴⁸ The Bagobo very commonly speak of this or of that divinity as a "god in the sky," without specific limitation as to place.

⁴⁹ A word indicating the relationship between sister and brother, each of whom is *tubē* to the other. The prefix *ug* appears to have a purely formal or a phonetic value.

Mountain-gods are Renerungen and Sindar. Of Sindar we know nothing. Renerungan is the name of a family of friendly gods — a man, his wife, and four children.

Another supernatural being associated with the mountains is Tagamaling,⁵⁰ who is, traditionally, a god on the alternate months only, and at other times a demon. In a later chapter,⁵¹ under the caption, "the Demons called Buso," Tagamaling finds his place, but he ought to be mentioned at this point because he is god half of the time, and one hears him mentioned with the other dios of the mountains. As the special protector, too, of deer and of pigs, Tagamaling cannot be excluded from the spirits that are closely related to the interests of the Bagobo. Primarily, there are two chief tagamaling, a male god and his wife, but, according to folklore, there must be very many spirits by that name.

The gods ruling over the ground and the air are known as Linug, some of whom are male, some female; the former being in charge of large areas of ground, while the latter are rulers of small sections of land. As *linug* is also the word for earthquake, it may be inferred that these divinities are held responsible for all tremblings and convulsions of the earth, although I did not hear a statement to that effect.

The names of two deities are forbidden to the lips of the Bagobo: the god of fire and the god of the sea. Old men at Tubison, while mentioning other gods, told me that, if they should speak the name of the god of fire, the buso would come; and that they must not utter the name of the god of the sea. In one corner of the Long House at Tubison, I noticed a bamboo prayer-stand (*tambara*), set up for a divinity of the fire (*apuy*); but no other bit of evidence has come under my observation that would justify us in calling the Bagobo "fire-worshippers," as reputed.⁵² Fire does not appear to be held by them as a sacred object to any greater extent than streams or trees or dense thickets may chance to be so regarded, though it is true that spirits throng the earth and the air in such numbers that any interesting phenomenon, like a flame, is likely to be referred to a supernatural agency. The reverence of the Bagobo for the names of fire-deities and sea-deities may be an extraneous

⁵⁰ See pp. 35—36.

⁵¹ See p. 29.

⁵² Cf. United States Bureau of the Census: Census of the Philippine Islands, vol. 1, p. 561. 1905.

element, possibly due to some very early dissemination of an Indo-Iranian tradition of the sacredness of the four elements. It has been noted, however, in preceding paragraphs, that gods of earth, of air, of fresh water, are freely mentioned, and that one gamogamo is associated with marine life.

We have now to consider the Mandarangan, a class of war-gods⁵³ of very high rank who, in their ceremonial capacity and in their relation to individuals, are of first-rate importance. Ordinarily, one hears only the chief of these war-gods mentioned, Mandarangan proper, who is the mighty god of warriors, as well as of all brave men who have actually taken human life in fair fight or by the orders of the datu, and thus are privileged to wear the peculiar kerchief known as tankulu. Mandarangan is one of the divinities to whom the higher rites of the ceremonial are paid,⁵⁴ and for whose pleasure human sacrifices are offered. He is called "the God of the Sky for Men," but he is conceived to live at will on Mount Matutun⁵⁵ and on Mount Apo.⁵⁶ He fills a man's heart with fierce courage stimulating him to fight, and thus give blood to him (Mandarangan) to drink; and any man who has killed many persons is under the special protection of Mandarangan. In part, because of his residence on the volcano Apo; in part, because of his love for blood, there has been some tendency among those Spanish priests who have left documents on native customs to identify Mandarangan with Buso,⁵⁷ but his personality stands out sharply distinct from that of Buso. Carefully it was explained to me that Mandarangan eats the flesh of those only who have been slain in fight, and of victims offered in sacrifice; while Buso, on the contrary, eats any dead body that he can get hold of, whether

⁵³ The Calamianes are said to have "worshipped . . . a petty deity who resembled Mars, in order to gain protection in their battles." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 21, p. 228. 1905.

⁵⁴ See index for references to Mandarangan.

⁵⁵ An extinct volcano, just north of Sarangani bay.

⁵⁶ An active volcano in southern Mindanao, and the highest peak in the Philippines, with a height of 10,312 feet. *Cf.* Census of the Philippine Islands, vol. 1, pp. 71, 202. 1905.

⁵⁷ Popular writers, as well as missionaries, have drawn the inference that Mandarangan is "a devil" and "responsible for all ailments." See A. H. Savage Landor: "The Gems of the East," p. 362. 1904. So far, however, from being in any manner identified with evil, Mandarangan is represented as placing himself in opposition to evil in the combat with Buso. Mandarangan's presence is desired in the ceremonial house, where food and drink and entertainment are prepared for him; while every art is used to drive away the buso from the festival. *Cf.* section, "the Demons called Buso," pp. 29—43.

the death has occurred by sickness or by violence. Mandarangan, according to tradition, often fights with Buso and invariably puts the mean demon to flight.

There is a belief, not precisely formulated, in the existence of a great number of minor spirits also called mandarangan, that are closely related to those Bagobo men who have distinguished themselves by exploit. It is said that a mandarangan lives in the head of a brave man and that this is what makes him brave. "When the brave man is asleep at night," Isiao told me, "the mandarangan stands under the house, under the bed. When you go out, he goes too; when you come back, he comes too."

As Mandarangan is called "God of the Sky for Men," there is correspondingly a "God of the Sky for Women," whose name is Tot-darúgo. This is, undoubtedly, the same spirit that was called by Father Gisbert, *Daragó*, and was by him identified with Mandarangan. This investigator makes practically no distinction between the war-gods and the demons, any more than between Mandarangan and *Daragó*, according to his letter of July 26, 1886. "There is no rancheria in which they do not annually make their feasts to the demon — Busao, Mandarangan, or *Daragó*, for they are wont to give him these and many other names.... There... they drink toasts.. in honor of the great *Daragó*, whom they promise to follow and honor forever, offering to him, as did their ancestors, the blood of many human victims, so that he may be their friend and aid them in their wars."⁵⁴ I heard *Darúgo's* name coupled closely with that of Mandarangan, and mentioned as holding a like relation to women as his toward men; but while Mandarangan's name was constantly used in connection with the ceremonies, I rarely heard an allusion to *Darúgo*. I am inclined to the opinion, however, that she is included in the honors paid to Mandarangan at sacrificial rites.

There remains to be discussed a class of omniscient beings whose personal names, perhaps through fear of desecration, are never mentioned, but who are invariably referred to as *Tolus*,⁵⁵ a word which is explained as meaning "One who knows everything."

⁵⁴ BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 43, p. 249. 1906.

⁵⁵ The derived adjective, *matolus*, is applied to great heroes of romance who have superhuman understanding and who slay a multitude of foes by magical power. The Malaki t' Olu k' Waig has the quality of being *matolus*; but it is questionable whether *olu*, "head" or "source," and *olus* are etymologically related.

The most deeply revered of them all is Tolus ka Bálekát, the god of the bálekát, which is the highest type of altar, and the one before which the culminating act of Ginum is performed on the last night. In honor of this divinity, the ceremonial bamboos are set up; before him the sacrificial food is placed on a sacred shelf, and he is apostrophized by the priest in some such words as these: "Tolus ka Bálekát, we are making a Ginum for you; we are killing a victim for you." Many manufactured articles are hung on the altar for this god, who is said to wear a shell bracelet into which the spirit of each offering passes for his enjoyment, and he makes known, through the lips of a medium, that he is extremely jealous of his rights, not permitting the sale of any object that should come to the bálekát. Yet he is not indifferent to the interests of the Bagobo, for he warns them against sickness, and informs them of the source whence the disease comes.

The god called Tolus ka Kawayan is the "All-knowing One of the Bamboo." He is particular about the punctual performance of the Ginum, and threatens to send sickness if there be undue delay.

The Tolus ka Balekayo⁶⁰ is a female divinity who is associated with the sections of forest made up of that slender, thorny variety of bamboo called *balekayo*. She is also interested in the proper conduct of the great festival and gives directions, through a priestess, on this subject.

Another woman-god is the Tolus ka Talegit, called the "All-knowing Medicine of the Loom," who understands perfectly the art of weaving and knows all about the work of the women.

At present, it is impossible to state in how many connections the unseen beings called *tolus* appear, but that a very large number of them function as the mysterious, impelling forces of industry, is highly probable. The little bamboo prayer-stand beside a blacksmith's forge⁶¹ suggests the existence of a *tolus* for workers in

⁶⁰ There is some evidence that a Tolus may be associated with each of the magic plants and trees which are employed for repelling the approach of Buso; one of these is the *balekayo*, another the *dalinding*. At a certain devotional office, the spirits of these vegetable growths are addressed, and they are asked not to let the Buso pass by, but to prevent him from getting into the ceremonial house. The *dalinding*, as well as the *balekayo*, is asked to be "all-knowing" in respect to the Bagobo — the form of address used to a Tolus. It seems to be understood that the spirits residing in those plants which have a charm value shall shield the people from evil beings, and I am inclined to think that it is a Tolus that gives such plants their magical effect.

⁶¹ It is interesting to note that Cole found at Sibulán the belief that the "workers in

iron,⁶² and the discovery of other such guardian divinities of industrial arts is to be expected. While the personality of the various tolus is but vaguely outlined, this fact, at all events, is clear: that their relationship with the people is a very intimate one, as concerns daily work and daily needs; and it is equally true that the wisdom of a tolus is considered infallible, whether the question be one of a ceremonial detail, or of a wasting illness.

The anito, so often mentioned by the early writers on the Philippines, even as far back as the Saavedra voyage⁶³ of 1527—1528, and used with so many different connotations, in Bagobo theology are simply divinities under a certain aspect; that is to say, they are gods coming into direct communication with the people through the instrumentality of mediums who convey the divine oracle. Almost any god or spirit, with the exception of the diwata of the nine heavens, may assume for a brief time the character of anito. My conclusion that the word anito refers to the temporary functioning of any god, rather than to some well-defined class of gods, is borne out by the fact that the spirit of a particular sickness, or the spirit of a living individual, when speaking through the mouth of an official intermediary in the conventional manner is termed anito, equally with the divinities. This entire subject will be more fully considered under the caption, "Interviews with the gods called Manganito."⁶⁴

As for guardian spirits of individual Bagobo, all that we know is comprised in a few scanty allusions. The personal mandarangan of brave men have been mentioned in an earlier paragraph. To this I have only to add that, while attending the festival at Tubison, I saw, in one corner of the Long House, a bamboo prayer-stand which, they told me, was for the dios of Datu Imbal, our host. At Yting's harvest, the god of at least one member of the family was invoked at a certain point in the ceremony. This was the dios of Hébé, Yting's younger wife.

brass and copper are under the care and guidance of a spirit, Tolus ka Towangan, for whom they make a yearly ceremony, *Gomek towangan*." *Op. cit.*, p. 82.

⁶² For the position of the blacksmith among the natives of central Celebes, and for the ceremonial paraphernalia of his smithy, see P. and F. SARASIN: *Reisen in Celebes*, vol. 1, pp. 230—231. 1905.

⁶³ The chronicler of this voyage states that the natives of Cebu offered human sacrifices to the anito. *Cf.* BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 42. 1903.

⁶⁴ See Part. III.

The following divinities are mentioned by the Spanish fathers, and collected by Blumentritt in his "Diccionario mitológico."⁶⁵ Although there may be question as to their respective attributes, they no doubt have their place in the Bagobo pantheon.

Domakolen, creator of the mountains.

Makakoret, creator of the air.

Makaponguis, creator of the water.

Mamale, creator of the earth.

Malibud, the deity who created women.

Salibud, a god who taught the first men to cultivate the fields, to trade, and to carry on various industries.

Today,⁶⁶ a god who presides over marriages and was creator of the male sex. Todlibon, wife of Today, yet a goddess ever-virgin.

I will conclude this section with a little word-picture of the gods, as given by Uan, son of Kaba. "Diwata are good manobo who live in the sky. They protect Bagobo, Americans, Kulaman, Tagakaola, Kalagan, Ata — not the Moro; Moro are bad people. The diwata are male and female. The diwata are rich. They never eat; they sleep at night; they have very good clothes, fine and shining clothes. They take care of all the living; they do not care for the dead. No, indeed! Buso looks after the dead. Datu Yting knows a diwata; he saw him once far up in the mountains; he spoke Bagobo."

THE DEMONS CALLED BUSO

All demons, spirits of diseases, evil supernatural beings of whatever form, anthropomorphic and zoöomorphic, are classed by the Bagobo under the generic name of *buso*. The fundamental concept underlying all of these manifestations of evil is that of a being that preys upon human flesh, that sends sickness to the living in order to kill them and thus have their dead bodies for food. There is, for the most part, no idea of an interaction between stimuli from bad spirits and the religious or ethical transgressions of man.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Cf. under each letter in its alphabetical position. The "Mamale" that he refers to is perhaps identical with the constellation Mamare, since *l* and *r* are interchangeable sounds, according to the location of the Bagobo group.

⁶⁶ For myths concerning Tuglay and Tuglibung, (Blumentritt's Today and Todlibon), see pp. 65—74 Cf. also F. C. COLE: *op. cit.*, p. 106, where "Toglai" and "Toglibon" are mentioned as spirits in charge of marriages, and as having given language and customs to the Bagobo.

⁶⁷ The demons, Tagareso and Balinsugu, should be excepted from this general statement. See pp. 36—37.

Buso does not incite a Bagobo to break tabu or to steal rice. Though a spiritual foe, his attacks are aimed, ordinarily, against the body alone.

Toward securing some means of propitiating Buso, or of shunting off his attacks, the attention of the Bagobo is constantly directed. They pray to Buso; they prepare for him offerings of areca-nuts and betel-leaf; they erect to him tiny houses for shrines, under forest trees, by the wayside, at the river, near the dwelling-houses — particularly at the time of a festival.⁶⁸ There are altars for the buso of the woods, for the buso of the ground, for the buso of the rattan, for the buso of the nearer side of the river, for the buso of the farther side of the river. The shrines are like many of those put up in honor of the friendly gods, and the form of the devotions is outwardly much the same, but the intention of the rites is altogether different. In the first place, altars to Buso are never placed within the home or within the ceremonial house, like altars to friendly deities, but at strategic points that command the approaches to the house, or else in the deep forest. Secondly, as regards the substance of the prayers, the gods are implored to baffle the operations of disease-bringing demons; but a buso, the recognized source of sickness, is conjured in various ways. Every single devotion to Buso is a mere magical device for inducing him to go away. It must be noted, too, that in those cases where a god sends sickness, it is because the Bagobo have broken some religious mandate or have failed in the technique of a ritual, and the sickness is felt to be the logical outcome of a clumsy performance. The diseases with which a buso tortures the body come, avowedly, to cause death so that the food supply of dead bodies for the buso may be increased. These distinguishing features give to each form of devotion its own peculiar atmosphere.

Associated closely with the buso are the ghosts of the dead, since it is believed that the evil soul,⁶⁹ or *tebang*, of a person becomes at death a burkan, which in its nature is practically identical with a buso. It haunts graves and lonely trails; it eats dead bodies, and is commonly called a buso. Tradition indicates vaguely that long ago nobody died, and that the attitude of Buso toward man at that time was friendly,⁷⁰ by which tradition we

⁶⁸ See Ceremony of Awas, Part II.

⁶⁹ For a discussion of the character of the evil soul, see pp. 58—61.

⁷⁰ Cf. Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. 26, pp. 42—43. 1913.

are led to infer that not all buso are ghosts. It will not do to press this inference too far, however, for the Malay may not feel a contradiction that, to us, is at once apparent. Yet the most malignant buso, called *tigbanuá*, seem to be distinguished from burkan, or ghosts, for I have heard an old man, while explaining a ceremony, make this remark: "We offer betel to all the *tigbanuá* and to all the dead buso." Again, the statement is made that "there are many buso and many burkan." Moreover, there are a great number of zoömorphie forms called *tigbanuá* or buso that are not identified with ghosts. The fact is, that so great is the multitude of mental images associated with evil spirits in their diverse shapes and functions, that some little confusion in dealing with the subject is almost inevitable. There are different lines of approach, according to whether a native is talking of sickness, or of death, or of a ceremonial, or of a haunted tree, or of an episode in a story; and he makes no attempt to correlate these various lines of approach, or to define exactly the groups of evil personalities that he happens to be dealing with.

The volcano Apo, whose intermittent eruptions of sulphurous vapor and whose matchless height suggest mysterious dwelling-places for spirits, has long been regarded as the home of the worst buso or *tigbanuá*, of many less malevolent buso or *tagamaling*, and of a vast throng of bad ghosts (*burkan*), all of whom live in an enormous house within the mountain into which the crater leads as a vast passageway, or as an open door. Great numbers of wild animals, reptiles and flying creatures live on the summit of the volcano — deer, pigs, cats, dogs, civets, mice, flying lemurs, monkeys, birds, jungle fowl, snakes and monitor lizards — all of which belong to Buso. Around the edge of the crater, the prints of these animals may be seen by those persons who have the temerity to make the ascent (so say the old men); but the fabulous animals are invisible, except to all the buso. There are also living on Mount Apo great numbers of the so-called "bad animals," that is to say, buso under the form of beasts. Here is one of the little folk tales of Apo.

All the old Bagobo men say that in the crater of Apo lives a rich man. He is a Chinaman, and he keeps a store there. Long ago a Bagobo man climbed up to see the volcano. He saw a big hole in the top of it. He went down into the hole and found a big house with a store in it. He went in and rested there a while. A Chinaman was keeping the store. By and by

the Chinaman told him that he must go away. "Why," asked the Bagobo. "Because the buso will be here in a few minutes and he eats people." Then the man went home. In a few minutes the Buso came to rest in the store. He smiled and said: "Who has been here?" "Nobody but a dog," replied the Chinaman.

That Americans are not afraid to ascend the volcano without the use of protective charms, is a source of bewilderment to the Bagobo, and that no fatal illness follows the rash act is still more astonishing; but the native explanation is that we treat Buso with pronounced courtesy, and thus win his favor. "The American people can go to Apo, because they are very polite to Buso. If they were not polite, Buso would eat them."

Though having their special habitat on Mount Apo, and on another mountain called Mabanisan,⁷¹ the buso are said to frequent, in general, all localities where there are graves, empty houses, solitary mountain trails. At any time, indeed, or in any place outside of the house, there is the chance of a buso making his appearance. The young people are impressed with the idea that "Buso lives everywhere out-of-doors;" and that a buso is "in every way." For this reason, a Bagobo rarely walks alone for any considerable distance over the mountains; two, or several, go in company, the more easily to ward off Buso's influence, for, although unable to attack directly a living man or openly kill him, he works under covert by entering, in the form of some disease, the body of his victim; or by some other means he makes him sick.

An empty house is likely to be buso-haunted, even if its owner has gone away for but a short time, and the neighbors are cautious about entering during his absence. One often sees several Bagobo sitting on the bamboo rounds of the house-ladder, and waiting patiently for some member of the family to return, when they will all go up the steps together. Rarely does a buso dare to enter a house while people are living there, at least during the day, for the demons are supposed to be afraid of meeting, face to face, people in health and action; but in case of mortal illness Buso scents from afar the flesh of the dying, and flies through the air until he comes to rest under the house, or even inside of the sick-room. Unless by some magical means he can be driven away, he seizes the body as soon as life is extinct, puts into its place a

⁷¹ The situation of this mountain is not known to the writer.

section of a banana-trunk, to deceive the friends, and goes off, riding on the corpse.

Certain species of forest trees are traditionally haunted by demons, particularly the baliti,⁷² the mararag,⁷³ the pananag, the barayung, the magbok, and the lanaon⁷⁴ — all of which are mentioned in folklore and myth as sacred to Buso. In general, too, any individual tree⁷⁵ having spreading branches and heavy, straggling roots protruding above the surface of the earth is associated with the possible home of a buso, and is pointed out, fearfully, as an object to be avoided after dark. Throughout the island tribes, indeed, a tree of such appearance is almost universally held to be haunted.

Both mythology and current folklore represent the number of individual buso as practically unlimited; they people the air and the mountains and the forests by myriads; their number is legion.⁷⁶

⁷² Spelled by some writers as *balete*; the form *baliti* is here adopted as a matter of uniformity with other Malay words throughout this paper. The tree is a species of *Picus*, and is very generally associated with spirit habitation, in the beliefs of the Filipino as well as of the wild tribes. It is a tall tree, with large branches, dark-green leaves — long, narrow, firm-textured and glossy — and with roots that grow out from the trunk for some distance above the ground. Sawyer observes that the *baliti* corresponds to our witch elm. Cf. *The Inhabitants of the Philippines*, p. 343. 1900. Cf. also Chirino's observations on the *baliti*. BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 12, p. 214; and footnote. 1904.

⁷³ The Bagobo word for yellow.

⁷⁴ Presumably the tree called, variously, *linan*, *lanaon*, *lauan*, *lauaan*, and identified by Foreman and by Blair and Robertson as *Dipterocarpus thurifera*; it is characterized by wood that is reddish-white or ash-colored with brown spots and is light in weight, and by its yield of fragrant white resin that is used for incense. Cf. J. FOREMAN: *The Philippine Islands*, 2 ed., p. 370. 1899. Cf. also, BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 18, p. 171. 1904.

⁷⁵ Cf. "Bagobo myths." *Jour. Am. Folk-lore*, vol. 26, pp. 44, 49, 50. 1913. Skcat says that the peninsular Malays associate the *hantus*, or spirits of evil, with particular trees which they suppose these spirits to frequent after dark. Cf. Malay magic, pp. 64—65. 1900. For similar traditions in the southern islands, cf. Blumentritt's discussion of sacred trees in Sumatra, Nias, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Buru, etc., in *Diccionario mitologico*, pp. 29—31. 1895. The ancient Tagal and Visayan believed that the spirits of ancestors, called *nono* or *nonok*, resided in the *baliti* and in certain other trees, all of which, by a figure of speech, were similarly named *nono*. For a treatment of this subject, see the extract from TOMAS ORTIZ: "Practica del ministerio." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 43, pp. 104—105. 1906. Among the Bagobo, I have not heard the grandfather, or *nono*, conception mentioned. With them, it is the buso that haunt the trees; and, although the bad ghost is a kind of buso, this is not the ancestral spirit idea.

⁷⁶ Here, again the Bagobo follows the great body of Malay tradition. Cf. the discussion of the *hantu* among pagan tribes of the peninsula, as given by Stevens, and by Martin, who says: "Wenn Stevens schreihet: 'Jeder Baum hat seine besondere Art Hantu's,' und wenn er ferner von Hantu redet, die 'durch Regen, durch Hitze, in Bergen, Seen, Steinen, Bäumen, u. s. w.' wirken, so kommt dies einer Beselung der Ganzen Natur gleich. . ." "Die Mehrzahl dieser letztgenannten Hantu scheint nicht spezialisiert zu

Of course, like the ghosts and demons of all other peoples, it is in darkness⁷⁷ that the buso are particularly busy in their evil deeds, although, here and there, they have been known to make their presence felt by day.

These vast throngs of evil personalities, known under the collective term of buso, are subdivided into several groups, and in these, again, we find a great number of individual names, each of which suggests some peculiar external buso-character, or some particular buso-trait, or some set mode of preying upon the human-kind. Of such sub-groups and individuals, the following are typical.

The *tigbanuá*⁷⁸ are representative fiends of the most dangerous sort. To them, more than to any other buso, shrines are erected, magic formulæ are recited, and propitiatory offerings are made; while numerous spells are constantly worked to frustrate their evil designs. A *tigbanuá* is reported to live in a state of perpetual cannibalism and to be most repulsive in aspect, having one eye in the middle of the forehead, a hooked chin two spans long and upturned to catch the drops of blood that may chance to drip from the mouth, and a body covered with coarse black hair. From Mount Apo and from the deep forest the *tigbanuá* come flying or running to every fresh-dug grave, whether it be on mountain or

sein, d. h. man spricht meist einfach von Berg-, Wald-, und Baum-Hantu im Hinblick auf einen einzelnen Fall. . . ., Die Inlandstämme der malayischen Halbinsel, pp. 946—947. 1905.

⁷⁷ Those evil spirits that figure in Indian saga under the names of *Rákshasa*, *Yaksha* and *Pisacha* are said to "have no power in the day, being dazed with the brightness of the sun; they delight in the night." *Somadeva*; *Kathá Sarit Ságara*; *ed. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 47. 1880. See also the prayer in the *Atharva-Veda*. "Shelter us . . . from greedy fiends who rise in troops at night-time when the moon is dark." R. T. H. GRIFFITH (tr.): *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, vol. 1, p. 19. 1895.

⁷⁸ *Tigbanuá* is practically identical with *Banuanhon*, of Visayan myth, and with *Tigbalang*, a Tagal demon, as indicated in the following passage from the writings of Fray Casemiro Diaz, 1638—1640, trans. by Blair and Robertson. "Moreover, in those mountains of Panay, are many demons, who appear to the natives in horrible forms — as hideous savages, covered with bristles, having very long claws, with terrifying eyes and features, who attack and maltreat those whom they encounter. These beings are called by the Indians *Banuanhon*, who are equivalent to the satyrs and fauns of ancient times . . . They are called in the Tagal language *Tigbalang*, and many persons who have seen them have described to me, in the same terms, the aspect of the monster. They say that he has a face like a cat's, with a head that is flattened above, not round, with thick beard, and covered with long hair; his legs are so long that, when he squats on his buttocks, his knees stand a vara above his head; and he is so swift in running that there is no quadruped that can be compared with him." *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 29, pp. 269—270. 1905.

beside the sea; they drink the blood from the corpse, and gnaw the flesh from the bones, and then throw away the skeleton. Gruesome as is the situation, however, it is relieved by flashes of quaint humor, such as invariably dart into Bagobo talk and story. According to the folktales, a *tigbanuá* is often very dull of perception, very credulous; so much so that a child, a cat, the moon, even a woman's comb may fool him and make a jest of him,⁷⁹ in much the same manner that the trickster Coyote, of American myth, is himself, in turn, tricked by others.

The *Tigbanuá* most often invoked are the following:

- Tigbanuá kayo* (of the timber, or forest trees);
- Tigbanuá balagan* (of the rattan);
- Tigbanuá tana* (of the ground);
- Tigbanuá waig* (of the water);
- Tigbanuá batu* (of the rocks, or stones);
- Tigbanuá dipag-dini-ka-waig* (of this side of the river);
- Tigbanuá dipag-dutun-ka-waig* (of the other side of the river);
- Tigbanuá buis* (of the hut-shrine).

Another group of supernatural beings, the *Tagamaling*, are sometimes termed "good *buso*" on account of their extreme moderation in eating human flesh, a practice in which they indulge only on alternate months. The *tagamaling* are thought to resemble the *Bagobo* in physiognomy and in manner of dressing. A few of them, however, have eight faces. Their houses, invisible to man, are hidden in dense foliage up on the mountains or the hills. I quote from the "Story of *Duling* and the *Tagamaling*"⁸⁰ a tale of two young men who are enticed to the house of a *tagamaling* by two *tagamaling* girls; as a result of which adventure one of the youths is turned into stone.

"Before the world was made, there were *Tagamaling*. The *Tagamaling* is the best *Buso*, because he does not want to hurt man all of the time. *Tagamaling* is actually *Buso* only a part of the time; that is, the month when he eats people. One month he eats human flesh, and then he is *Buso*; the next month he eats no human flesh, and then he is a god. So he alternates, month by month. The month he is *Buso*, he wants to eat man

⁷⁹ Stories of the tricking of *Buso* will be found in my "Bagobo myths." *Jour. Am. Folk-lore*, vol. 26, pp. 43—46, 48—50, 1913. With equal ease the *Rákshasa* of Indian myth is duped, as shown in one of *Somadeva's* tales: *cf. op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 363—364. 1880.

⁸⁰ *Jour. Am. Folk-Lore*, vol. 26, pp. 50—51. Jan.—Mar., 1913.

during the dark of the moon; that is, between the phases that the moon is full in the east and new in the west. . . .

"The Tagamaling makes his house in trees that have hard wood, and low, broad-spreading branches. His house is almost like gold, and is called "Palimbing", but it is made so that you cannot see it; and, when you pass by, you think, 'Oh! what a fine tree with big branches', not dreaming that it is the house of a Tagamaling. Sometimes, when you walk in the forest, you think you see one of their houses; but when you come near to the place, there is nothing. Yet you can smell the good things to eat in the house."

Another literary reference to these legendary tree-dwellings of the spirits is in a little poem, the text of which I have in manuscript. A young man says to the girl whom he has seduced:

"In the mountains hide you,
Like Tagamaling's house concealed."

A rustic demon well known in folklore is S'iring,⁸¹ who, under the guise of some relative or friend, lures a young person into the densest part of the forest, causes him to lose memory and judgment, and finally brings him to his death in some indirect manner. What we call *echo* is the call of S'iring, who answers in a faint voice the shout of some wanderer whom he is trying to entice from the familiar trails. The S'iring is represented as having long sharp nails and curly hair.

The demon who "makes men dizzy" is Tagasoro, and his presence at a ceremonial is greatly feared.

Tagareso is an ugly fiend who stimulates ill-feeling and arouses a quarrelsome spirit on festival occasions. He tries to make married men dissatisfied with their wives, so that they will want to run off and leave them.

Balinsugu is another dangerous spirit that stirs up enmity at ceremonies, in the hope that good men may be induced to fight and kill one another in the house where many are assembled, and

⁸¹ For folklore of the S'iring, see Jour. Am. Folk-Lore, vol. 26, pp. 51—53; and cf. Kathá Sarit Ságara, *ed. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 337: "Whoever remains in the forest falls prey to Yakshivi who bewilder him. . . ."

Capricious forest demons, having certain characteristic marks of the Bagobo S'iring, are mentioned by Aduarte, Bishop of Nueva Segovia. "They also tell of some very mischievous tricks which the devil has played upon them. It happened sometimes that when a man was alone in the field he came upon some creatures resembling little women. They would deceive him, and either by alluring words or force would place him within a thicket, and then toss him in the air as if he had been a ball; they then left him half-dead." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.* vol. 30, p. 293. 1905.

thus give him blood to drink. I was present at a devotional meeting at Oleng's house when one of the anito urged the Bagobo to be on their guard against Tagareso and Balinsugu.

The Mantianak,⁸² as everywhere throughout the Malay country, is associated with childbirth, but there are local variations. Bagobo tradition says that if a woman dies during her trial her spirit is angry at the husband, since he is held responsible for the conditions that caused his wife's death. The ghost of the woman becomes a mantianak that hovers in the air near her former home and utters peculiar cries, resembling the mewing of a cat. When the man hears that sound at night, he knows that it is the voice of the mantianak of his dead wife. This form of buso is characterized by a hole in the breast and by the long claws, and it is called "a bad thing." They say that the mantianak is constantly trying to kill men and boys, but that it is afraid of women and girls.

Some buso live in the sky, like the eight-eyed Riwa-riwa,⁸³ who

⁸² A Malay compound of two elements: *mati*, "to die," "dead;" *anak*, "child." The Bagobo and certain other tribes interpolate a nasal. The Tagal makes the initial sound a surd, *p*.

Concerning a parallel myth among the Tagal tribes, Father Plasencia wrote in 1589: "If any woman died in child-birth, she and her child suffered punishment... at night she could be heard lamenting. This was called *patianac*. See BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.* vol. 7, p. 196, 1903. If the missionary drew a correct inference from the wail of the woman's spirit, the significance of the mantianak's cry is distinctly different from that given to it by the Bagobo, who put the burden upon the man. Birth-charms for driving away this spirit are given by Ortiz, *op. cit.*, vol. 43, p. 107, 1905. He states, further, that when travelers lose their road, the patianac is to blame. *Ib.* p. 108.

Cole found among the Mandaya a belief in Muntianak, which was regarded as "the spirit of a child whose mother died while pregnant, and who for this reason was born in the ground." *Op. cit.*, p. 177.

In the tradition of the peninsular Malays, the matianak (or pontianak) is a stillborn child which takes the form of a night-owl that disturbs women and children at the time of childbirth. If a woman dies in childbirth, she is popularly supposed to become a lansugu, or flying demon, much like the pole-cat called bajang. Cf. W. W. SKEAT: Malay magic, pp. 329, 325, 327. 1900. Among certain inland tribes, according to Dr. Martin, the *matianak*, as a *jin* or *hantu*, is the demon of puerperal fever, and occasionally takes the form of a frog or a bird. Die Inlandstämme der malayischen Halbinsel, pp. 944, 946. 1905. The natives of Nias have a *bèchu matiana* which has the power of tormenting a woman in childbirth, and of procuring abortion. Cf. Elio Modigliani: Un viaggio a Nias, p. 625. 1890. For allied conceptions among the natives of Sarawak and the tribes of south-east Borneo, and in other parts of the Malay area, cf. Blumentritt: *op. cit.*, article, "Patianak."

⁸³ Blumentritt quotes the following description of Riwa-Riwa: "Según los Bagobos es Rico-riwa un ser espantoso y malo que, suspendido en el cenit, á manera de pendulo

listens to the talk of mortals. If anybody makes a random remark that offends Riwa-riwa, his eight eyes "turn big;" he drops to the ground, and brings sickness with him.

Of Busu buntud it is reported that he is black as soot, and has nine faces.

Buso lisu t'kayo, on the contrary, is pure white, being probably associated with the pith of forest trees.

Buso t'abo is a mere torso of a demon, with head, chest, shoulders and arms; but having no legs or abdomen. In pictures, his body is cut off sharply at the waist.

One of the disease-bringers, named Karokung, is a white woman with long black hair, whose home is in rivers. Her characteristics will be described under the caption, "Disease and Healing."⁸⁴

In the native arts there are no figures or symbols of Buso to be found, either in animal or in human form; but Bagobo boys and girls who have learned to use the pencil a little and who also come from families conversant with a wide range of buso folktales, agree in stressing certain features that are traditionally characteristic of the demon in his anthropomorphic guise—big round eyes, tongue lolling from large mouth, branched horns, wings of varying sizes, enormous feet, heavily clawed or hoofed. The characters that are emphasized are those that stand out most prominently in folklore, while the rest of the body takes its chance, so to speak, being merely a "filler" for the really important buso traits. Such traits characterize, in particular, the entire class of tigbanuá. On the other hand, the tagamaling are pictured as looking like the Bagobo, both in face and in costume; but their hair is curly rather than wavy, and they carry small circular shields of an ancient pattern.

We now turn to the distinctly zoömorphic forms of the buso. While the tigbanuá, the s'iring, and perhaps other buso in human form, have the power of assuming at will the appearance of certain

largo, llega con su boca á la tierra para devorar a los hombres que su servidor *Tabankak* le presenta." *Diccionario mitológico*, p. 100. 1895.

Blumentritt finds mentioned by the Spaniards a Bagobo demon named Pelubatan; and in association with Riwa-Riwa another evil spirit called Tabanka that is characterized as follows: "Un demonio de los Bagobos. Es el espíritu de impureza y libertinaje, cuyo oficio es tentar á hombres y mujeres contra el sexto y nono mandamientos de la Ley de Dios, para que, habiendo muchos escándalos, riñas y asesinatos, tenga que comer en abundancia su amo Riva-riva." *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁸⁴ See Part III.

animals,⁸⁵ there are, in addition, a large number of evil personalities that have peculiar and permanent bestial shapes. These are myth animals — the so-called bad animals — of strange shapes and ill-matched members, that are visualised as curious modifications of familiar beasts and birds, or, more often, are purely fanciful products. Doubtless there are hundreds of such fabulous animals awaiting the discovery of the field worker, but the following names will at least suggest what sort of creature a myth animal may be.

Most important of all, probably, is Kilat,⁸⁶ that gigantic ungulate — it may be horse or it may be carabao — that runs through the sky, and during a storm makes his voice heard in claps of thunder. When the roaring is loudest, the people expect Kilat to fall to the earth, and to bring in his train numerous diseases.

Many buso have the form of deer, notable among which is Naat, with his one good horn, and his one bad horn that has a branch pointing downward.⁸⁷

Numbers of buso are snakes, whose chief is Mamili, called "king of snakes."

The Buso-monkey is well known in myth,⁸⁸ and even at this time not only are there many buso who are lutung, or monkeys, but a normal ape occasionally turns into a buso.

Timbalung is a disease-bringer whose home is on the mountains, and who is said to be "a big bad animal that goes into the belly and makes the Bagobo very sick." It is thought dangerous to speak the name of this buso, and children are so instructed; but occasionally somebody will mention him in connection with the sickness he causes.

⁸⁵ Aduarte writes of the natives of Nueva Segovia that, "The *aniteras*... dreamed that they saw their *anitos* in the form of carabaos or of buffaloes, and of black men." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 31, p. 35. 1905. Chirino, 1603, writes in like phrases that "another Indian, while very ill, was afflicted with horrible apparitions; when he was left alone, hideous and furious black men appeared to him, threatening him with death." *Ibid.*, vol. 13, p. 78. 1904.

Morga, 1609, writes of the *Pintados* (Visayan): "The devil usually deceived them with a thousand errors and blindnesses. He appeared to them in various horrible and frightful forms, and as fierce animals, so that they feared him and trembled before him." *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 131. 1904.

⁸⁶ For the myth concerning Kilat, see pp. 48—49.

⁸⁷ See "Ceremony of Awas."

⁸⁸ *Cf. op. cit.* Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. 26, pp. 46—48. 1913.

Blanga is a cursorial animal, distinguished by enormous branching horns. Pungatu is pictured as a fat quadruped, with a bird-like head, and several humps on his back. He lives up on the mountains. Limbago is a long-necked quadruped, that carries sickness wherever he goes. Abuy and Rúú are pig-like forms, the latter being an underground animal, with a big belly and extremely pointed teeth. Any intruder into Rúú's house below the ground is punished by having his strength taken from him. Straightway he becomes so weak that he cannot walk, and his feet give way under him. Then Rúú attacks him with his sharp teeth. Sekür is a big-eared quadruped, a mountain climber, sometimes called Sakar. Marina is an arboreal animal with a snake-like body, that climbs by means of long arms. Ubag looks like a horse with a hump on his back, and is said to smite with mortal illness those whom he attacks. Kogang is a bad animal which is visualized under several shapes.

Still other diseases are brought by the Buso Tulung, who resembles a jungle fowl.

The most famous mythical birds are, perhaps, the following:

Minokawa⁵⁹ is an enormous bird that swallows the moon at the time of a lunar eclipse, a feat accomplished easily, since this bird is conceived to be as large as the island of Negros, or the island of Bohol.

Kulago appears in myth as the bird into which Wari, brother of Lumabat, was metamorphosed⁶⁰ as a punishment for his disobedience to one of the gods. Its cry is that of the screech-owl, but its body is covered by both hair and feathers representing every sort of animal and bird and jungle fowl.

The most rapacious bird of folklore is Wak-Wak, a fierce mythical crow that flies headless, and feeds on human flesh, and must be charmed away by a formula of suggestive magic.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Cf. "Bagobo myths." Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. 26, p. 19, 1913.

⁶⁰ The story of Wari's transformation into a screech-owl is given in the same Journal, vol. 26, pp. 22—23.

⁶¹ For the Visayan *asuang*, see p. 42—43. The buso and the *asuang* that have the form of birds of prey resemble the *Penggalan* of the Peninsula, that is characterized as "a sort of monstrous vampire which delights in sucking the blood of children." The head of this bird flies separately from the body, but the intestines are attached. Cf. Skeat: *op. cit.*, pp. 327—328; and for folklore touching fabulous Malay birds, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 110—132. See also Somadeva: *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 54, 1880. "A bird of

Of course, none of the above-mentioned demons, whatever its form, can be seen by the Bagobo,⁹² unless it be, rarely, by some old man. But in response to what is, perhaps, a primitive psychical impulse — that of attributing to other peoples and to other forms of living organisms (with whose mental processes one is unfamiliar) the power of perceiving things beyond one's own sense-range — the Bagobo say that the Kulaman folk can see Buso; and that Buso is plainly visible to the domesticated animals, whether dog or cat or chick or horse or carabao. When a dog bays mournfully into the air at night, he is baying at Buso; when the carabao leave their wallow and dash wildly through the lanes of the villages, they are fleeing from Buso. It is always Buso that makes animals behave in a strange manner after dark, and it is currently believed that Buso walks in the rain, for the dogs, seeing him, at once begin to bark. This is the reason why dogs bark more often in shower than in sunshine.

Charms against Buso are more numerous than any other class of charms. A considerable number are described in the section entitled, "Charms and Magical Rites," where they are grouped with other sorts of spells, according to their several psychological aspects. For convenience, however, the forms of buso magic in most common use are briefly listed together at this point. To forestall the approach of a buso:

Repeat magical formulæ;
 Set up images of wood to represent living men;
 Make a thicket of "medicinal" plants near the house;
 Lay pieces of lemon and red peppers under the house;
 Circumambulate the house while holding a lemon;⁹³

the race of Garuda pounced on her, thinking she was raw flesh;" and *cf.*, in the same volume, Tawney's notes on fabulous birds of prey in other literatures: the Roc of Arabian romance, etc. *Ibid.*, p. 572.

⁹² According to Aduarte, the Filipino of Nueva Segovia (in Luzon), "sometimes asked the devil that he would permit them to see him; but he answered that his body was so subtle that they could not see it." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 30, p. 290. 1905.

⁹³ The use of lemons as an antidote to the machinations of demons is not confined to the Bagobo tribe. Mr. J. M. Garvan found that among the Manobo of Mindanao both lemons and limes were thus used, as shown in "The Legend of Ango, the Petrified Manobo." *Cf.* H. O. BEYER: "Origin myths among the mountain peoples of the Philippines." *Philippine Jour. Sci.*, vol. 8, p. 90. April, 1913.

On one occasion, I had an opportunity of taking part in the formation of such a magic

- Wear a bit of dried lemon on the necklace;
- Hang a crab-shell over the door;
- Hold a rice-winnower before the face;
- Weave into textiles a crocodile design;
- Paint the figure of a crocodile on bamboo rice-cases, on stringed instruments, and on other manufactured objects of wood;
- Carve the figure of a crocodile on the coffin, or decorate the coffin with a conventional crocodile figure, made of strips of cloth;
- Rub a dying person with sweet-smelling plants of magical value;
- Hold a wake in the house of death;
- Surround with all kinds of knives the bed of an expectant mother before she sleeps at night.⁹⁴

In Visayan myth, (as I learned in a number of conversations with Visayans) the *asuang* is functionally identical with the *buso* of the Bagobo: both haunt desolate places, tear open freshly-made graves, feed on corpses, prowl over the earth at night in shadowy shapes, or fly through the air and, having entered a death-chamber by the window, suck the blood of the dead as soon as the soul leaves the body. Yet there is a fundamental distinction between the two conceptions on the morphological side; for the Visayan says that many of the *asuang* are able to metamorphose themselves into human beings, and thus live in intimate relationship with the people — an extension of the sphere of demoniac influence quite foreign to Bagobo ideas. The Visayan young people insist that a large number of the *asuang* are men and women who live and work as near neighbors of their own. In certain parts of their villages these human demons cluster. In Davao, there is a short street, named Claveria, where whole families of *asuang* are popularly believed to have their residence, and their houses are pointed out to visitors. At nightfall, the *asuang* resume their proper forms, put on wings, become shadowy, and go flying off in search of dead bodies for

circle around the house; and I observed that we made the circuit clock-wise, so that the house was kept always on our right, just as in the circumambulations of ancient India; but I did not hear a statement that the dextral circuit must necessarily be followed for this charm. Cf. Somadeva: *Kathá Sarit Ságara*, vol. 1, p. 98. 1880.

It is possible that *Buso's* alleged fear of lemons may be associated with the myth in which *Buso* is killed by thorns while he is trying to climb a lemon-tree. On the other hand, perhaps the episode grew out of the wide spread tradition that all demons are afraid of lemons. Cf. the tale, "The *Buso*-Monkey." *Jour. Am. Folk-lore*, vol. 26, p. 46—48. Jan.—March, 1913.

⁹⁴ The folklore material in regard to this spell will be found in a story entitled. "The *Buso*-Child." *Jour. Am. Folk-lore*, vol. 26, pp. 45—46. 1913.

food. It is said that all asuang have oil in their bodies for lubricating their wings, so that flight is easy. A human asuang is ordinarily a person of tall stature, extremely thin, with a shiny skin, and with eye-balls slightly protruding. However other bodily characters may differ, there is one sure mark of an asuang to be found in the pupil of the eye. Suppose that some neighbor is suspected of being an asuang. One must examine his eyes, and if in the pupil there is detected the figure of a boy upside down, that person is unmistakably an asuang.

Among the Visayan on the coast of Davao gulf, it is said that the asuang systematically propagates the baliti by making use of rotten tree trunks as a suitable soil. An old tree of which the native name is ononang was shown me by Manuel, a clever Visayan boy, who assured me that that was an asuang-haunted tree. It had a hollow trunk, into the decaying texture of which an adventitious shoot of a baliti had intruded, and had pressed its way upward through the soft material, its roots intertwined within the trunk, its glossy, sharp-pointed leaves growing out through numerous crevices in the bark. "Nobody but an asuang," explained Manuel, "can make the trunk of any tree hollow. You see, the asuang works himself through some small hole in the bark and, with his long nails, scoops out the trunk and claws away until only a hollow shell remains. That done, he plants a seed or root of baliti to grow there, and then he goes off to work at another tree."⁹⁵

INTERPRETATION OF PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

Natural objects or natural phenomena, as such, a Bagobo rarely worships; but the larger processes of the physical universe, that take shape in air and sky and earth and sea, are associated in his mental processes with spirits, and these spirits are made the objects of varied cults, some in the capacity of gods, some in that of demons. The functions of nature spirits are rather sharply distinguished one from another, for the underlying concepts of the Bagobo would not lend themselves readily to expression in terms of a pantheistic religion. So far from conceiving of one common vital principle as pervading nature and unifying it, he puts different

⁹⁵ For other asuang myths, *cf.* Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. 19, pp. 205—211, 1906; vol. 26, pp. 25—28, 31—32, 42—53, 57. 1913.

intelligent personalities back of as many physical phases; so far from fusing gods and the visible world into one substance, his nature-spirits are persons who can leave at will the natural objects with which they are identified.

Nor does the Bagobo, from the polytheistic standpoint, regard every single object in nature as controlled immediately by an indwelling spirit. One highly-honored god, Pamulak Manobo, made the world and the things in it; certain minor deities assist him in regulating set departments, as Tarabumě, who has charge of the growing rice; while a throng of spiritual beings of which some few hold a friendly attitude toward man, but many more a hostile attitude, are associated with large classes of natural objects. There is, as we have said, a *tigbanuá* of the woods, a *tigbanuá* of the water, a *tigbanuá* of the rattan. In regard to individual objects, it cannot be assumed that spirits inhabit every tree, every rock, every stream; yet any particular rock or stream or tree may happen to be the home of some supernatural being. Rarely, again, the natural object itself which is supposed to have peculiar functions attracts devotions at fixed seasons, solely in connection with that functioning, and, perhaps, at no other time. The stars are not worshiped in mass, as stars, yet to certain constellations that tradition makes responsible for the success of crops, offerings are made at seed-time and at harvest, but on no other occasion. Furthermore, any special manifestation of natural processes, like a trembling of the earth or a violent thunder-clap, that occurs at irregular intervals and that stimulates a sudden emotional discharge, is instantly referred to a supernatural agency either working within the phenomenon or operating from a distance.

Thus the Bagobo tends to hold a receptive attitude toward nature, for in the background of his consciousness lies a mass of fragments of nature myths, nature songs, customary interpretations, any one of which may, at any moment, become embodied in his own experience. To the play of natural phenomena, he reacts with emotions of wonder, awe, fear, pleasure. Any shift out of the ordinary, any unusual sound or shape, impresses itself insistently upon his consciousness, until it comes to be associated with other and more familiar mental images; and, finally, the entire complex takes shape as some new episode in romance, or as some fresh exploit of god or of demon. Of course, the range of fanciful associations that he can make is strictly limited by a traditional myth-pattern, to which

he clings with characteristic conservatism; but with an emotional response to the unexpected in nature, he is always ready. When a Bagobo walks out of doors, his manner tends to be more serious and contemplative than indoors. Anything may happen, for nobody can predict the possible freaks of spiritual beings. While, perhaps, no buso may be in that particular trail; while this special clump of trees may be uninhabited; while the entire journey may be free from spiritual encounter, yet one must be on the alert, and it is safer to behave with gravity toward nature in all of her phases.

This attitude of quiet seriousness finds expression in a curious nature myth, which is repeated to the young people and possibly tends to inhibit in them some of the propensities of youth. They are taught that they must not laugh at their reflection in the water; that they must not laugh at small animals; that no monkey or rat or lizard or spider or fly may be put to ridicule.⁹⁶ In a word, as one boy expressed the idea: "You must not laugh at anything you see; for, if you do, Kilat will break your neck." Whether such little creatures are under the special protection of Kilat, the Thunder Spirit, is not clear, but to make fun of them is regarded as a presumptuous act, to which a severe penalty is attached, nothing less than having one's neck dislocated and one's head twisted about.⁹⁷ Bagobo mothers tell their daughters that long ago,

⁹⁶ In Beyers's recent publication, it is interesting to note that among the Manobo people of Mindanao there exists a tabu against ridiculing or mocking frogs, monkeys and cats; and Garvan states that laughing at other animals, too, is forbidden. With both the Bagobo and the Manobo, we find that the punishment for such levity is associated with thunder; although the punishment takes different forms, for Manobo tradition says that the transgressor is turned to stone. Cf. "Origin myths among the mountain peoples of the Philippines." *Philippine Jour. Sci.*, pp. 89—90. April, 1913.

⁹⁷ A tradition, corresponding, in every detail, to that repeated by Bagobo women, was found by Dr. Nieuwenhuis, among the Bahau tribes of East Borneo. They say, there, that laughing at animals is punished by the Thunder Spirits, who twist round the neck of the offender, and that it is incautious to place a domestic animal even in a situation that would cause laughter.

„Diese Naturgeister üben auch direkten Einfluss auf das Leben der Menschen aus; so werden bestimmte Vergehen durch die *to beklare*, Donnergeister, bestraft. Das Lachen über Tiere z. B., das bei den Bahau als Verbrechen gilt, wird durch die *to beklare* sogleich gestraft, indem sie dem Schuldigen den Hals umdrehen. Es ist daher sehr unvorsichtig, mit einem Huhn, Hund oder Schwein etwas vorzunehmen, was die Laute zum Lachen bringen könnte. Als am Mahakam plötzlich ein kleines Mädchen, wahrscheinlich an Vergiftung, starb, schrieben die Dorfbewohner ihren Tod dem Umstand zu, dass sie über irgend ein Tier gelacht haben sollte." A. W. NIEUWENHUIS: *Quer durch Borneo*, vol. 1, pp. 97—98. 1904.

in another part of the world, there were some girls who laughed at small animals, and that Kilat turned their heads around so that they had to walk facing backward.

The Bagobo is highly imitative, very ready to incorporate the myths and customs of other tribes, yet he borrows and assimilates in a manner peculiarly Bagobo. The interpretation that he will make of a bamboo trunk mottled with darkish spots, or of the baying of a dog at night, while it may conform in general outline to wide-sweeping Malay tradition, will yet have a characteristic Bagobo touch, since the background of Bagobo experience is not identical with the background of Bilaan, or of Tagakaola, or of Visayan experience. His response to natural phenomena will be somewhat different from that of any other group having a similar environment.

Below are sketched in outline a few typical myths concerning natural phenomena.

Before time began, the sky, the sun and moon, and all of the heavenly bodies, the land and all green things that grow on the earth, the sea and rivers and rocks, were created by Pamulak Manobo. He also made people of every race and tribe that are now in the world. Another widely-told story,⁹⁸ that is repeated in slightly-varying versions, gives a different origin to the stars. The moon is the mother of the stars and the sun is their father. Each star is one small fragment of the body of the moon's little daughter, whom the sun killed at her birth and cut into small pieces, because of his bitter disappointment that the child was not a boy. He scattered the bright sherds by handfuls over the sky, and they became the stars.⁹⁹

The earth is flat, and is shaped like a circle, over which the sky fits down snug, like a cap or a circular box-lid; and thus we get the line of the horizon, commonly called the "root of the sky," or the "border of the heaven." At first, the sky hung low over the earth, and through it the sun and the moon traveled close together, for then they were on friendly terms; but the sky was

⁹⁸ This story, and several other myths associated with natural phenomena, are given in *Jour. Am. Folk-lore*, vol. 26, pp. 15—19, 1913. Cf. also Beyer's Manobo tale, "The origin of the stars." *Philippine, Jour. Sci.*, vol. 8, p. 91. April, 1913.

⁹⁹ A Mantra legend represents the sun as engaged in a perpetual attempt to destroy the star-children. Cf. R. MARTIN: *Die Inlandstämme der malayischen Halbinsel*, p. 977. 1905.

so near to the earth that the people could not work, and so Pamulak Manobo commanded it to come up higher.¹⁰⁰ At about the same time, the sun and moon had their altercation over the fate of the baby, and no longer wished to journey together. For this reason, after the sky moved up, they began the custom of taking passage over the earth at different times. Both sun and moon travel above the earth, from east to west, and then pass down below the earth and go back from west to east. During our night, the sun illumines the place where the dead spirits are staying.

An eclipse¹⁰¹ of the moon is believed to be caused by the rapacious bird named Minokawa that lives just outside of the eastern horizon, and has beak and claws of steel. Eight holes the moon makes in the eastern horizon by which to enter for her passage over the earth, and eight holes in the western horizon, by any one of which she can get out again when she takes her course under the earth, back from west to east. Every day, when she comes in at one of the eastern entrances, she runs the risk of being snatched up and swallowed by the mammoth Minokawa-bird, in which event an eclipse occurs. Then the Bagobo, following a widespread Malay custom, begin to utter shouts and to beat agongs and to make a tremendous din, in the hope of making the bird disgorge the moon.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Another version, still more common among the Bagobo, is given in the *Jour. Am. Folk-lore*, vol. 26, p. 16. 1913. The old woman, called Tuglibung, cannot pound her rice because the sky hangs so low, and she chides the sky until it rushes up to its present place. Almost precisely the same story is known among the Manobo. Cf. H. O. BEYER: *op. cit.* p. 89; and compare the Ifugao tale, *ibid.*, p. 105, which, like the version in my text, calls in the help of a god to raise the sky.

¹⁰¹ Among Malays of the Peninsula and of Sumatra, the belief is widespread that an eclipse is caused by a serpent, a dragon, or a dog devouring the sun or the moon; and that the setting up of a din and clamor will frighten away the monster. Cf. Skeat: *op. cit.*, p. 11. In the Mantra myth, just quoted, the pursuit of the moon by the sun is continually going on, and when the sun bites the moon a lunar eclipse occurs. *Op. cit.*, p. 977. For the Bagobo story of the eclipse, see *Jour. Am. Folk-lore*, vol. 26, p. 19; and, for the Visayan legend, cf. Maxwell and Millington's collection, in the same journal, vol. 19, p. 209. 1906.

In an Indian saga we find an episode of Rahu's head swallowing the sun and the moon. Somadeva: *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 151.

¹⁰² The Batak of Sumatra give a slightly different explanation of an eclipse. According to Warneck's story, the sun in the beginning had seven sons, each of whom gave out a heat as intense as the sun herself. The plants on earth withered, and men could not stand up against the heat. They asked the help of the moon. He called all the stars to him and hid them; then, by the ruse of spitting betel juice into seven dishes, and showing to the sun the dishes full of red juice, persuaded her that he had eaten his children. Then the sun killed and ate her seven sons. On discovering that the moon had

Tradition says that in the moon live many people who are like the Bagobo. There is a great pananag tree there, with a white monkey sitting on one of its branches. This is what causes the phenomenon of "spots"¹⁰³ on the face of the moon. We can make out the shape of the monkey and of the tree rather indistinctly, but all the old men know that they are there. They say, however, that if anybody should clearly see the white monkey sitting on the tree he would instantly drop dead, or be taken with a fatal illness. It appears that the clouds are all afraid of this monkey, and this is the reason why, on a moonlight night, the clouds are often seen flitting over the face of the moon, and then fleeing away into the sky. Yet the monkey in the moon is a good animal, and the friend of man, for he is continually fighting with the evil buso. According to another myth, the clouds are not personified but are said to be the white smoke arising from the fires of the diwata in the heavens.

The phenomena of thunder and lightning are referred to an enormous horse, Kilat by name, that belongs to one of the diwata. Kilat runs and fights, prances and gambols in the sky, making lightning flash when he shakes his bright mane, sending out thunder-claps when he neighs in a mighty, roaring voice. The power of this mythical animal is feared like that of buso, since the heaviest peals of thunder indicate that Kilat is about to drop down to earth, bringing sickness and death to domestic animals and to the Bagobo. When Kilat's voice is heard at its loudest, they cut up a lemon in water and throw the water here and there on the ground, since this will frighten him back to his place in the sky. There is an interesting tradition connected with certain small, bluish-black stones, several inches long, that are, perhaps, of meteoric origin. The Bagobo use them for whetstones and for scouring-bricks, but they say that they are the teeth of Kilat which dropped out of his mouth when it was wide open for emitting thunder-claps, or that

let out the stars, the sun sent the fighting spirits läu to attack him. When the moon is hard pressed by the läu, an eclipse occurs. Then all the people on earth, mindful of the moon's kindness to them, cry out "Set the moon free, you läu!" Sometimes these spirits attack the sun, and then an eclipse of the sun takes place. *Cf.* Die Religion der Batak, pp. 43—44. 1909.

¹⁰³ Some peninsular Malay groups think the spots on the moon to be an inverted banyan tree. *Cf.* W. W. SKEAT: Malay magic, p. 13. 1900. The Manobo call the spots a bunch of taro leaves that the sun, in anger, threw at the face of the moon. *Cf.* H. O. BEYER: *op. cit.*, p. 91. The same author calls attention to the beliefs of other groups: that the spots are a cluster of bamboos, or a baliti tree. *Cf. loc. cit.*, footnote.

he lost some teeth while eating. It is the action of Kilat's teeth that splits open coconuts and makes them fall to the ground. This is the reason that coconuts are so often heard to drop, when no man has climbed the tree to cut them off. Bananas, also, are found lying on the ground, spoiled evidently by the teeth of Kilat, for the dents may be seen in the skin.

There are several distinct notions connected with rainstorms and showers. One belief is that when the diwata throw out water from the sky, or when they spit, the rain falls; another, that the tears of the little sister of the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig fall down in drops of rain. Again, it is said that showers come when the spirits of dead friends are weeping, because they are lonely and are calling other Bagobo individuals to accompany them to the lower world. Very commonly, however, rain is associated directly with the mythical source of thunder and lightning, and said to be due to Kilat, who is dropping water from his body. That Buso walks in the rain is generally believed, and hence children are instructed to remain indoors during a storm. Only dogs and other domestic animals may safely walk with Buso in a heavy shower. Finally, a thunderstorm may be brought to a close by some strong and fierce buso who is able to devour Kilat himself.

THE SOULS OF MAN AND LIFE AFTER DEATH

Characterization of the two souls

Like other Malay peoples, the Bagobo have a great body of myth and of folklore concerning the behavior of the souls of man, events connected with death, and the nature of future existence. Inhabiting every individual, two souls called *gimokud* are recognized¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Father Gisbert writes that, "The Bagobos recognize two beginnings, and say that they have two souls . . . Of the two souls, one goes to heaven and the other to hell." BLAIR] and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 43, p. 235. 1906. As will be seen later, in our treatment of the subject, the fate of the two souls is such that the Father's use of the words, "heaven" and "hell" is a broad extension of the popular meaning of those words. The important point, however, is that he found two to be the generally received number of souls belonging to each individual. It is clear that the conception of soul varies somewhat in different Bagobo communities, since Cole found at Sibulán a belief in eight souls for every individual. *Cf. op. cit.*, p. 105. The Malays of the peninsula, according to Skeat, distinguish seven different souls. *Cf. op. cit.*, p. 50.

The natives of Nias believe that there are three souls, according to Wilken, who, as Modigliani quotes him, agrees with the missionary, Sundermann, in the statement that

— shadowy, ethereal personalities, that dominate the body more or less completely. The right-hand soul, known in Bagobo terminology as the *Gimokud Takawanan*, is the so-called “good soul” that manifests itself as the shadow on the right hand side of one’s path. The left-hand soul, called *Gimokud Tebang*, is said to be a “bad soul” and shows itself as the shadow on the left side of the path. The name for either shadow is *alung*. The takawanan is associated, in native thinking, with those factors of existence that stand for life, health, activity, joy; while the tebang is associated with factors that tend toward death, sickness, sluggishness, pain. The left-hand soul often departs from the human body and does unlooked-for things that have an unhappy influence on the body: it undertakes alarming exploits; it wanders about as a dream-spirit, thus producing nightmare, or, at least, horrible mental images during sleep. The right-hand soul, on the contrary, is associated with the normal continuity of existence, for it never leaves the body from birth until death, except to lie, at times, as the right-hand shadow, still attached clingingly to the physical frame. Death is the simple fact of the passing of the right-hand soul out from the body, and becoming permanently separated from it. But the stream of individual existence is not checked by death, for the takawanan goes at once to the Great Country below the earth, and there continues to live, in much the same manner as on earth, except for the non-corporeal and ghostly appearance that characterizes all of its activities.

Right-hand Soul or Gimokud Takawanan

Brown in color like a Bagobo, they say the takawanan would

these souls belong, respectively, to the breath the shadow and the heart. The first soul is *nòso*, which, at death, returns to the wind and ceases to exist, except where it survives as a hereditary soul. The second is the soul of man’s shadow, and can be seen only in the light of the sun or in the brightness of love, though a priest may see it at all times. At death, this soul becomes the *bèchu zi mâte*, which goes to the realm of the dead in the subterranean world. The third soul has its seat in the heart, and is known as *nòso-dòdò*, or soul of the heart, and this is the most noble of the three, since there is nothing in man which does not take its origin from the heart.

Modigliani, however, differs from Wilken and distinguishes between the statements of the natives of Nias concerning the soul of the dead, and the soul of the living. During life, the *nòso dòdò*, located in the heart, is the soul most commonly spoken of, and the source of all emotions. At death, this soul resolves itself into three: the *ehàha*, or hereditary soul; the *nòso*, or spiritual principle of all human existence, and the *bèchu zi mâte*, or spirit of the dead. Cf. *Un viaggio a Nias*, pp. 287—290. 1890.

look, could one but clearly glimpse it, and in all other characteristics, it is like the living Bagobo, except for its tenuous substance. It is identified with the activities and the life itself of the body, and hence remains in the body throughout life; for the event of its removing itself to a distance would spell death. I have heard the opinion hazarded by a Bagobo youth that the takawanan might go away for just a little while without the body dying, but this idea may have been suggested by observing his shadow, and fancying that it might move away from him. The customary concept of the takawanan, as well as the conduct observed at a deathbed, implies that this soul inhabits the human body perpetually, or as a shadow remains closely attached to it, until death.

Signs of death. The beating of the pulse at the wrist and the pulsations that are to be felt "on top of the head" are signs of the presence of the gimokud takawanan in the living body. When a Bagobo is mortally sick and death is imminent, an attendant holds the wrist of the patient, with the index and the middle fingers at the dorsal side, and the thumb on the pulse, in order to note whether the gimokud is still there. When the pulse ceases to throb, the gimokud is ready to take leave of the body, but, since it cannot find an exit through the wrist or the finger-tips, it passes up to the head of the dying man and goes out through that point in the crown where a pulsation is apparent (probably the anterior fontanelle). Somebody lays fingers or palm of the hand on top of the head to ascertain the exact moment when gimokud takes its flight.¹⁰⁵ The cessation of heart-beat, *luginawa*, is often noted also. The signs of death are therefore three: (a) The stilling of the pulse; (b) The cessation of throbbing on the skullcap; (c) The stopping of heartbeat.

Sometimes they make efforts to detain the takawanan in the body: they seize and shake the arms of the dying man; they grasp his head and make it wag to and fro, in the hope of checking the spirit's departure; but as the sure signs of death become apparent they cease all efforts to hold the gimokud.

Summons to the living. Between the time of death and

¹⁰⁵ The Moro say that the soul enters the body through the top of the skull, and makes its exit by the same hole at death. Cf. C. H. FORBES-LINDSAY: *The Philippines under Spanish and American rules*, pp. 502—505. 1906. Perhaps the Bagobo have borrowed the idea.

burial it is still possible for the right-hand soul to communicate with the living, and this it does on a vast scale. Immediately after leaving the body, it is customary for the spirit to give notice of its last journey, and at the same time try to secure a companion, by visiting in the form of an insect every house in the world. The entire series of visits is supposed to be made during the short period — say, from twenty-four to thirty-six hours — that elapses between death and burial.¹⁰⁶ The insect enters a house and sings in a small voice that is like the chirp of a cricket, or the soft tinkling of a little bell called *korung-korung*. Nobody can see the gimokud, but at night when “the bug with the sweet voice chirps on the wall” one knows that somebody is dead. Then the person listening must say: “Who are you? my brother? my sister?” If the singing stops immediately, it is a sign that a near relative is dead, but if the sound keeps on it indicates that some other family has been bereaved.

Sometimes the chirping is interpreted as a summons to some friend or relative to follow the dead one, who asks for a fellow traveler to the lower world. Fearful of sickness and death coming upon him, the listener quickly replies: “You can come here no more because you are now going to the Great City. You have still a little love (*diluk ginawa*) for me; do not bring me sickness.” This formula is usually potent to banish the importunate spirit. It is said that when a gimokud is very insistent for a companion, a friend may die within a day or two, an example quoted being that of Adela, the Bagobo wife of a Visayan. Of her, they narrate that she caused a woman friend to die one or two days after herself, because she feared to journey alone to the lower world.

This form of spiritual manipulation is considered quite proper for a timid person or for a youth, but there is a feeling among the Bagobo that a gimokud who is strong and brave will not wait around for a friend to die, but will start alone for the Great City. A boy of fourteen, nephew of Adela, confided to me his fears of the gruesome journey.

“If a gimokud is not brave, he waits for a companion to die. I am afraid to go alone to the Great City. When I am dead, my spirit will wait near

¹⁰⁶ The body of a datu may be kept much longer, but I failed to ascertain the process of embalming that would be used.

my friend, Karlos, and will say to his spirit: 'I want you to go with me to the One City.' Then my friend will get a sickness and die, and I shall have a companion; but if he does not want to go with me, I do not force him, but I ask other friends — many."

After the burial, the ghost-bug can sing no more, for the spirit has started for Gimokudan, and can never again disturb the living by chirping at night. The gimokud is now known also as *Kayung*.

A rain lasting several days, or even a week, is a phenomenon very significant when it occurs immediately after the death of a Bagobo, for it is caused by the tears of the dead gimokud, who is lingering about, waiting for a friend to accompany him. A magical rite must then be performed to still the lamentations of the spirit. Suppose that showers fall incessantly after the death of a boy. Forthwith, his father places a few areca-nuts and betel-leaves, with perhaps a little tobacco, on the ground as an offering to the gimokud, and cajoles him with words like these: "Do not cry any more, for you know you do not love your father; you would rather go to the Great City." The spell is efficacious; the rain ceases; the gimokud stops its weeping and starts alone on the last journey. This case does not appear to be reconcilable with the belief that the soul leaves the earth for Gimokudan immediately after the funeral, for in the tropics a body cannot be kept for several days unless embalmed, while the metaphorical showers may last for a week. A Malay, however, does not think in exact dialectic, and perhaps would not be conscious of the contradiction.

Onong or travel outfit for the soul. The time required for the journey from earth down to the land of the dead, called Kilut, is variously estimated at from two days to one week. A traveling outfit, technically known as *onong*, is prepared by the friends of the deceased so that he may lack for nothing on the road. The onong includes those articles which are in constant use by the living — betel-box and lime-case, areca-nuts, buyo-leaf, tobacco (for a man), boiled rice, and other necessaries — all of which are placed in carrying-bag or basket and buried with the body.

In common with the animistic conceptions of many another primitive tribe, the belief is held by the Bagobo that it is the spiritual substratum or essence of the rice, the buyo or the tobacco, that the gimokud abstracts and enjoys, while the material element is left in the grave with the corpse. This spiritual substance is

regarded as the gimokud of the object, for, as stated in a later section, every manufactured thing has its own soul: there is a gimokud of the betel-box, a gimokud of the lime-case, a gimokud of the carrying bag, and all these go down to Kilut with the human gimokud. Only what is buried with a person can go with him to the home of the dead, although it is thought that other of his possessions may later reach him, after the material parts have been worn out and thus have lost their gimokud.

The one country of the dead. The place of the dead is variously called Kilut, Gimokudan,¹⁰⁷ the Great Country (*to Dakul Bannú*¹⁰⁸), the One Country (*to Sebád Bannú*). It lies directly below the earth, which, in the form of a flat disc or circle, rests upon it. The soul is conceived to go from the grave straight down through the earth to reach the lower world. In talking of such matters, a Bagobo will say that his kayung, or his gimokud "goes into the ground" when he dies.

On reaching Gimokudan, it is necessary to pass, first, through the City of the Black River (*Bannú ka Metum Waig*¹⁰⁹), which has also the name of Alamiawan. Here, under the direction of Mebuyan,¹¹⁰ chief priestess of the place, the soul undergoes a ceremonial lustration in the dark waters of the river, a bathing of head and joints. This process stands for naturalization in the world of spirits, and serves also to infuse a feeling of restfulness and content into the newly arrived gimokud and to dispel any lingering desire that it may have to return to earth. Failing this rite, the spirit might slip away, go back to the world and reanimate the body. The name given to this ceremonial bathing is *pamalugu* — the same term that is applied to that important function at the Ginum festival when water, applied with a bunch of plant charms, is poured over the head of the candidate. While it would be

¹⁰⁷ *Gimokud*, "souls or spirits"; *-an*, "place of, place where." The particle *-an*, used as a nominal suffix, has several meanings; sometimes it is a plural ending, *sebád pamarang; dua pamarangan*; "one ear-plug, two ear-plugs;" *sebád kalati, dua kalatián*; "one pearl disc, two pearl discs." Again, in many cases, this particle is locative, as in *Gimokudan*; and I wish to correct the footnote made by me, in the story of "Lumabat and Mebuyan," Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. 26, p. 20, which gives to this particle a plural force in the word *gimokudan*.

¹⁰⁸ *To*, "the;" *dakul*, "big, great;" *bannú*, a term variously applied to a town, a country, or the world itself, as well as to the place of the dead.

¹⁰⁹ *Ka*, particle, "of;" *metum*, "black or dark-colored;" *waig*, "water."

¹¹⁰ For the story of Mebuyan, see Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. 26, pp. 20—21. 1913.

going too far to assume that the Ginum rite is in any way typical of the final bathing in the Black River, it is fair to say that the two rites are closely analogous.

The country through which the dark river runs is said to be a good place to stay in, for the cocoanut trees grow in abundance and the areca palms are loaded with nuts; yet after the close of the lustration, the spirits pass on¹¹¹ to join the rest of the dead in Gimokudan proper, except the little children, who during their period of helplessness remain under the care of Mebuyan.

Manner of existence in Gimokudan. No radical change in manner of life is conceived to be incident upon the shift of the soul to a new country. The spirit goes on with the same occupations that fill the time of the Bagobo during life, and everything that is used on the earth may be obtained down there. Whatever a spirit lacks in his traveling outfit (*onong*) that he brought with him, he can buy down there from the supplies laid in abundance before him. He may buy a jacket or a spear or a cock; since any manufactured article that wears out, or any animal that dies, forthwith gives up its immaterial gimokud, which then passes down to supply the needs of the spirits in the Great City — a mythical situation quite in accordance with the common primitive concepts touching the souls of animals and of inanimate objects.

The same sun that shines on us by day travels around under the earth, and illuminates the world of the dead while we are in darkness, so that our day is synchronous with night in Kilut, and our night, with their day. It is during their period of darkness that all the dead are in action: the gimokud — weak, attenuated, shadowy, as they are conceived to be — work and dance and play and eat in the customary Bagobo manner; they sow and harvest rice; they dig camotes and cut sugar cane. The rice of Kilut is of immaculate whiteness, and each grain as big as a kernel of corn; the camotes are the size of a great round pot, and every stick of sugar cane is as large as the trunk of a cocoanut-palm. All night long, even until dawn, this glad existence continues.

At the rising of the sun, or just before sunrise, all of these

¹¹¹ I have not yet found mention among the Bagobo of the belief held by many pagan peninsular Malays, that there is a bridge leading into heaven, and that all souls must cross this bridge, the good alone succeeding in making the passage. Martin derives this tradition from an Iranian source. *Cf. op. cit.*, pp. 951—952.

activities come to a halt. Every gimokud plucks one of the broad leaves of a plant called *baguián*, and twists it into a vessel suggesting the form of a boat, of a like pattern to the ceremonial dishes of hemp-leaf in use at Bagobo festivals, and called by the same name, *kinudok*. Each one of the gimokud seats himself upon his individual leaf-vessel, and there sits, waiting, until the hot rays of the sun cause him to dissolve, leaving the leaf-vessel full of water. Not until our day begins, and darkness spreads over the land of the dead, does the life of the ghosts swing back into action; but as soon as the sun has passed up above the earth every gimokud resumes his personality, and takes up his work or his dance or his feasting, apparently as if no break had occurred. Then, again, the next morning, he makes a new leaf-vessel for himself from a fresh leaf (the old one having withered dry), sits down on it, and once more melts away under the sun's heat. This conception of a periodically interrupted existence would seem to imply that during twelve hours out of the twenty-four Kilut is empty of inhabitants, but it is questionable whether the Bagobo has ever made that generalization.

Fresh accretions are being added by individuals, from time to time, to the myths concerning the legendary home of the dead, though always along those lines that accepted tradition has drawn out. Dreams of the One Country, as well as phantasies incident to sickness and delirium, reveal fresh features that are deftly incorporated with the old. "My uncle," said a young girl, Igula, "was very sick, and he went down to Gimokudan. A man there asked him to stay, but he did not like to stay; he wanted to come back to earth. They have cinnamon down there — much cinnamon — and the streets are made of good boards; there is plenty of white stone too. My uncle told us about it when he came back."

Topography of the one country. The subdivisions of Gimokudan are correlated, first, with age, and second, with the manner of death. The primary grouping consists in a segregation of young children from adults. A part of the country through which the Black River runs is set apart specially for nursing infants. As narrated in an ancient tale, one of Lumabat's sisters descended into the lower world, took the name of Mebuyan, and became chief of a special section of Gimokudan, which is named for her, *Banuá Mebuyan*. Little children who die when they are still being nourished at their mothers' breasts (a long period with

Bagobo children¹¹²) go at once to Mebuyan,¹¹³ who welcomes them and gives milk to all; for not merely her breasts, but her arms and her whole body, are plentifully supplied with milk glands. Under her protection, the babies remain until they cease to be parasites and can shift for themselves, when they are sent to join their own families in the main banuá of Gimokudan.

A special region, called *Kag-būnoan*,¹¹⁴ is reserved for those who are slain by sword or spear, and it is said to be situated at some distance from the other divisions of the country of the dead. In *Kag-būnoan* there are everywhere suggestions of blood, or of death by violence; for example, all the plants are of a blood-red color, and the spiritual bodies of the inhabitants retain the scars of their wounds. All occupations, however, go on just as in the other parts of Gimokudan.

The Great Country, that is to say, Dakul Banuá proper, forms the most extensive section of Gimokudan, since it is intended for all people, good and bad, who die from disease, or from sickness in any form. Hither, too, come trooping all the children who are old enough to leave the fostering care of Mebuyan. Pale in color, or pure white, are all the plants and trees here.

¹¹² A Bagobo mother does not wean her child, but suckles it as long as it wants to come to her, even when it grows old enough to run about. There comes a day when the child, intent on play, forgets to run to the mother's breast for food. In such case, she does not call her child, but by and by gives it a little rice, and thus the change is gently accomplished.

¹¹³ Mebuyan's position in the spirit world suggests the worship of the "Great Mothers" in northern India. See W. CROOKE: *The popular religion and folk-lore of northern India*, vol. 1, pp. 111—117. 1896. Cf. "Bagobo myths." *Jour. Am. Folk-lore*, vol. 26, pp. 20—21. 1913.

¹¹⁴ From *būno*, "to thrust, to spear."

The concept that different colors characterize different localities in the land of the dead appears in the north of the Philippines, and it is found among the pagan tribes of Malaysia. In the "Relation of the Filipinas Islands," 1640, supposed to have been written by Fr. Diego de Bobadilla, occurs the following passage, referring, apparently, to both Tagal and Visayan groups: "They believed that when the soul left the body, it went to an island, where the trees, birds, waters, and all other things were black; that it passed thence to another island, where all things were of different colors; and that finally it arrived at one where everything was white." BLAIR and ROBERTSON, vol. 29, p. 283. 1905. Of the Mintera, Professor Martin writes as follows, quoting from Logan: "Als Gegensatz zum Himmel treffen wir bei den Mintera auf die Vorstellung einer 'Roten Erde' (Tanah Merah), d.h. auf ein verlassenes und elendes Land, in das die Seelen derjenigen Menschen eingehen, die eines blutigen Todes gestorben sind." *Op. cit.*, p. 953 (taken from J. R. Logan: "The Superstitions of the Mintira." *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, vol. 1, p. 326. 1847).

Idea of retribution. As a factor in the manner of life after death, the concept of retribution for behavior on earth is practically non-existent.¹¹⁵ Only one myth has come under my observation that hints at the possibility of a painful aftermath being the punishment for an evil life. This was an episode in the story of Lumabat and Wari where the foreign flavor was distinctly apparent.¹¹⁶ My question as to whether a bad Bagobo would be punished in Gimokudan brought the prompt answer, "No;" but when I asked whether a certain boy who had a reputation for small thievery would be allowed to live with the other Bagobo, they told me that there were many different towns in Gimokudan. Perhaps we may infer that the spirits may group themselves according to inclination.

Left-hand Soul or Gimokud Tebang

Diametrically opposed to the takawanan, as regards its character and its final fate, is that other soul of man, the Gimokud Tebang, which shows itself as a shadow on the left side of one's path, and appears also as the reflection in the water. This left-hand soul is hurtful to the body it inhabits, and is the direct cause of many a pain and sickness.

When a Bagobo catches sight of his reflection¹¹⁷ in a clear stream, he must look at it soberly; he must not betray any feeling of pleasure or of amusement. If he laughs at his image in the water, he will die (presumably because he has mocked his left-hand soul).

Dream exploits. It is the left-hand soul which leaves the body at night and goes flying about the world, where it encounters

¹¹⁵ According to Mr. Cole, there is among the Bagobo of Sibulán a belief in retribution. He says: "The gimokod of evil men are punished by being crowded into poor houses." *Op. cit.* p. 105.

¹¹⁶ *Cf.* Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. 26, p. 22. 1913.

¹¹⁷ Reflections in the water are held by certain other tribes in the Philippines to be of great import, being sometimes used as means of divination. The Recollect Fathers wrote, in 1624, of the inhabitants of the Calamianes and Cuyo groups: "Their priests were highly revered . . . The devil showed them what they asked from him, in water, with certain shadows or figures." BLAIR and ROBERTSON, vol. 21, p. 228. 1905. As yet, I have not seen that anybody has recorded, of other tribes, a tabu against laughing at one's reflection, or has stated that this image is, specifically, the evil soul of man. Specialized observances, however, and local variations in belief might easily develop from the suggestion of mystery and of wonder associated with a reflection in the water.

various dangers. All these adventures, with their accompanying sensations, are experienced by the Bagobo in his dreams. As a Bagobo youth explained to me: "When I dream at night, my gimokud tebang is flying and the buso is catching me, or I am falling from a cliff. I dream that I am riding on a boat and fishing in the sea. Many ships I see there that the buso are riding. They look like men with ugly faces and coarse black hair all over their bodies, and some have wings. Then I try to run away."

There is an element of real danger in these dream exploits of the left-hand soul, for it is stated that if the tebang should be caught and eaten by a buso, the human body to which it belongs must die, for the buso, having swallowed the soul, instantly goes in search of the body itself.

One startling exploit of the left-hand soul, that has become known to the Bagobo in dreams, is an attempt to reach the Great City and there join the good spirits in their pleasant home. The tebang gets as far as the City of the Black River, but there is stopped by Mebuyan, who asks, "Are you alive?" The tebang replies, "Yes, Lady," and then Mebuyan dismisses him with the words: "Go back to where you came from." Now, if the left-hand soul still persists in forcing an entrance, and tries to bathe his joints in the dark river, like the more fortunate right-hand soul, he gets wet feet and becomes very sick, and is obliged to return to earth.

Closely connected with dreams, are the delusions experienced in trance by diseased or neurotic individuals, who, on waking, describe frightful visions in graphic detail. I quote from a story given by the boy, Islao.

"There are two kinds of dreams: the tagenup and the orup. In the orup, you see nothing; you hear nothing. You will die. The Buso will kill you, if you have no companion to waken you. The orup is making noise without words. A man who wakens from orup tells about it: he says his body is heavy; all the time he hears a sound like the leaves moving in the wind, or like the noise in your ears when you swim. He sees a big man with one eye holding him; the eye looks like a great bowl in the middle of his forehead. Many men who wake up from orup say this. The big man is a buso who wants to carry him off and eat him."

Thus we have the ordinary adventure dream, called *tagenup*; and the trance or the delirium accompanying a pathological condition, called *orup*. In both cases, the left-hand soul is supposed to ab-

sent itself from the body, and to become an actor in situations that imperil the body, and that are remembered on waking.

Yet not alone in nightmare and in delusions, is a malign influence exerted over the body when this evil soul escapes from it; for other forms of suffering are connected, sympathetically, with the varied exploits of Gimokud Tebang. He swims in [the deep sea and sends shivers through the person to whom he belongs; he strikes his foot on a sharp stone and drives pains through the material foot; he drinks poison, thus causing agony in the stomach; and, by various other sorts of behavior, he brings about a corresponding condition in the body which he dominates.

Fate at death. At the moment of death, the tebang leaves the body for the last time, now to become a buso-ghost, and to join the innumerable company of buso that haunt graves and tall trees and lonely places. Now he is lonely, they say, and wants a companion to prow around with him at night, everywhere. Like the right-hand soul, he lingers about until the body is buried, in a gruesome attempt to give a summons to some living friend. Folklore tells us that the tebang wanders alone through the forests until he finds an old rotten tree, to which he puts the question: "Can you kill me?" and to this the dead tree answers, "No." Then the tebang bunts his head against the weak and hollow trunk, and instantly the old tree comes crashing to the ground. This means that somebody is going to die soon. Therefore, when one hears at night the sound of a tree cracking and breaking down, when there is no man near to fell it, one knows, straightway, that the left-head soul is thrusting his head against the trunk, for a signal to some companion. It is a sign of death.

Up to the time that the body is buried, the left-hand soul still bears his old name of tebang, but after the funeral¹¹⁸ he is called

¹¹⁸ The conception of a ghost haunting the places connected with its life activities is, of course, very widespread. In Malaysia, certain inland tribes carry this idea so far that, according to Dr. Martin, they have a regular custom of forsaking their houses after a death has occurred in them.

"Dagegen scheint es möglich, die Hantu je nach ihrer Beziehung entweder zur menschlichen Psyche oder zu Erscheinungen in der Natur in zwei Gruppen einzuteilen. Die ersteren knüpfen an die Seele des Verstorbenen an, die den Hinterbliebenen in irgend einer Form Schaden tun kann. Darum verlassen ja Senoi (und Semang) nach jedem Todesfall ihre Wohnstätte, auch wenn das Grab sich entfernt von der Hütte im Jungle befindet, oder wenn sie selbst eine Anpflanzung damit aufgeben müssen." *Op cit.*, p. 945. A like custom has found some following among the Bagobo.

burkan, or *kamatoyan*. We may speak of him as a buso-ghost, for convenience in designation, but there is now little distinction, if any, between himself and the rest of the demons. Like other buso, he digs up dead bodies, tears the flesh from the skeleton, and devours the flesh; like other buso, he stands under the house of the dying, or hovers over it, ready to drink the watery blood of the corpse, and to catch every falling drop upon a chin two spans in length. In short, it is those mental images most abhorrent to Bagobo fancy that are pressed into service for picturing the future of that spirit that throws a shadow on the left side of the path, and that looks at one strangely from the water. If this flesh-eating *kamatoyan* could be seen, the old people say, he would look just like a shadow.

"There is no way by which a *kamatoyan* can talk with us," the Bagobo assert, "because he is bad;" but he manages to make his presence felt, not only by such signs as the falling of old trees, but by other peculiar noises that are heard in darkness only. When one hears a sound of weird laughter at night, it is the *kamatoyan* calling for blood to drink. If the laughter sounds faint and far away, — *tih!* — it is actually close at hand; but if it is loud and seems near by it is really far distant, because this evil spirit deceives us. One need not be too much alarmed, however, for, like the other buso, the *kamatoyan* is seeking only the dead for food, though he may hurt the living by making them sick.

General considerations

Restoration of the dead to life. A few allusions in folklore, and one or two particular episodes in myth, give us the impression that the conception of raising a dead body to life contains no element of impossibility, but may come to pass under certain conditions, of which the following are examples.

If anyone should die in consequence of having laughed at his image in the stream, the corpse must be buried directly under the eaves of the house. By and by, life will return to the body. No doubt some little ritual would accompany the performance, but my informant gave me only the bare fact.

A magical restoration to life, brought about by a combination of circumstances, forms one episode in a story of the S'iring,¹¹⁹ the

¹¹⁹ Cf. Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. 26, pp. 51—52. 1913.

forest demon who bewilders men and carries them away. A boy is lured into the woods, and brought to his death by a fall into a ravine. A dream messenger appears to his mother and tells her what offerings to make for the life of her son. The S'iring listens to the woman's prayers, and brings the boy to life by applying chewed betel to the crushed bones of body and skull. When the devotions of the mother are satisfactorily completed, her son is restored to her. Here is involved, the coöperation of a friendly god, of a dream messenger, of the lad's mother and of the demon himself who caused the death.

A peculiar form of sickness that terminates fatally is caused by the pig-like buso called *Abuy*, but "a good medicine" is said to bring to life those struck down by this demon.

There is a hypothetical type of resurrection that involves no outside agency, but supposes a spontaneous return to the body of a soul that fails to perform the required ceremonial bathing at entrance to the lower world. The story entitled "*Lumabat and Mebuyan*"¹²⁰ says that, "This bathing (*pamalugu*) is for the purpose of making the spirits feel at home, so that they will not run away and go back to their own bodies. If the spirit could return to its body, the body would get up and be alive again."

Cult of the dead. Prayers and gifts to the dead are made at set points during the celebration of *Ginum*, notably at the function called *auas*,¹²¹ when areca-nuts on betel-leaves are offered in dishes of hemp-leaf to all the spirits in *Kilut*, both "the old *gimokud* and the new *gimokud*," with an intention of including those who have been long dead, as well as those recently deceased. In the same devotion, the *gimokud* are urged not to think at all about the festival, for there is clearly a lurking fear that the dead spirits may return and draw the living after them.

Propitiatory rites at this same great festival are addressed to all the buso who were once left-hand souls, so that they may be persuaded to do no harm to the *Bagobo*. As old Chief *Olung* explained: "All the *tigbanua* of the wood, and all the dead buso — we prepare betel for them, to keep us from being sick."¹²²

¹²⁰ Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. 26, p. 21. 1913.

¹²¹ See Part II.

¹²² The fathers of the Recollect missions in the group of islands called *Visayas* recorded, in 1624, an account of the memorial rites there celebrated for the dead.

"Each year every relative punctually celebrated the obsequies, and that was a very

Ideas of death. Young people among the Bagobo, tend to confuse mental images of the dead body that they have seen put into the grave with those of the gimokud which, they are told, "goes into the earth" in order to reach the underworld. The people in the graves are blind, the children say, but they get along because they have plenty of rice and chickens and bananas and camotes to eat. Yet an intelligent adult differentiates perfectly the tri-partite nature which tradition has assigned to man, — there is a physical body that the buso will dig up and eat after it has been put under the soil; there is a good takawanan that goes to the One Country to continue its existence in a less substantial and more highly idealized manner than on earth, although moved by like interests and like emotions to those that motivate him here, and, finally, there is an evil tebang that turns into a horrible, man-eating burkan, perpetually roaming over the earth like a prey animal, and preserving not a single tie or a single interest to bind him to the friends and activities of his mortal life.

The point of psychological interest is, that when a Bagobo talks of his own personal future existence, either as demon or as happy spirit, his attention is wholly drawn off in the direction of the special gimokud which at the moment appeals to him, to an extent that the two conceptions may be said to be mutually exclusive. Remarks like the following illustrate the point: "I shall be a buso when I die." "Everybody turns into a buso when he dies."

festive day. They gathered a great quantity of food and beverages; they commenced many joyful dances; they stuffed themselves with what was prepared, taking some to their houses, and reserving the greater portion to offer to the *divata*, and to the deceased, in the following manner. A small bamboo boat was prepared, with much care, and they filled it with fowls, flesh, eggs, fish, and rice, together with the necessary dishes. The *baylan* gave a talk or a prolix prayer, and finished by saying: 'May the dead receive that obsequy, by giving good fortune to the living'. Those present answered with great shouting and happiness. Then they loosed the little boat (sacred, as they thought), which no one touched, and whose contents they did not eat, even though they were perishing: for that they considered a great sin." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 21, p. 209. 1905.

In another Recollect document, 1624, a custom of the Calamianes is recorded which appears to show a unique attitude toward the dead: "They believed in the *humalagar* soul of an ancestor whom they summoned in their sicknesses by means of their priestesses. The priestess placed a leaf of a certain kind of palm upon the head of the sick man, and prayed that the soul would come to sit there, and grant him health . . . They celebrated the obsequies of the dead during the full moon." *Ibid.*, vol. 21, p. 228. 1905.

"When I am dead I go to the Great City." "I shall go down into the earth some day." "Suppose I am dead, and the shower lasts a week; it is because I am crying." Apparently this tendency is due to an emotional reaction, stimulated by the discussion of his own fate, so that he is unable to view the subject from all sides, as he would do in a case of general application.

Souls of animals and of manufactured objects. Not only man, but all of the larger animals,¹²³ the domestic fowls and big birds, have each two souls called, like those of people, takawan and tebang. Similarly, the right-hand soul of every horse, of every carabao, of every cat and so forth, goes down at death into the earth and thence to Gimokudan; and when a cock is killed in fight at the pit, its spirit passes down to the Great Country. As for the smaller birds, and the bees, and the centipedes, and insects in general, — to each of these there is assigned with certainty one gimokud, but only doubtfully, two. Manufactured objects, like articles of wearing apparel and weapons and tools, as well as different kinds of food, have each but a single soul, which goes down below with its owner, or after him.

The associations formed with the left-hand shadow extend to those animals which are believed to have two souls. If a native falls from his horse toward the right side, he will not be injured, because the takawan of the animal will not hurt him. On the contrary, if the accident occurs so that he falls from the left side of his horse, he is likely to get killed, not from the force of the fall, but through the instrumentality of the horse's tebang, which will try to kill him.¹²⁴

¹²³ Modigliani says of the natives of Nias that their belief in life after death for the souls of animals causes them to feed and care for aged beasts, and to pay great respect to all animals. Among the five classes of demons recognized at Nias, the *Bèchu narō danō* are the subterranean souls, or the souls of animals. "Presso molti popoli riscontrasi la credenza che gli animali abbiano un'anima che gira errante dopo la morte. Da tutti è conosciuto che i Baniani dell'India spingono il rispetto per ogni animale fino ad avere degli stabilimente ove curarli e nutrirli quando siano malati o vecchi. Nel Cambógia quando ne uccidono uno, temendo che la sua anima possa tormentarli, gli domandano perdono per il male che gli hanno fatto ed offrono sacrifici proporzionati alla forza ed alla mole dell' animale..." Un viaggio a Nias, p. 625. 1890.

All through the Malay country, we find the same attitude toward animals, but varying, from place to place, in its particular expression.

¹²⁴ For a discussion of the belief in animal, vegetable, and mineral souls among peninsular tribes, cf. W. W. SKEAT: Malay magic, pp. 52—53. 1900. Of the Senoi and Semang, Martin says: „Selbstverständlich hat . . . jedes Tier seinen Hantu, der sich unter

A Bagobo always mounts at the right side of his horse, but to what extent this motor habit is associated with the above tradition concerning the double personality of the animal, cannot be definitely stated.

TRADITIONS OF MYTHICAL ANCESTORS

Bagobo tradition records that before time began to be reckoned, before man was made, the universe was peopled by creatures that are now called monkeys¹²⁵ (*lutung*); but at that primeval period monkeys had the form of man and were in all respects human. After man appeared on the earth, the apes took on their present form. Although the line of separation between monkeys and human beings was then pretty well established, there still lingered a tendency toward metamorphosis, by which the simian groups gained an occasional recruit from the ranks of man.

At the dawn of more authentic oral tradition, there were living in the world very aged people called *mona*,¹²⁶ whose home, some say, was at the center of the earth, but others think that the ancestors of the Bagobo, even back to the *mona*, have always occupied the mountainous sites in Mindanao where their descendants live to-day. The old men were called *tuglay*, and the old women, *tuglibung*, names originally given to the first pair of ancestors, and afterward applied to all the *mona*. The god, Pamulak Manobo, who created the earth and the *mona*, was assisted by the first *tuglibung* and *tuglay* in making the plants and stones and other objects that appeared on the earth.

Umständen für das Tier an dem Menschen rächen kann." Die Inlandstämme der malayischen Halbinsel, p. 946. 1905. Mental associations not very different from these are set up with the Bagobo when a person falls from the left-hand side of his horse.

¹²⁵ Everywhere in Malay folklore, there are traditions associating men with monkeys, particularly with the gibbon of Borneo, because of its erect position in walking. For several references to traditional accounts, see W. W. SKEAT: *op. cit.*, p. 189.

The Moro say that people who neglected the opportunity of going with Noah "into a box were overtaken by the flood and providentially changed to forms that had some chance to survive. Those who took to the hills became monkeys." C. H. FORBES-LINDSAY: *The Philippines under Spanish and American rules*, p. 504. 1906.

The same thought is expressed in a Mantra creation myth, which derives their people from two white monkeys that descended to the plains, in company with their descendants, where they gradually took on human form. The others, who stayed behind in the mountains, remained monkeys. Cf. R. MARTIN: *op. cit.*, p. 979.

¹²⁶ Tales of the *Mona* will be found in *Jour. Am. Folk-lore* vol. 26, pp. 16, 21, 24-42. 1913.

There were no young people in those days, and no babies were born for a very long time. All the men were extremely poor, for this was before the days of cultural inventions. They knew not the art of weaving hemp into garments, and were accustomed to clothe themselves in *bunut*, the soft, dry sheath that envelops the trunks of cocoanut palms and can be torn off in pieces of considerable size.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ This tradition answers, unmistakably, to actual pre-cultural conditions. Pigafetta, 1519—22, makes mention of bark garments among the Visayans of Cebu. "Those girls . . . were naked except for tree cloth hanging from the waist and reaching to the knees." "First voyage around the world." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 33, p. 151. 1906. The same chronicler speaks of the Cebu men as "wearing but one piece of palm tree cloth." *Ibid.*, p. 171. The dress of the Jolo men, according to Pigafetta, was the same as that in use at Cebu. *Ibid.*, p. 109. Of the other sex, he says: "Their women are clad in tree cloth from their waist down." *Ibid.*, p. 131. Cf. Morga's mention of the use of bark cloth among the Visayans. *Op. cit.*, vol. 16, p. 11. 1904.

I quote from Blair and Robertson the graphic description given by Father Navarrete, a Dominican, of bark clothing as used in the middle of the 17th century at Kaili, in western Celebes, where he stopped on his way to Macasar. "That is the kingdom where the men and women dress only in paper; and, since it is a material which does not last long, the women are continually working at it with great industry. The material consists of the bark of a small tree, which we saw there. They beat it out with a stone into curious patterns, and make it as they desire, coarse, fine, and most fine; and they dye it in all colors. Twenty paces away, these appear like fine camelets. Much of it is taken to Manila and Macao, where I saw excellent bed-curtains made of it; in cold weather they are as good as one can desire. In the rainy season, which is the great enemy of paper, the remedy applied by those people is to undress and put one's clothes under one's arm." *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 38, p. 67. 1906.

The editor's footnote suggests the paper mulberry, *Broussonetia papyrifera*, as the "small tree" referred to. Both the size of the tree, and the susceptibility of the clothing to moisture would suggest that it was not the sheath of the cocoanut palm that was put to use in Kaili. Still, it is possible that after long-continued beating the cocoanut bast might easily become so thin as not to resist the force of rain. According to the Sarains, many different kinds of barks are used in central Celebes, according to the texture of cloth it is desired to produce.

"Zur Herstellung dienen die Rinden einer ganzen Reihe verschiedener Bäume, je nachdem man feinere oder gröbere Stoffe herzustellen wünscht. Die grübsten und rohsten sind so dick wie die Stoffe unserer Winterkleider, die feinsten so dünn und transparent wie Schweinsblase." *Reisen in Celebes*, vol. 1, p. 259. 1905. In central Celebes, where, according to these distinguished writers, the art of weaving is unknown, the clothing of the native Toradja consisted entirely of bark, until within the last half century, when foreign stuffs have been brought in by trade. The bark is put through an extended process of beating and coloring, as described in detail in the above-mentioned work, vol. 1, pp. 259—261.

In the northeast, the ancient dress of the natives of Minabassa was also of the outer bark or of the inner sheath of trees (Baumbast- oder Rindenstoffen) but now, the Sara-

The old people had rice and fruit to eat, but they lived under miserable conditions, for the low-hanging sky brooded so near the earth that nobody was able to stand upright; all were forced to keep continually a stooping posture. Worst of all, the sun blazed in the sky, and so close to the earth that the mona had to seek refuge in a deep hole from the terrible heat.¹²⁸ During the hottest part of the day, they crawled into a great pit in the ground, just as those fabulous black men¹²⁹ that live at the door of the sun are said to do this very day. Stung to exasperation at last, an old woman, while stooping to pound her rice, chid the sky for impeding her work, and straightway the sky rushed up to a great height from the earth.

After the sky went up, things were better. The people could then stand upright and walk at ease. They built houses of bamboo thatched with nipa palm, or with cogon grass. The air was cooler; plants grew in abundance, and the mountains were covered with cocoanut palms and banana plants and sugar cane. The mona had plenty to eat, except in seasons of drought, when the sun wilted the rice-plants and spoiled the bananas. Yet they were still called poor, since they had no material wealth in fine textiles, or in ornaments, and they still continued to wrap themselves in pieces of bunut as clothing.

By and by, the old people began to give birth to children. The first boy was called Malaki, and the first girl, Bia: famous names, retained in myth for brave heroes and for ladies of distinction. All the country came to be full of people, for nobody died in those days. The buso who now function as disease-bringers and death-carriers were then kindly spirits, on intimate terms with the people. It was at some later period that a quarrel is alleged to have broken out that resulted in the buso assuming a hostile attitude toward man.¹³⁰

One of the most renowned individuals of this early period was

sins state, this primitive material is rarely seen, except occasionally for work in field or forest. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 49.

A map showing the distribution of the bark girdle in Melanesia will be found in F. GRAEBNER: "Kulturkreise in Ozeania." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. 37, p. 30. 1905. A map of the distribution of bark clothing in Africa is given by B. Ankermann, in the same volume, 1, p. 62.

¹²⁸ Cf. *Jour. Am. Folk-lore*, vol. 26, pp. 16—17. 1913.

¹²⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 18—19.

¹³⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 42—43.

Lumabat, and several important episodes turn upon the achievements of himself, and of his brothers and sisters. It was at this time that several people, following the lead of a brother of Lumabat's, turned into monkeys,¹³¹ just as their mythical predecessors had done. A quarrel between Lumabat and a famous sister of his fixed the destiny of man, consigning him at death, not to heaven, but to the country below the earth. It appears that Lumabat insisted upon his sister's accompanying him in an attempt that he was about to make to reach heaven; but the girl refused to go, and, after a fight with Lumabat, she sat down on the rice mortar¹³² and caused it to sink into the earth. As she disappeared, while sitting on the mortar, she dropped handfuls of rice upon the ground, for a sign that many should go down below the earth, but that none should go up into heaven. This woman came to be known as Mebuyan, a notable character in myth, for it is she who guards the entrance to the One Country of the dead, and it is she who determines the age at which each individual shall die. Down there in Gimokudon, she shakes a lemon-tree, and the random fall of green or ripe fruit, like the blind-snipping shears of the Greek fate, Atropos, calls youth or age to the lower world. This element seems very suggestive of Aryan influence, since the tendency of pure Malay myth is to make demons and ghosts responsible for all sickness and death. Shortly after the disappearance of Mebuyan, Lumabat conducted an expedition¹³³ having for its object the gaining of an entrance to the country above the sky. A great number of his relatives went with him, but all save Lumabat himself perished in one way or another on the road. He alone succeeded in jumping between the sharp edges of the horizon, as they flew apart and locked together in rapid succession, and he alone reached heaven and became a great diwata.

The exact arrangement of the mythical chronology is somewhat hazy, and it is not clear whether it was before or after Lumabat's apotheosis that the Bagobo began to become acquainted with the cultural arts. The Tuglibung learned to weave hemp into textiles, after she had laced the warp into patterns and colored it with dyes obtained from the root of the sikarig tree, and from the leaves

¹³¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 24.

¹³² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 20.

¹³³ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 21—22.

and buds of the kinarum. She dyed thread in many colors and stitched rich embroideries, piercing the holes with a point of brass wire. The Tuglay began to cast small bells from moulds of bees-wax and to stamp fine patterns in brass and to make kamagi neck-bands from the most delicate of gold scales. The knowledge of these arts seems to have spread slowly, for Bagobo romances indicate that, while on one mountain-top the tuglay wore bark garments and knew nothing of hemp-culture, on another neighboring mountain there were mona who had the finest of textiles and the richest of ornaments.¹³⁴

Be that as it may, a golden age was dawning for those pre-historic Bagobo. The tuglay and the tuglibung, the malaki and the bia, lived in houses of gold with pillars of ivory and doors of mirrored glass. On the eaves hung linked brass chains;¹³⁵ the rattan bindings of the floor sent out flashes of forked lightning that played perpetually throughout the house. Beside their homes, were mountain lakes whose waves were pure white. All around, grew fragrant plants with flowers of gold, and the leaves on the trees were hung with little bells. Textiles of gold covered the meadows like layers of dry leaves, and the blades of grass were points of rare embroidery (*tambayang*).¹³⁶ Cocanuts and arecanuts grew in clusters at the height of a man's waist, so that one had not the labor of climbing for them. In those days, many individuals had magic power, and of many a malaki it is sung that he was *matolus*.¹³⁷ When the tuglay lacked anything, he had only to wish for it, and at once the wish was accomplished.¹³⁸ If he wanted a tall *behuka*¹³⁹ to grow in a certain place, it was there. At the summons of the bia, there came, on the instant, a wealth of ivory and gold and fine garments.¹⁴⁰ The invincible

¹³⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 35—36.

¹³⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 27.

¹³⁶ See p. 74.

¹³⁷ See p. 26, footnote.

¹³⁸ In the sagas of India, there are countless episodes where individuals or things appear magically, as soon as wished for. "He when thought of readily came to the minister." Somadeva: Kathá Sarit Ságara; tr. by C. H. Tawney, vol 1, p 282. 1880. "And when called to mind they came." *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 421. "The hermit came when thought of." *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 436. For similar Bagobo episodes, see Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. 26, pp. 32—33, 35, 36. 1913.

¹³⁹ The Visayan word for several species of rattan.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. 26, p. 36. 1913.

malaki could slay buso in countless numbers, simply by holding the sword first in his right hand, then in his left;¹⁴¹ he was invulnerable to attack, since all the weapons of his foes dissolved at the first thrust;¹⁴² he held up his spear and caused daylight to turn to darkness.¹⁴³ He flew through the air, riding on his shield or on the swift wind.¹⁴⁴ There were malaki and there were bia from whose bodies beamed rays of light so brilliant that the houses which they entered needed no torch on the dark nights.¹⁴⁵

In song and in romantic tale, even in the current talk of to-day, there is assumed to be a vital relation between beauty in personal adornment and a virtuous character. There is an ideal Bagobo, a true malaki, who is young and perfectly chaste, and who is clad in the finest of garments. In one literary passage, the high virtues of a malaki are stressed; in another, his lustrous clothing, but, throughout, there is ever a return to the one idea: that the typical malaki is pure of heart and brave of spirit, and that he is radiantly beautiful to look upon. One young Bagobo girl defined a malaki thus: "Very good man who wears very good clothes, — kerchief, jacket, trousers, all very good, — young man who has no wife." There is a word, *katubuan*, which is explained as meaning, "to do something bad and to cease to be malaki." While the characters in romantic tales (*alit*) do not always live up to the ideal meaning of their name, malaki, yet the primary content of the word is everywhere recognized.

Corresponding to the malaki, there is an ideal woman, sometimes called bia, and sometimes *daraga*,¹⁴⁶ the latter word being

¹⁴¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 28.

¹⁴² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁴³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 29, 32, 33.

¹⁴⁵ The association of radiant light with the bodies of distinguished individuals is very common in ancient Indian tales. Cf. the following passages, from Kathá Sarit Ságara, *ed. cit.* 1880—1884. "The hermit Narada is said to diffuse a halo with the radiance of his body." Cf. vol. 1, p. 162. Again, "he illuminates the whole horizon with brightness." vol. 1, p. 415. "There appeared a light inseparable from his head." Vol. 1, p. 418. "There, on a altar-platform illuminated by the great hermit Vjitasu . . . as by a second fire in human form." Vol. 2, p. 146. "And he saw that maiden near him, illuminating the wood, though it was night." Vol. 2, p. 133. "Her beauty illuminated the lower world which has not the light of the sun or of the stars." Vol. 2, p. 199.

¹⁴⁶ *Dára* is a Sanserit word, meaning "a girl." The peninsular Malay for "virgin" is *ának dára*, "child girl." See F. A. SWETENHAM: Vocabulary of the English and Malay languages, vol. 2, p. 27. 1896.

The Tagal word for girls of marriageable age, Morga wrote in 1609, was *dalaga*. It

employed when it is desired to emphasize the youth and the chastity of a girl. It is true that, in a broad sense, any unmarried woman is daraga, but in poetical use daraga has the connotation of a pure maid, a virgin. In the text of the songs, she is almost invariably referred to by some metaphorical word or phrase suggested by natural phenomena. She is called a point of very high land that the birds cannot fly up to, that even the winds may not reach, though they are crying for her; again, she is figured as the trunk of a sturdy tree that the north wind is not able to break; or she is a waterfall, dropping over steep terraces, around which the snakes make futile attempts to curl themselves. The bird, the wind, the snake — each of these represents the lover, foiled in every attempt at approach to the girl. Here is a part of the Ogan Daraga, or "Song of a Virtuous Woman." One young girl says to another: "Friend, friend, listen to the song of the kalisawa bird as it flies over the sea and is calling fifty drops of rain. It is well, my friend; we take shelter; the bulla leaf spread over our heads protects us from rain from the north and rain from the south." In the same manner, practically all of the little poems that at first sight seem to be nature songs are purely allegorical in character.

In those ancient days, metamorphosis¹⁴⁷ was an ordinary event. Many persons were turned into trees and stones and rocks, sometimes as a swift judgment upon them for presumptuous undertakings. Wari, a brother of Lumabat's, was transformed into a screech-owl for his disregard of the commands of a god.¹⁴⁸ That the tree-hornbill used to be a man, is a well-known fact; and the proof is, that if you look at the body of a hornbill, under the feathers, at some point between the neck and the wing, you will see that its skin is like the skin of man. On the other hand, the kingfisher,¹⁴⁹ as we learn from a myth, once turned into a beautiful woman. Transformations of monkeys to buso,¹⁵⁰ of a squirrel

has been noted that *l* and *r* are constantly interchangeable. Cf. BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 16, p. 129. 1904.

¹⁴⁷ For the episodes describing these transformations, see Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. 26, pp. 21, 51. 1913. Cf. H. O. BEYER: *op. cit.* The Philippine Jour. Sci., vol. 8, pp. 89—90. 1913.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. 26, p. 23. 1913.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 54.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 47.

to a malaki,¹⁵¹ even the metamorphosis of a cat's head into a cocoanut¹⁵² — all these changes are recorded by oral tradition. Over and over again, does the poor tuglay of the ulit become a great malaki; while the ill-dressed man called *basolo* turns into a splendidly-dressed malaki, and again returns to the state of a basolo, and passes through his final metamorphosis into a malaki: a series of transformations that is achieved inside of one day.¹⁵³ In the last-named cases, it is always by a change of clothes that the metamorphosis is effected;¹⁵⁴ while the squirrel, too, takes off his little coat, and the kingfisher, her feather dress, when the time is ripe for them each to take on human form. Finally, there are stories of babies that become tall in a few days by some magical acceleration of growth.¹⁵⁵

In the recitation of romantic epics and legendary songs, from which the above citations are mere gleanings, the emotional life of Bagobo men and women finds glad expression. In the picturesque phraseology of their richly-endowed dialect, they elaborate these scenes of fabulous oriental splendor with a play of fancy¹⁵⁶ that is the more extraordinary in view of the conditions under which even the better class of Bagobo actually live. In mean little huts, unfurnished, except for the presence of a loom, three fire-stones on a box of earth, and perhaps a stationary bench of bamboo, they sleep on the floor and eat with their fingers, making no attempt to add decorative touches to their homes, although they amply pos-

¹⁵¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁵² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 56.

¹⁵³ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 28, 36.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 34, 54. There are parallel Filipino legends of miraculous growth, e.g. "The new-born child ran to the church." F. GARDNER, vol. 20, p. 111. 1907.

Corresponding cases of magical development immediately after birth are recorded in Indian myth. "That girl the moment she was born . . . spoke distinctly and got up and sat down." Somadeva: *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 119. 1880.

¹⁵⁶ For illustrations of this point, see "Bagobo Myths," Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. 26, pp. 24—40. 1913. While the descriptive terms in these stories, referring to the beautiful objects possessed in those ancient days, are exact renderings of the Bagobo words, it is hard to do justice to the charm of the original. Even when a boy tells a story in broken English, he pours out a wealth of descriptive words and phrases in the Bagobo tongue for which he, of course, knows no English equivalents. In making a large collection, however, one soon becomes very familiar with the vocabulary that represents objects of wealth, for the names and the explanations of hundreds of articles, that are constantly coming for purchase, are given by Bagobo who know not a word of English.

sess the artistic skill to produce such ornamentation. Only in the decoration of objects that are worn on the person — garments, ornaments, weapons — and of tools used in the industries, does their æsthetic taste find a channel for discharge. Yet as for such a luxurious form of living as would suggest a basis for the mythical romance, it is certain that no Bagobo, at least for many generations, has come into contact with anything of the sort. It should be observed, too, that the *ulit*, which embodies all of the episodes in the legendary existence of Bagobo ancestors, is essentially different from other stories in the range of native fiction, and it points, both in character and in literary form, to an origin other than Malay. No more interesting problem could arise in connection with Bagobo culture than an attempt to trace the manner of dissemination of the peculiar elements that make up this mythical romance which has now become so intimately associated with the social life of the Bagobo, as well as with their artistic and poetic interests. In the formation of the *ulit* complex, it is not unlikely that, originally, Hindu sources were rather heavily drawn upon, though we do not yet know the precise manner of contact by means of which this borrowing took place. The Moorish increments must form a very recent, and perhaps a negligible, contribution. There is little doubt but that the component parts of the stories came to the Bagobo as a literary possession a very long time ago, and have been gradually modified by Malay tradition, and enriched by elements associated with recent tribal and with individual experiences.

An *ulit*¹⁵⁷ told me in Bagobo, by Tungkaling, son of Kaba, pictures the mythical surroundings of those old mona people at the dawn of Bagobo tradition, and I will give a part of the story here in a translation as close to the original as is consistent with clearness.

Tuglay, the very wise one, lived by a white lake. He had one hundred carabao, and horses, and seven thousand cows, and goats — all on one mountain. He made *kamagi*;¹⁵⁸ he patterned brass by stamping; he made brass finger rings. He had kept silver hidden under the ground since long

¹⁵⁷ The *ulit* is the Bagobo mythical romance, the scene of which is laid in prehistoric times; and the characters that figure in the action are the ancient mona, the malaki, the bia and several other well-marked personages.

¹⁵⁸ A type of necklace highly treasured by the Bagobo. It is a fine, flexible cord formed of small and extremely thin discs of gold that overlap slightly, after the manner of fish-scales. It is said to be of Moro make.

ago. All gold were his plants, his flowers, his sweet-smelling weeds . . . Textiles of gold covered the sharp blades of the fresh-growing meadow-grass, like a covering of dry leaves. . . . The Tuglibung decorated rattan neckbands with red dye, and she used black kinarum for coloring hemp. The posts of the house were all of ivory; the raised walk to the kitchen was made of eight guns;¹⁵⁹ all the doors were mirrors;¹⁶⁰ the wood was gold; the burden baskets were gold; the rattan bindings of the floor were flashes of lightning.

At the rim of the sky there is a bird¹⁶¹ with feathers all downy, with claws all of steel, with a beak that is a mirror, with a million scales overlapping one another. This bird looked at the town of Tuglay, and went back home no more [i. e. because the town was so beautiful].

When Tuglay wished textile to grow on the mountains, it was there. When he wanted rattan to grow, or when he wished to cut for boats the large kind of rattan, it was all ready . . . He was very rich.

¹⁵⁹ A Moro gun called *sinapang*.

¹⁶⁰ In another story, the walls are all mirrors. Cf. Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. 26, p. 27. Where the Bagobo got the visual image of a "mirrored wall" is a question. To what extent this mythical conception exists among other Malay people, I do not know, but it is to be found in Indian tales, e.g. "Its walls of precious stone were adorned all round with living pictures, on account of the reflections in them of the lovely waiting women." Somadeva: *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 199. 1884.

¹⁶¹ Perhaps this is the Minokawa bird. Cf. Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. 26, p. 19. 1913. See also p. 47 *supra*.

PART II. THE FORMAL CEREMONIAL

TYPICAL CEREMONIAL BEHAVIOR

In the conduct of the more formal religious functions of the Bagobo, there appear a number of constant elements, which may be termed normal ceremonial reactions. Peculiar factors will necessarily combine to make up the ritual complex on occasions so distinct as that of a harvest festival, on the one hand, and of a human sacrifice on the other; furthermore, a wide range of variation in the manner of performing the same identical ceremony is to be found in different Bagobo groups. Nevertheless, there are everywhere to be seen certain distinct modes of response which characterize so regularly the more important of the rites that it is proper to group such responses under the head of typical ceremonial behavior.

General Character of Ceremonial

The orthodox time for the performance of a ceremony is determined by observation of the heavenly bodies. Festivals associated with planting and reaping take place when certain constellations appear in the sky, and it is probable that there are other ceremonial dates which are calculated by the stars; while the time for the drinking festival, called Ginum, is regulated strictly by lunar phases.¹⁶²

The Bagobo have no permanent temples that function as common gathering places for religious rites. In preparation for the ceremony of Ginum, a large, well-roofed house is built for the accommodation of a great number of guests or else the house of the chief is used, temporarily, as a ceremonial house. Rice culture ceremonies are

¹⁶² Among the natives of Minahassa, in former times, all undertakings, such as sowing, reaping, making clothes, procuring salt, had to be performed at definite times, and were forbidden at other times. Cf. P. and F. SARASIN: *Reisen in Celebes*, vol. I, p. 44. 1905.

held in the homes and in the fields of individuals; still other religious rites, as, for instance, purification ceremonies and marriage, take place at the border of a river or in the bed of a shallow stream; while the rite of human sacrifice is ordinarily performed in a retired place in the forest, or on the sea-beach. But, whatever the place chosen for a ceremony, the immediate spot where the priest must stand or sit for the recitation of prayers and the offering of gifts is before an altar of recognized type — a subject which will be discussed in some detail in a later section.

The religious rites of the Bagobo are typically exoteric in character, for the ceremonial and the doctrine are the common property of the people. Not only are the young and the old of both sexes present in large numbers at practically all of the ceremonies, but set parts in any performance belong regularly to different social classes as determined by sex, by age, or by position in the family of the person giving the festival.

The distribution of the leading ritual parts is briefly as follows. Old men offer the sacred food and drink to the gods at the main altar and perform accompanying rites; they cut the ceremonial bamboo poles, and afterward, while holding the poles, recount their exploits; they make arrangements for a human sacrifice; they perform those magical rites which are associated with the carving of wooden figures and the planting of medicinal branches for the exorcism of evil spirits; they control the entire ceremonial.

The old women perform the altar rites at harvest, and make devotional recitations at certain other times; they make offerings of betel at wayside shrines to the buso and to spirits of the dead and repeat the accompanying prayers; they summon the anito and most frequently act as mediums; they direct many ceremonial details, and are often called into consultation with the old men; they exercise a general supervision over the religious behavior of the young people. Such priestly acts as the pouring of water over candidates at the bathing ceremony, the performing of a marriage rite, and the dedication to the gods of manufactured articles brought by the people, may be done by an old person of either sex who is a recognized official.

It is the duty of young men to cut and shape bamboo for ceremonial vessels; to mix the ingredients of the sacred food and cook it in bamboo joints; to assist the old men at the altar in such matters as handing utensils, clearing away dishes, and elevating the

sacrificial food and drink to a high altar-shelf; to chant antiphonal recitations called *gindaya*; to sing other songs; to carry the burden of the *agong* playing; to perform certain dances; to help the girls in preparing and in serving the general feast, and in passing around sugar cane liquor.

To the younger women and girls fall such duties as assisting the old women at the out-of-door shrines and at the harvest altar by handing them *areca-nuts* and *leaf-dishes* as needed, and in other offices of a like nature; of singing many songs other than *gindaya*; of giving some assistance on the drums and *agongs*; of performing a great number of dances; of cooking, dishing and serving the banquet; finally, of stuffing rice by the handful into the mouths of the guests, with special attention to youths of the other sex.

Young people of both sexes go out together on the first day to gather leaves for the ceremonial *leaf-dishes*; together they make *leaf-dishes*; and they prepare jointly the torches of *biáu* nuts — the boys splitting and sharpening long strips of rattan, on which the girls string the nuts. At rice-planting, all the men and boys make holes with digging-sticks, while all the women and girls drop the seed-rice.

Even small children have some parts assigned to them. During the preparatory days, they learn little dance-steps to the music of *agongs*, and one small *agong* is always played by a child; they have their special festival costumes of tiny trousers or skirts; on the last night, a small girl is sometimes deputed to remove the sprig of *bullá* from the waists of the women at a definite point in the ceremony; after a human sacrifice, the hands and feet of the victim are given to little boys, who must cut them into bits and bury the pieces.

Yet, however exact the assignment of parts, and however careful the preparation for a ceremony, the continuity of the proceedings is frequently interrupted by consultation among the old people about the manner of performance, and by anxious questioning as to whether some *tabu* is being inadvertently broken. They discuss; they gesticulate; they prompt the official who is reciting the prayers; one calls attention to some small blunder made in handling the sacred paraphernalia; another quotes a forgotten line. By no means may it be taken for granted that even to an aged and experienced Bagobo every detail of a ritual is automatically familiar. The ceremonial functionary is watched intently by several old people who

sit close to the right and to the left of him, each one ready to help, to advise, to correct, because it is well understood that even a minor omission, or a slight misstep, might result in weary months of illness, or tempt the attack of a mortal disease. For this reason, those responsible for the ceremony hold their attention at strain to secure a perfect ritual.

The dominant motive in all ceremonial is to drive sickness from the body and to prevent the approach of disease and death. This underlying intention is ever present, whatever the rite, and it is this which gives unity and coherence to many a series of ritual acts that, at first glance, appear to be strangely ill-assorted.

Fundamental Elements of Ceremonial

The type of behavior that characterizes Bagobo ceremonial is made up of a number of ritual elements, many of which are common to several of the ceremonies, and a few of which appear in practically all of them. It is only at the ceremony of Ginum that every one of these ritual elements may be observed.

Human Sacrifice. The ceremonial putting to death of a human victim is called *paghuaga*, and is demanded by Bagobo custom on specific occasions, chief among which are the following:

At the festival of Ginum, the offering of a human sacrifice was anciently an integral part of the ceremony, though at present it is possible to substitute a fowl as the victim.

After the death of a chieftain or other notable individual of the tribe, slaves are killed to provide attendants for the deceased in the country of the dead. The husband sacrifices for a dead wife, a wife for her husband. For a chief, many victims may be offered but sometimes the number is small. Two slaves were killed for Datu Ayo at his death several years ago, as related by an eyewitness of my acquaintance.

A *paghuaga* forms an important feature at the installation of a *datu*, and is occasionally an element of the marriage ceremony.

At special crises — during an epidemic, when crops fail, when drought lasts for a long period, or when other misfortune overtakes the tribe — it is thought proper to find a suitable sacrifice to appease the anger of the gods, and there is some evidence to show that petitions to the *datu* to arrange for *paghuaga* may be proffered by any individual on the plea that his life activities are being inter-

ferred with by the ghosts of relatives that will not be quieted.

In any one of the above cases, the victim is regularly a slave that has been secured by purchase or by capture; preferably, a poor, wretched slave is chosen, who, on account of some physical defect, is of little use for work.

Although this sacrificial rite is often a constituent element of Ginum, of funeral services, and so forth, yet, from another point of view, it may be regarded as a ceremonial unit by itself, and as characterized by the types of chanting, the form of altar, the ritual recitations, and several other elements that will be mentioned as common to many ceremonies. Furthermore, the special crises that may necessitate such a sacrifice do not necessarily coincide with the date of a festival, so that paghuaga may become an isolated ceremony.

Ceremonial Food. There is set before the gods for their enjoyment certain foods having a ceremonial value, chief among which are chicken meat and a rice ritually called omok, which looks red in the raw grain, but becomes dark-colored, almost black, after boiling. Grated cocoanut is mixed with the chicken and with the rice. The sacred food may never be cooked in clay jars, but invariably in vessels of bamboo. At a certain point in the ceremony, after a period during which the unseen beings are supposed to have extracted the spiritual essence¹⁶³ of the food, the material part (the "accidents," if one may borrow a theological term) is eaten by men and adolescent boys. They told me that it made them "good in the body," so that they "could not be sick." This is one of the very few privileges not enjoyed by women, who, however, eat at harvest the sacred omok, at which festival no sacrificial meat is mixed with the rice.

Ceremonial Liquor. A sacred drink, called *balabba*, which is never used outside of ceremonial occasions, is offered to the supernatural beings with an appropriate ritual, and afterward passed about to be partaken of freely by everybody present at the festival. I did not have an opportunity to observe the manufacture of *balabba*, but the process, as briefly described to me, consists of boiling sugar cane and treating the syrup thus obtained with the bark of a tree called *bogis*, the liquor being then allowed to ferment in jars for a very long time before use. It is of rather thick consistency,

¹⁶³ The Bagobo term for the essence of the food and drink that the gods enjoy is *taguriring*.

brownish in color, and extremely rich and sweet, having a flavor suggestive of molasses mingled with old rum. It is a pleasant tasting and refreshing beverage, and its intoxicating properties are not excessive. At the moment of offering to the spirits this sacred drink, the priest stirs it with a spray of fragrant manangid, and with a spoon made by twisting to the proper shape a fragment of bulla leaf. A liquor very similar to balabba, if not identical with it, functioned as the ceremonial drink of the Tagal people, in their pagan days. Bishop Aduarte makes interesting references to this use.¹⁶⁴

Betel Ritual. No ceremony is complete without an offering of betel to one, or to all, of the three classes of supernatural beings — the gods, the buso and the spirits of the dead. When the occasion is one of a high ceremony, performed before a main altar, the areca-nuts¹⁶⁵ are sliced into lengthwise sections, just as in the customary manner for chewing, and each section is laid on a betel-leaf (*buyo*)¹⁶⁶ placed in a set position. A ceremonial sifting over the nuts and leaves of lime from a bamboo tube follows, the lime having been made by the usual process of calcining certain shells to a fine powder. The areca, betel and lime are afterward chewed by old people at the altar.

Another common form of making a betel offering is that in use at a hut-shrine, when a certain number of entire (that is, unsliced) areca-nuts are placed within the shrine with an appropriate ritual, but are never afterward taken away for chewing. There are other ceremonies when entire nuts are placed in leaf-dishes (*kinüdok*)

¹⁶⁴ While working in the province of Pangasinan, in west-central Luzon, he wrote, in 1640, that "there were given up an infinite number of pieces of earthenware and a great deal of very old wine — for this is regarded as the thing consecrated to the devil; and no one dares touch or go near it except at the time of the sacrifice, and then only the minister who performs it..." Aduarte: "Historia." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 30, p. 186, 1905. A few pages further on, the kind of wine is specified: "These chiefs were the very first to cause to be brought the vessels of Quila (this is a wine which they make of sugar cane, and when it has aged for some years it has the color of our amber wine). This they esteem very highly and keep with great care, using it at their feasts in honor of their idols." *Ibid.*, vol. 30, p. 243.

¹⁶⁵ *Areca catechu* — known among foreigners as the betel-nut palm. The nuts, shaped much like olives, grow in clusters just below the leaves at the top of bare, light-colored trunks that reach a height of 40 or 50 feet. The Bagobo call the tree *mámáán* and a single nut, *mama*.

¹⁶⁶ *Buyo* — the Visayan name for the climbing plant, *Piper betel*, the leaves of which are used everywhere in the Islands for chewing with areca-nuts. The Bagobo call it *monika*. The plant is trained on sticks and grows to a height of several feet.

of hemp, since the use of hemp (*abaca*) leaves, rather than of banana, prevails for ceremonial dishes. The shape of this little vessel has some resemblance to the keel of a boat, yet I cannot affirm that this effect is consciously produced. Before I had seen the ceremony, the Bagobo who told me about the kinūdok remarked that they looked like boats. The word kinūdok, so far as I know, is not etymologically related to any of the terms for native craft.

Offerings of Manufactured Products. In addition to ceremonial gifts of food, drink and betel, the gods are honored by offerings of more intrinsic value: garments, weapons, ornaments, — new and beautiful, — all of which objects are brought in great quantities by the people, to be laid upon an altar or hung beside it, for a longer or a shorter period according to the type of altar, the occasion, and the nature of the gift. This subject will be discussed in connection with the remarks on altars in the following section. I will here simply call attention to the salient points of interest at this ceremony of laying manufactured objects before unseen beings. First, the spirit or essence of the articles is enjoyed by the gods, and, possibly, becomes their permanent property; second, the material part of the objects thus dedicated becomes hallowed to such an extent that they may never be sold, or even given away, but must always remain in the possession of the individual owners who placed them on the shrines, — unless, indeed, they are left as permanent offerings, — severe sickness being the penalty for transgression of this rule; third, there is an expectation of large returns from the slight sacrifice made, since the deities who enjoy the gifts are urged, at the same time, to help the worshippers to gain riches or, as they say, “to get things.”

Purification. The ceremonial lavation bearing the name of *pamalugu* is distinguished by several elements from bathing for purposes of pleasure or for cleanliness, either one of which washings is called *padigis*. It is on fixed occasions that *pamalugu* is performed, — notably at Ginum and at marriage, — at which times men and women are effused by the priest in a prescribed manner, the water being applied by means of a bunch of green leaves and twigs having a medicinal value. Orientations according to a set form are made by the candidates upon whom the water is poured. While the dominant intention of the rite is unquestionably that of purification, in the sense of expelling disease, the Bagobo recognize other advantages to be gained from the water and the magic greens.

They say that they make use of pamalugu to keep off sickness and to cure sickness; to drive anger from the heart; to get things and to grow rich. In other words, while every single rite has its own specific motive, yet there is a feeling, not too nicely defined, that any ceremony, properly performed, promotes in several directions the general well-being of the Bagobo.

Recitation of Ritual Words. At each of the rites thus far mentioned (that is to say, at the formal presentation before the supernatural beings of human blood, of sacred food, of ceremonial liquor, of fresh betel, of artificial products, and also during the lavations) set forms of words are uttered by the official functionary, some of which are short ritual formulæ and others are prolonged liturgical recitations. The unseen personalities are apostrophised by name; the objects offered are mentioned, or even listed, class by class; and definite petitions are put up, the burden of which is that the approach of disease may be checked, that all buso may be banished from the ceremonial, and that the protecting gods may be present to help the Bagobo.

Ceremonial Chant. An impressive element of the ceremonial is a peculiar form of chant called *gindaya*, which, in its manner of presentation, is distinctly marked off from other musical performances. I will give, first, a definition of *gindaya* offered by the Bagobo themselves, and add to that such observations as I made on different occasions. The Bagobo explain that *gindaya* is sung in a loud voice (in contradistinction to the *ogan*, a low-voiced song accompanied by the guitar); that an even number of voices — two or four or six or eight — sing against the same number; that *gindaya* is sung at Ginum, but only on those nights when *balabba* is drunk; that no young men can sing in the *gindaya* unless they take hold of the bamboo posts, or of the spears tied to the bamboo; that they lay hold of the bamboo in order to make their voices sweet-toned.

My own records verify the above statement, except that sometimes a chant of one voice is answered back by one voice, and I have not heard more than two at a time sing against another two. Often, again, the chants are given with slight volume of sound, not always in a loud voice; yet as compared to the soft singing of an *ogan*, which is much like humming, *gindaya* may be called loud, for the tones are pure and clear. In regard to the occasion, it should be noted that whenever a Bagobo wants to say that

something is peculiar to ceremonial, he always says it is done "at Ginum," that being the most important festival. Gindaya is, however, a feature of marriage and of human sacrifice, and it may be of some other ceremonies.

On the three nights that I heard the gindaya, at two celebrations of Ginum on different mountains, it was always chanted by very young men, and preferably by the sons and by the brothers' sons of the datu giving the festival. The youths who take part in gindaya sing with an arm uplifted and hand clasping a bamboo post or one of the cross-timbers. This position is mandatory and must be held until the singer is relieved by another, however long the chant. While one hand is thus raised above the head, the other holds lightly over the lips a corner of the singer's head kerchief, or an end of one of the tankulu that hangs draped from the rafters above. The obligation to keep the lips covered, however, is sometimes complied with in a somewhat perfunctory manner by merely holding the tankulu near the mouth.

The subject matter of the gindaya is in part narrative, in part descriptive, in part devotional, with many mythical allusions throughout the song or story. Of the three or four texts that I secured, the subjects include the celebration of Ginum with special reference to the activities attending the preparation, and a dialogue between two men who have met at the feast, which possibly preserves some tradition of mythical ancestors. Just as is the case with other songs of the Bagobo, and with their long romances, the impression conveyed in gindaya is of a metrical form — an effect due perhaps to the quantity observed, as well as to the slight pauses made between groups of words, and to a fairly uniform accent on the penultimate syllable. There is a tendency, also, to insert extra prefixes and suffixes, and to duplicate entire words as if to fill out the measure of the lines. In the chanting of gindaya, only a very few intervals are used (the second and the fifth predominating) and the notes are long sustained. One is reminded of the intoning of convent offices, or the singing of psalms in Gregorian tones. There is no instrumental accompaniment to gindaya.

Agong Music. Ceremonial music is furnished by the beating of the agong — a large percussion instrument of bronze,¹⁶⁷ resembling

¹⁶⁷ Professor William Campbell, of the Department of Metallurgy of Columbia University, was good enough to look at one of the little bells that are cast by the Bagobo

roughly a deep inverted pan with a bottom curving slightly to the convex and having a big knob-like protuberance at the central point. Agongs are of Chinese manufacture and are imported into the islands from Singapore in considerable numbers. The wild tribes gladly barter away their possessions for these instruments, one of which is worth, according to size, from twenty to thirty pesos. A datu or a Bagobo of wealth may own as many as twelve, twenty, or even a larger number of agongs; if he is to hold a festival, and owns only two or three instruments, he borrows as many as he needs for the occasion. The agong is the standard unit of barter in trading valuable objects, and in calculating large debts and marriage dowries.

The tool for striking is the *tap-tap*, a short wooden stick, of which the head end is coated with rubber to give the proper rebound, and covered with cloth, while the handle of many a fine tap-tap is often richly carved. Unlike the Moro, who keeps his agongs in a long frame with an individual socket for each instrument, at which frame he sits down to play, the Bagobo hangs his agongs by loops of rattan from a rod of bamboo and stands facing the convex sides of the instruments during his performance. With left thumb and index finger, he lightly grasps the central knob of the agong, or holds with his left hand the suspending strings of rattan, while his right hand wields the tap-tap. At a ceremony, some expert musician carries the melody and handles in his performance all but a few of the instruments, while his assistants on the remaining agongs have but to accompany their leader by making their strokes exactly with his, at set intervals. For example, if there are eleven agongs, the head performer plays on eight of them, and perhaps three persons — a man, a woman and a child — assist him. The leader must be a skilled artist whose training is begun in early boyhood, for they all say that years of practice are required to make a good agong player. But a man who has a feeling for music and has received the necessary edu-

from metal obtained by melting down old agongs. He informed me that the alloy was of copper and tin, with a high percentage of tin, and with the addition, possibly, of a little lead.

In Pigafetta's First Voyage around the World, 1519—22, agongs are mentioned. "These gongs are made of metal and are manufactured in ... China. They are used in those regions as we use bells and are called *aghon*."

Mr. Cole states that the agongs he saw at Sibulán were gongs of copper. *Op. cit.*, p. 102. 1913.

cation plays with wonderful ease, while at the same time he leaps from one agong to another and often executes the steps of some graceful dance in rhythm with his beat. Again, he will dance away from the agongs, tap-tap in hand, perform fancy steps, then dance back to his place and resume the strokes without the slightest break in the measure of the music, and without a check to the even swing of his dance.

When drums are present, a drum call opens each set performance, and the beating of the drums continues for a short space after the agongs cease playing.

At every ceremony where there is general dancing, agongs furnish the music, but there are times when *t'agonggo* is given without dancing, unless it be the dance of the player; such occasions, to cite an instance, as the auspicious moment of bringing in the ceremonial bamboos, when the agong performance that immediately follows is manifestly a sacred rite.

Dancing and Costumes. The dances (*sumayo*) at ceremonies do not appear to differ from those performed on ordinary social occasions. In my own house, at an evening gathering, with an audience of perhaps twenty Bagobo, dances have been performed by the youth Salimán quite as elaborate and varied as any to be observed at ceremonies. Nor are the motives different, if one may draw an inference from the names of dances, and from the steps and the series of postures of the performers. Of course, at ceremonies, there is a more definite order observed in the sequence of dances, and in the appearing of individuals one by one. The girls ordinarily take the initiative, and for some time hold the floor; again, the initial dance is given by men alone, wearing the tankulu. Soon, both women and men are dancing, each one individually, never in couples, every dancer with eyes bent downward, intent on his or her own steps and attitudes, yet a collision rarely occurring between two performers, although the space reserved is always extremely small in proportion to the number of dancers — a floor of ten by twelve feet being ample space for a score or more men and women. Many motives are drawn from nature; others from human interests, such as war and love; others have a devotional significance. Here are a few characteristic titles of dances that I have seen at different times, the explanations of which were eagerly offered, without question on my part, by Bagobo young men and girls at my side.

- "Baliti," representing the quivering of the leaves of the baliti tree;
 "Karamag to kawayan," the leaves of a bamboo swaying in the wind (danced by a man);
 "Bukason," a snake dance;
 "Tibarun," and "Manok," bird dances (performed by two women);
 "Bulayan," a descriptive dance to express fear of the Atas (performed by two girls);
 "Kulagsoy penek ka kayo," a squirrel running up the trunk of a tree (danced by one man);
 "Ug-tubë," the god-brother in the sky (a girls' dance in honor of the god-brother);
 "Salangayd," a dance for the god of that name (performed by a man).

The dancers, both men and women, wear their usual full dress costumes made from hemp and from cotton textiles, elaborately embroidered and beaded. The "magani" wear tankulu twisted about their heads, while youths who have not yet killed anybody have cotton kerchiefs woven in bright stripes and decorated with beaded and tasseled edges. Leglets and armlets of brass and of vegetable fibre are generally worn by the men, and those of the wealthier class are gorgeous in their wide, richly-beaded belts and enormous ear-plugs made of discs of pure white ivory.

Certain hair ornaments are regularly worn by women dancers, and to appear without these ornaments would be extremely bad form. One is a wooden comb in the shape of a half-moon, decorated in carved designs, with beads stuck in wax, and with heavily-beaded tassels. Another is a long brass pin called *loling*, that is run vertically into the back coil of hair. It is decorated with tufts of dyed goat's hair tipped with brilliant down from birds' plumage and tied to the pin with fine brass wire. The clusters of bright-colored goat's hair and feathers bob and wave in time with the steps of the dancer in a very effective manner. There is one essential accessory to the costume of a woman performing a ceremonial dance, and that is the wide closed scarf called *salugboy*. This scarf, worn diagonally across the right shoulder and under the left arm-pit, has the daily utility function of supporting the baby or of holding needlework and parcels; but at a festival this scarf becomes an æsthetic element that figures prominently in the dance. As she dances, the girl clasps the *salugboy* with both hands and holds it out loosely from her body, or she removes it entirely and lets it drape freely from her hands. It is a pretty sight to see her swaying her body from side to side in

rhythm with her steps, while swinging the scarf in soft waves of motion that follow the curves of her form as she turns and bends, in a series of balanced movements, to the right hand and to the left.

The Feast. Near the close of every Bagobo ceremony, or immediately following it, there is served a generous meal, which, in view of the abstemiousness of every-day fare, might properly be called a banquet. The regular festival foods, differing somewhat according to the ceremonial occasion, include roast venison, pig-fat, boiled fish, grated cocoanut and boiled white rice. At Ginum, the fish is slivered, mixed with grated cocoanut and pressed into moulds between leaves held in the palms of the hands; and at this festival the dishes are made of pieces of hemp-leaf, curved at one end and fastened by a bit of pointed rattan. The guests are served seated on the floor, and a separate dish is given to each. During the preparation of the food, nobody tastes a morsel, for the fast since the preceding meal, however long, must not be broken until the moment that all the company begin simultaneously to enjoy the feast.

Manganito. During the nights immediately preceding a great ceremony, and in some cases, as at harvest, on the night following the main ceremonial, it is customary to consult the gods through the instrumentality of a priestess, or of some other person who acts as medium.¹⁶⁸

Various Types of Altar

The Bagobo recognize several types of altar, fairly distinct in function, chief among which are the following: Tambara, Tigyama, Balekát, Sonaran, Buis, Parabunnián. Roughly grouped from the structural aspect, the above-named types include four classes of altar, which may be distinguished as: (a) Bamboo prayer-stands (*tambara*); (b) Hanging altars (*tigyama* and *balekát*); (c) Agong altars (*sonaran*); (d) Hut-shrines (*buis* and *parabunnián*).

Bamboo prayer-stands called tambara. This is a form of altar to be seen everywhere, since it functions as a family altar, as an out-of-door shrine, and in various associations with ceremonial worship of a more formal type. The tambara consists of a small

¹⁶⁸ See Part III. "Every-day forms of religious response."

bowl of heavy white crockery, supported by an upright rod of light bamboo (*balekayo*) from three and one-half to four feet in height, the rod being split down several inches from the top into four forks which are spread out and bound with rattan at the center of parting so as to form a rest for the bowl. Tied to these branching splints of the standard, one often sees slender leaves from plants that possess a magical virtue, especially those that are fragrant, and also flowering sprays called *bagebé* from the areca palm. Bands of rattan fasten the upright standard to one of the timbers of the wall, in the case of the house altar, while a tambara in use out-of-doors has its bamboo rod fixed in the ground. That the bowl is the essential part of this altar, and that it is the tambara proper should be noted, the technical name for the standard being *budūbi*. When a tambara is set up in any home, the men cut the bamboo for the budūbi and the women place the bowl. In some houses there are two bowls, each in its own standard, and occasionally there are three, side by side against the wall. To this little family shrine recourse is had in case of sickness, when areca-nuts, betel-leaf and old ornaments are placed in the bowls with a prayer to one or another of the diwata; for a bamboo prayer-stand may be dedicated to a diwata of the house, a diwata of the hearth, the personal gods of the family, or to some other protecting spirit.

This same type of altar¹⁶⁹ functions at several ceremonies, notably at the feast of Ginum, on which occasion tambara are erected at the edge of the river, or in the bed of a stream, for the devotions in connection with lustration. Other tambara are set up by the

¹⁶⁹The tambara probably represents one of the most primitive altars of the Bagobo, since it functions in such a number of distinct ceremonies. We find this type of altar mentioned in the old mythical romance recited by mountain people, as well as in stories that may be of more modern composition. Cf. *op. cit.*, Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. 26, pp. 28, 52. Jan.—March, 1913.

An altar somewhat similar in form is used by Peninsular Malays, among whom Skeat found, along the wayside, shrines where incense was burned in little stands made of bamboo rods, one end of the rod being "stuck in the ground and the other split into four or five, and then opened out and plaited with basket work so as to hold a little earth." Cf. W. W. SKEAT: *op. cit.*, p. 67. In one case, I have seen the half shell of a coconut used in place of crockery, and this may have been the ancient receptacle. The tambara is referred to by Father Gisbert in the following words: "When they are sick, they perform the *diwata* in their *tambaro*. That consists in a dish on top of a bamboo which is fixed in the ground, on which they place buyo, bonga [areca], lime, and tobacco, while they say to their god: 'We offer thee this. Give us health.'" BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 43, p. 237. 1906.

wayside; and still others in the Long House to receive offerings that have been on the agongs, and to serve as centers for ritual recitations. Tambara thus used tend to be placed singly in different spots, rather than in pairs. When a human victim is to be sacrificially slain, it is customary to set up near the place of sacrifice a tambara, where betel may be offered and prayers repeated.

It is not unlikely that in former times these bamboo stands were regularly placed at centers of special industries to insure the success of the process and the protection of the spirits. I have seen in Talun two of these bowls in their rods of bamboo standing at the foot of the bellows of a blacksmith's forge, with two old and blackened brass bracelets in the bowls, while on the left-hand side of the bellows hung a small parcel of charcoal wrapped in a bit of petati which the blacksmith called medicine (*bawi*) for the forge.

Regarding the final disposition of objects placed on the tambara, one hears statements that seem contradictory, for the same Bagobo will at one time tell you that gifts put in the bowls for the diwata must be left there always, while the next day he assures you that the offerings may be taken away after one night, but must never be sold. My own observations on Bagobo behavior wherever gifts to the gods are concerned, correlated with information given me by individuals, suggest the following explanation. Offerings made on these bamboo prayer-stands are of three classes.

a) Agricultural products, particularly areca-nuts, betel-leaf and tobacco which, once placed on the shrine, may never be removed, but are left to dry up, to decay, or to be blown away.

b) Old objects believed to have become automatically sacred on account of age, and hence are called *ikut*, — such as brass armlets, fibre leglets, little bells, small trinkets in general that may be laid in the bowls, and old spears and war-shields that are fastened to the wall or stood up near the shrine. Such objects, once offered on a tambara, belong permanently to the gods and must remain there. It would appear that such gifts are not frequently made, for the accumulation of them at any one tambara is small. Indeed, there are few Bagobo wealthy enough to be able to make pious disposition of manufactured articles that are still of material value. What I have been told of the essence or soul (*gimokud*) of manufactured objects leads me to the conclusion that when the material part has become old and useless to the owner, the spiritual part is in no whit injured, but may confidently be offered to the spirits for their enjoyment.

c) Articles of real value, which are habitually laid before the unseen beings on ceremonial occasions — newly-woven textiles, beaded garments, embroidery, fine weapons,¹⁷⁰ rich ornaments. Such offerings are hung over a tambara or beside it (the smaller ornaments being laid in the bowls) for one night only, and on the following morning returned to their respective owners. Thus hallowed, they must remain in the possession of the owner during his lifetime.¹⁷¹

Hanging Altars. *Tigyama.* In some houses there is no tambara, but in place of it there is said to be a hanging structure called *tigyama* that functions as the family shrine. This form of shrine I have not seen. According to the description given me, it consists of a white plate or large saucer, called *pingan*, suspended by rattan from some point just above the line where the wall meets the slope of the roof.¹⁷² This altar belongs to Tigyama, the spiritual protector of the family. When any member of the household is sick, they put into the dish one areca-nut and one betel-leaf, and say: "Where are you, Tigyama? I am preparing this areca-nut for you." Offerings placed in the dish for Tigyama may never be taken away.

Balekát. Another type of hanging altar in use in Bagobo households is the *balekát*. This consists of one or more piles of cups and saucers,¹⁷³ of uniform size, suspended from the timbers of the roof by strong bands of rattan which, meeting under the lowest dish, form a hammock-like brace for the entire set of sacred vessels. From the structural aspect, the *balekát* might appear like an enlarged and slightly modified *tigyama*, but functionally the *balekát* occupies a unique place in the religious life of the group, for it is not only a family shrine, but a ceremonial altar of high ritual

¹⁷⁰ There seems to be involved here an animistic principle exactly opposite to that held by the Toradja of central Celebes, who, according to Sarasin, offer to the spirits spear-points, smith's tools, etc., modeled from white wood, fearing that if the unseen beings should make use of the iron implements, they would take away the soul of the metal and render it weak and worthless." Cf. Reisen in Celebes, vol. 1, p. 230.

¹⁷¹ Unfortunately, I failed to ascertain what disposition was made of such articles after the death of the original owner. It would be an interesting point for investigation.

¹⁷² The place for the *tigyama* plates is said to be "under the *gaso*," that is to say, below the strips of light bamboo that run crosswise of the roof and form its lighter framework.

¹⁷³ It is probable that the dishes used in each of these types of altar are of Chinese importation. The Chinese have been the chief traders in the islands for a very long period, and the dishes used at shrines in the ceremonial rites of the northern islands of the archipelago, from early times, are referable to the Chinese.

significance. It is put up in honor of the all-knowing god whose name is Tolus ka Balekát, and it is before this altar, not before the tambara or tigyama, that the culminating act of the Ginum is performed. At this time an accessory element is added which heightens the ceremonial value of this altar, and temporarily extends its capacity as a receptacle for offerings. On the last day of the festival, a broad shelf of wood is swung from an elevated part of the roof by rattan hangers, in a position directly in front of the balekát. This shelf bears the name of *taguán ka balekát*, its function being to hold, for a short period, the sacrificial food and the sugar cane liquor that are offered to divine beings. This temporary retable is so closely associated with the main altar that it is not unusual to hear it called simply balekát, and whatever is placed there is said to be put on the balekát itself.

In the matter of offerings, the situation is much the same as with the tambara. One class of gifts consists of very old ornaments and weapons that are rarely offered, but, once dedicated, can never be taken back; the other class includes objects of intrinsic value and newly-made articles that are hung around the balekát for one night, particularly on ceremonial occasions, and then retained always in the possession of those who offered them. It is said that if a man should sell a tankulu that has hung on the balekát, "he would be dead," and the case is the same with other such gifts. An interesting problem is suggested as to whether the balekát was the primitive shrine of the home, and was later utilized for group festivals; or whether we should take it to be primarily a ceremonial altar and secondarily a family shrine.

Agong-altars, called Sonaran. At Ginum and at the harvest festival, a temporary altar bearing the name of *sonaran* plays an important part. It is formed by one large agong, or by several of these instruments placed together on the floor, on which is piled the rich collection of objects that are brought at the rite of Sonar, as offerings to Mandarangan and to the anito. At this function, the sugar cane liquor is ceremonially drunk, and an interview with the gods through a priestess takes place. On one occasion, however, I have seen an agong in use as the altar for the sacrificial rites that occur on the last night of the festival. All fine textiles, swords, knives and ornaments, which are heaped in ample quantities on the agong-altar, are returned, at the conclusion of a ceremony, to the individuals who brought them, to be kept always in their

possession; or, again, objects taken from the agongs may be hung for one night upon the tambara¹⁷⁴ and then returned to the owners.¹⁷⁵ They may never be sold, "because they have been on the agongs."

Hut-shrines. These include *buis*,¹⁷⁶ which I shall call "buso-houses;" and *parabunnián*, or "rice-altars."

Buis or *Buso-houses*. Little huts, three or four feet in height, of a pattern similar to Bagobo living-houses, are erected at the opening of a Ginum festival on the grounds in the immediate vicinity of the Long House. They are often placed in natural or artificial thickets, at points that command the approaches from the river and at turns of the paths leading to mountains trails — obviously strategic positions with reference to unseen foes. The *buis* has a roof, and a floor that is raised on little posts; there may be three walls, but the front is always left open. On the floor, or on the ground below, the Bagobo put areca-nuts and betel-leaf for the Tigbanuá and for the rest of the buso, and, on a particular evening, formal rites are paid to these evil beings, with the distinct intention of preventing them from breaking into the festival house and thus vitiating the good effects of the ceremony.

I am told that some Bagobo families keep little houses of this type standing continually near their homes and that they call them by the same name — *buis* — but I have seen them only at Ginum.

Parabunnián or *Rice-sowing Altars*. A hut-shrine is set up in one corner of a field on the occasion of the annual rice-sowing, for the purpose of securing a good crop through the favor of Tarabumë,

¹⁷⁴ Possibly the intention is to give the spirits a more prolonged period of enjoyment of the offerings; and there may be also a feeling that the object becomes doubly hallowed by its association with the two altars. Most of the objects, however, are returned directly from the agongs to the owners.

¹⁷⁵ It is elsewhere noted that gifts dropped into the agong containing water are not returned, but become the property of the priestess who utters an oracle at the ceremony before an agong-altar. Cf. pp. 127—128.

¹⁷⁶ In its broadest sense, the term *buis* includes all these little ceremonial huts in which offerings for unseen beings are placed; the house structure of the parabunnián being sometimes called *buis* in distinguishing this element from the magic plants, the wickets, the bowls, etc. But it is buso-houses that are regularly designated as *buis*, and it is in this stricter sense that I am here employing the term. For an account of the devotional offices performed before the *buis*, see p. 108. Hut-shrines of a similar type seem to have been in use among the early Filipino. Chirino writes that the Visayan had, as shrines, little houses with only roof and ground floor at the entrance to their villages. BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 12, p. 268. 1904.

the god of growing rice. The parabunnián¹⁷⁷ is about the size of the buis, or smaller, and often without any floor,¹⁷⁸ the offerings of betel and brass ornaments being then laid on the ground or in a little bowl. Magic plants or branches are stuck in the earth close to the house, each of which has an influence upon the growth of rice plants. Every rice-field has its own parabunnián. The areca-nuts, the betel-leaf, and the metal ornaments are left in the bowl until harvest, after which festival the bowl and metal objects are carried into the house and kept until the next rice-sowing, when the same bowl and the same ornaments are taken out to a new parabunnián. At harvest, there is put into a hut-shrine known as *voro* a small portion of rice representing the first fruits, together with areca-nuts and betel-leaf, as a thank-offering to the diwata and to certain clusters of stars; but I am not able to state definitely, from observation, whether this is a shrine distinct from the parabunnián, or whether there are two functional names for the same little house.

In addition to the devotions at the above-mentioned altars of fixed types, it is customary to make temporary shrines on the ground — close to the wayside, or under some great tree — by merely laying down areca-nuts in leaf-dishes which are arranged in a somewhat definite order. Such gifts are meant for gods, or for buso, or for the spirits of the dead, and are offered with a simple intention of preventing disease or of curing it; the unseen being for whom the gift is designed being invariably stated by the person who lays down the offering.

CEREMONIES IN DETAIL

Festival of Drinking called Ginum

Introductory Remarks. The word ginum (inum) means “a drinking,” but whether the primary association was with the drinking by the gods of the blood of the sacrifice, or the drinking by the people of the ceremonial sugar cane liquor, is not evident. Both elements now stand out clearly in consciousness. The sacrifice of a slave, a fact at present concealed in deference to the attitude of

¹⁷⁷ The root, *bünni*, means “to plant.”

¹⁷⁸ Some Bagobo use the Bila-an type of rice-altar, which has a floor.

the new government, has been one of the essential rites of the festival from remote times.

It is for the satisfaction of three of four deities, and not, as is commonly reported, for Mandarangan alone that a human victim is offered at Ginum. The worshipful meetings called *manganito* bring out the fact that the Bagobo consider both the god known as Tolus ka Balekát and the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig to be interested in the sacrifice of a man at this time. This point is mentioned in anticipation of the description of human sacrifices, because such an offering is the central act of Ginum, which gives color to the minor rites. In one sense, the ceremonies of the first three days may be regarded as leading up to the fourth day and as protective of those final ceremonies, since one of the salient objects of the preliminary rites is the warning off of demons from the Long House, lest they disturb the celebration on the last day. From another standpoint, however, it may be noted that a rite like Pamalugu (lavation) is a unit in itself, and so is the agong ceremonial. These rites are performed with motives distinct from those which permeate the peculiarly sacrificial acts of the main day. One hears the ceremonial discussed from different points of view by different Bagobo. It is stated by one that the Ginum is celebrated for the Tolus ka Balekát. This is true, particularly, of the central rites of the fourth day, where the fundamental idea is that of the bloody and the bloodless sacrifice. When Datu Oleng, however, viewed the ceremonies of the entire four days as a unit, he said: "We now have a festival because we make offerings (*tawer*)¹⁷⁹ to the gods; this year we make the Ginum to be kept from sickness and from other bad things."

Definite values are associated with the religious acts of Ginum: the gods are honored; the demons are appeased; diseases are cured; threatened sickness is averted; prosperity and increase of wealth are assured to the family giving the festival, and to all participants who share in the rites and who make gifts to the gods in the prescribed manner.¹⁸⁰

The time for the ceremony of Ginum is variable. Datu Imbal told me that it was often given soon after the sprouting of the

¹⁷⁹ *Tawer* is a Malay word signifying, "to offer the price," "to make a bargain."

¹⁸⁰ In Minahassa, sacrificial feasts are held to ward off sickness, and to prevent failure of crops, as well as to secure abundant harvests, long life, courage and other good things. Cf. P. and F. SARASIN: *Reisen in Celebes*, vol. 1, p. 44. 1905.

rice, though his own, in 1907, was held three days before the expected sprouting. I myself attended one Ginum in May (Imbal's Ginum), another in August, and I knew of another, at Bansalan, that was given in September. As a matter of fact, any one of the following times is permissible for the celebration: in January,¹⁸¹ about the time of the clearing of the fields, or soon after; one month after the sowing; a few days before the sprouting; soon after the sprouting, or when the rice plants have grown to some height.

The above dates indicate a range of months from January to September, inclusive, and possibly even through October, when this festival may properly be held. The rice is ordinarily sown in the months April, May and June, and harvested in November or December according to the date of planting. The Ginum must be held during the bright fortnight of the moon, preferably when she is new in the west, or full in the east, or at the close of her first quarter.

While any man of wealth who is able to give the ceremonial and to provide entertainment for the guests is at liberty to do so, yet the Ginum is most often conducted in the home village of a head datu who presides over a group of rancherias. A Ginum would not occur in the same village oftener than once a year, or biennially; but at one or another place in the Bagobo territory there is likely to be a Ginum every few months. If the chieftain has a large house,¹⁸² the festival would probably be given there; but on this point I have not definite information. This was the ancient Filipino usage. The regular Bagobo custom is to build a

¹⁸¹ I was told that the Ginum was often held in January, and this answers, exactly, to the time mentioned by Datu Tonkaling to Mr. Cole — "when there is plenty of rice in the granaries." *Op. cit.*, p. 111. For the ceremonial at the season of clearing the fields, see account by the same writer, pp. 85—86. See also MIGUEL DE LOARCA: "Relacion de las Yslas Filipinas." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 165. 1903. This author so characterizes a Visayan ceremonial that it appears to correspond to that of the Bagobo at clearing time. The Visayans, he says, "set apart seven days when they begin to till their fields, at which time they neither grind any rice for their food, nor do they allow any stranger, during all that time, to enter their villages, for they say that that is the time when they pray to their gods to grant them an abundant harvest." When the Ginum is held in January, the clearing rites would apparently precede it by a brief interval.

¹⁸² For the great four days of the Tagal festival, they used the large house of their chief, dividing it into three compartments; and during those four days the house was called a *simbahan* (temple). Cf. JUAN DE PLASENCIA, O.H.F.: "Customs of the Tagalogs, 1589." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 7, pp. 185—186. 1903.

special house, called *dakul balē* (big house), which is long in proportion to its width. It is also called "house with a good roof," as special care is taken to make the roof tight and secure. The whole house is strongly built, having walls of balekayo firmly bound with rattan, and a double floor of split bamboo. The roof is closely thatched with meadow-grass or with nipa. No private house is built with like care, and it would be in harmony with the character of the rites to assume that the festival house is made secure primarily to keep out those evil beings whose presence at the ceremonial is feared. The ceremonial house, which I shall call the Long House, is placed at the edge of the village, near the opening of the trail leading down the mountain. At the time of the great festival, the Long House serves also as a guest house, for the entertainment of a great number of visitors.¹⁸³

The Ginum here described was given by Datu Oleng, the distinguished chief of the native district of Talun, at his home village called Mati, situated on the summit of Mount Merar. Oleng died at an advanced age, several months after this (his last) Ginum.

Chronology of the Preparation, and of the Four Main Days of the Festival. On account of ill health, and the added infirmities of old age, Datu Oleng had retired from the exercise of the active duties of chieftainship, and his eldest son, Ido, was holding the position of executive datu. Temperamentally, he was not as well fitted as his father to plan and to organize large affairs, and somehow he failed to lay in the necessary supplies in time for the festival. This was one reason for the long delays that occurred during the preparation, and even after the formal opening. Possibly, too, there may have been another cause. Some weeks before this Ginum, I heard that the boy had been picked out for the sacrifice. Whether or not he was offered up at that time, I do not know. My arrival might easily have upset the original plan, to the extent of requiring secrecy in making the sacrifice, with

¹⁸³ In central Celebes, the ceremonial house, called *Lobo*, has a variety of functions, as enumerated by the Sarasins. "Diese Lobo's dienen verschiedenen Zwecken zugleich. Einmal sind sie der angenommene Wohnsitz der Dorfschutzgeister, Anitu, und in dieser Eigenschaft können sie als Tempel oder Geisterhäuser bezeichnet werden; dann aber werden in ihnen alle wichtigen Beratungen, Versammlungen und Festlichkeiten der Dorfbewohner abgehalten, sie dienen auch als Rathhäuser; drittens finden darin Passanten eine Unterkunft und einen Herd zum Abkochen, und damit erfüllt der Lobo auch den Dienst einer Herberge." P. and F. SARASIN: *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 216—217. 1905.

the necessary change of time, place, and so forth. Such change would have entailed the long conferences and discussions always required among Malay people when anything out of the ordinary occurs; or, if the human victim were not slain, a number of interviews with the gods must have taken place, to persuade them to accept the substitution of a cock. The utterances of the medium at the seances that I attended showed that an undercurrent of intense anxiety was accompanying the strong efforts then being made by the Bagobo to please the new American Government, and at the same time properly to pacify the ancient gods. The entire well-being of the group hung upon the punctilious performance of every rite of the Ginum, and particularly in the matter of the sacrifice. On the other hand, there would be the utmost danger if the sacrifice were discovered by us foreigners, with our inability to realize the traditional necessity for the rite. In December of the same year, when a human sacrifice was certainly offered in Talun, at which time the event was betrayed by some native anxious to put himself in good standing with the local authorities, the excitement and the strict governmental investigation that followed fully justified the earlier fears apparent in the Talun group. The Bagobo were at this time meeting a severe crisis in their tribal history.

Thus Ido's failure to secure cocoanuts and fish may not have operated as the sole cause for the delays and the apparent tendency toward procrastination in getting ready for the Ginum. The last change of date for the main ceremony, that is, from the 18th to the 19th of August, was due to religious scruples attendant upon the occurrence of an earthquake shock on the third day of the rites.

So, for one and another reason, it came about that the Ginum which was formally opened on the evening of August 14th, and normally would have closed after sunrise on the 18th, was prolonged until after the sunrise of the 20th. Yet the relative sequence of the rites was exactly preserved. There was simply an interpolation of one day, and a part of another, on which there were no ceremonies — the first interpolation being that of the twenty-four hours following the evening of the 15th; the second, of a period from sunset on the 17th until the afternoon of the 18th. These remarks are made in this introductory section in order to make clear the chronology which immediately follows.

At Talun, there were four days set apart for the Ginum cere-

monies, and each was characterized by definite ritual performances. It may possibly be that some rites are interchangeable as to days, on different years. As to that, I heard no statement; but Oleng listed the following acts as belonging to the first three days.

On the First Day, the men and women go out for abaca leaves and for areca-nuts. The First Night, called *Tig-kanayan* (the beginning), is the regular opening of the Ginum, when a very little balabba (sugar cane wine) is drunk, when t'agong-go (beating of agongs) and sumayo (dancing) begin, and when the leaf-dishes are made.

On the Second Day, the men bring back areca-nuts, and the bamboo is cut for the sekkadu (water-flasks). The Second Night is called *tu Dua Dukilum*; at this time the preliminary Awas is performed, and there is t'agong-go and sumayo (agong-beating and dancing). On this night, no balabba is drunk; no gindaya is sung.

On the Third Day, no man may work. The people wash in the river at the Pamalagu rite; the main Awas is said, and the Tanung branches are put "in the way," to keep the buso that makes men fight from coming to the Ginum.

With this preliminary explanation, I will now give the main events on the actual dates as they took place, from the day of my arrival at Talun until the close of the Ginum.

- July 25. The date first set for Ginum; the moon is full, but supplies are not laid in.
- July 26. Ido intends to start for the coast to get dried fish, cocoanuts and other supplies, but is detained on one and another pretext, and finally puts off the expedition until tomorrow.
- July 27. Ido saddles his horse, and with several men sets off late in the forenoon, but on the way down the mountain trail an accident of unlucky portent checks advance. Abok, Ido's little son, happens to give a hard knock to a chicken belonging to a Bagobo at whose house the party are stopping for refreshment, and the fowl dies as a result of the blow. Following the indication furnished by this ill omen, the entire expedition returns home.
- July 28. Ido and his men make a fresh start, with a promise that they will be back three days hence.

July 29 *et seq.* The women are finishing the weaving of choice textiles, some of which are to be ceremonially displayed at the Ginum, and others are to be made into skirts, trousers and jackets that will be worn at the dance on the last night.

August 1. Men are completing work on the Long House; they are closing in great open spaces in the walls to the east and to the west, by binding together sections of balekayo (a light bamboo) with rattan, and tying them to the house timbers. They work always in the direction prescribed for the Bagobo, that is, from north to south, when adding section to section. Datu Oleng, anxious for Ido's return, goes down the trail, with several other men, in the hope of meeting him.

August 2. Oleng and his party return, after a futile wait at Bungoyan's house, half-way down the trail.

August 3. The moon is in her last quarter, and hence the festival must now be deferred until the new moon, or even, perhaps, until the close of the first quarter, when the moon will be "big-horned." The girls finish their textiles and remove them from the looms.

In the evening, a supply of powdered lime called *apog*, for chewing with betel, is prepared. A fire is kindled under Ido's house; certain kinds of small shells are calcined and the hot shell ashes dropped into a little water.

August 4. Ido returns with supplies; he had stayed at the coast in order to be present at the great fiesta given by the Visayan *presidente*, in memory of his wife, on the first anniversary of her death. Old Miyanda, Oleng's sister, is making fresh clay pots for the Ginum. The textiles are put through a process of softening and polishing. They are then laid in clay pots to remain for thirty-six hours.

August 5—6. The work of molding the pottery continues. Under the direction of Miyanda, the textiles are washed by young girls, and hung up to dry.

August 6. At night, the God of the Bamboo (Tolus ka Kawayan) and the God of the Altar (Tolus ka Balekát) speak at an anito seance, and urge the speedy celebration of Ginum. They threaten a visitation of sickness if there be further delay. Oleng assures the gods that the Ginum shall be held when the moon is in the west. The Tolus ka Kawayan blames Oleng for not bringing a human sacrifice.

- August 7. Guests are beginning to arrive for the festival in the hope that it will be held at new moon; but there is not sufficient dried fish, and other provisions are lacking.
- August 7 *et seq.* Textiles are polished with a shell.
- August 8. The guests from Digas go home, saying that they will return in five nights. The Ginum is put off until the moon reaches her half. At night there is an interview with anito. Embroidery of festival garments is going on, and this work continues until the very last day.
- August 9. At an anito interview, the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig speaks, saying that the women are to pound rice continuously until the Ginum. Maying, Oleng's daughter, gently awakens the other women, and they pound rice all night long.
- August 10. The sound of the pestle in the big mortar never ceases all day, and we hear it all through the night.
- August 11. The women finish pounding the rice. In an interview with the anito, Oleng is told that he has the korokung¹⁸⁴ sickness, brought by the old woman at the mouth of the river. Oleng begs the anito to carry his sickness to the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig, who will strangle the sickness.
- August 12. Biáu nuts¹⁸⁵ for festival torches are strung on long sections of nap-nap (a fine rattan). A shelf, called *taguán ka sekkadú*, for the water-flasks, is put up on the porch. The roof of the Long House is being finished by the young men, who bring great bundles of meadow-grass, five or six feet in length. With much laughter and merriment, they toss the bundles to other men on the roof, who, in turn, lay them crosswise on the timbers, and make the thatch secure with long strips of laya¹⁸⁶ wood, which they place on the grass-bundles and bind down with rattan. Guests continue to arrive.
- August 13. Malik, son-in-law to Oleng, makes a capacious bed of split bamboo for the use of guests. It is like a wide shelf fastened to the east wall, at a height of three and three-fourths feet from the floor.

¹⁸⁴ *Karokung* is an illness characterized by cough, chills and fever.

¹⁸⁵ A small round nut, rich in oil. *Biáu* nuts are reserved for ceremonial illumination, the house on ordinary occasions being lighted by the *lané*, a torch of resin, wrapped in leaves.

¹⁸⁶ A variety of bamboo.

The women bring in quantities of green corn, which they carry in burden baskets on their backs.

August 14. *First day of the Ginum.* Men and women go out with burden baskets for hemp leaves, to make leaf-dishes. Ido starts for the house of Kaba, a long distance down the trail, whither he has to go for more cocoanuts. Loda goes to the same place for areca-nuts. The girls cut one another's hair in the style called *kalampa*; that is, a fringe of bangs cut into a number of sharp points, and stuck with vegetable glue to forehead and cheeks.

First night, called Tig-kanayan (The Beginning). The Gin-daya, or ceremonial chant, is formally opened by three young men: Ayang (a nephew of Oleng's), Bagyu the leper (Ayang's brother), and Saman (a step-son of Oleng's). The beating of agongs and the dancing begin. The sugar cane liquor is brought in, but on this opening night only a small amount is served. Everybody may taste it, but we are permitted to drink only sparingly. We make leaf-dishes, called *kinüdok*, in large numbers, for in them the food is to be served on the last night. The young men sharpen slender sticks of nap-nap, and with these the girls pin up the dishes. They heat slightly over flame or coals each leaf-section, deftly curl the two corners of an end, one over the other, turn up the same edge, and run it through with the pointed thong of nap-nap — a process called *tawduk ka dáin* (preparing the leaves). T'agong-go and dancing continue through the night, until near dawn. Datu Oleng says that there shall be no sleep for four nights.

August 15. *Second day.* About three hours after sunrise, nine young men go out to hew down young bamboos, and on returning they cut seventy internodal joints for the *sek-kadú*, or water-flasks, that are to be filled on the last great day. Clusters of areca-nuts are brought in for the ceremonial offices, and for the guests to chew. Miyanda fires the pots. A frame of laya wood is put up; from this the agongs are to be suspended, and on it the textiles and the tankulu are to be displayed. It consists of five smooth white rods, two of which run lengthwise of the house, and three transversely; they are tied to the large upright timbers, about six feet from the floor. Competitive racing of horses by young men takes place — possibly a mere diversion.

Second night, called Ta Dua Dukilum. The preliminary Awas is performed: arceca-nuts are placed by the wayside, with ritual words, the ceremony being conducted by old women, who make the leaf-dishes and repeat the religious formulæ. The first Tanung is performed, a ceremony at which branches of magic virtue are planted in two places by the path, in order to frustrate the evil plans of Buso. No drinking of balabba is permitted on the second night, and hence no chanting of gindaya, for gindaya is chanted only on the nights when the sugar cane wine is drunk. The beating of agongs and the dancing that were scheduled for this night are omitted, for it becomes evident that Ido will not bring back the cocoanuts in time for the banquet that was to be on the 17th. Therefore, since the celebration of the Fourth Day cannot take place on the 17th, the celebration of the Second Night is stopped, while the t'agong-go and sumayo that belong to this evening are put off until twenty-four hours later. Oleng says that we may sleep to-night.

August 16. The order of the celebration is now interrupted on account of the lack of cocoanuts. Many guests have left Mati, and, weary of the delay, have gone to their homes. Malik is putting up the *dega-dega*, a high ceremonial seat fastened to the west wall, where Oleng is to sit while observing the ceremonies that are to take place in the Long House. The young men are cutting off brushwood and clearing a path through the jungle, so that guests may find an entrance. In the afternoon, Ido returns with the cocoanuts. The celebration is taken up at the point where it was left off last night. All the evening there is agong music and dancing. At night occurs a brief interview with the anito.

August 17. *Third day.* Oleng says that on this day nobody may work. The events of the morning occur in the following order: Pamalugu, or lavations in the river; Lulub, or washing the new water-flasks; Sonar, or ceremonies at an agong-altar, of which the distinctive acts are the offering of clothing, weapons and ornaments to the gods, the medicinal washing of faces, an interview with the anito, ritual recitations, the ceremonial with balabba. Two new tambara (bamboo prayer-stands) are put up in the usual manner, and many arteicles taken from the agongs are hung beside the tambara for one night. Masses

of fragrant green kummi are brought in by young girls; this is to be worn at the waists of the women on the fourth night. Beating of agongs and dancing take place at intervals throughout the day. Two large wooden figures of men are carved, and the magic branches called *tanning* are cut and brought in for the evening ceremony. Little human figures (*tingoto*) are shaped, and leaf-dishes made, for the Awas. The ceremonies distinctive of this Third Day proceed in order until near sunset, when a halt is called because of the earthquake. The ceremonies of Awas and Tanung therefore are put off until tomorrow. At night, the anito are consulted about the earthquake.

August 18, No ceremonies may now be performed until twenty-four hours shall have elapsed after the earthquake. Young girls boil the green kummi, a process which draws out the sweet fragrance of the plant, and then they hang bunches of it from the rafters, and stick sprays in their girdles and in their skirts. More areca-nuts are brought in for the Awas.

Third night. The second Awas is celebrated late in the afternoon. At sunset, the main Tanung is performed, at which rite the wooden figures are stationed by the path and the magic branches are set out, to frighten off the demons who may try to bring sickness to the bodies, or anger to the hearts, of those present at the feast. The preliminary Awas is repeated, only because the areca-nuts and the betel-leaf that were placed by the wayside on the second night have withered during the delay. Tagong-go and sumayo proceed.

August 19. *Fourth and main day.* Agongs sound at dawn. The *balaman*, or large vessels of laya bamboo in which sugar cane wine is to be poured are made. Men cut mouths in the seventy water-flasks, and women take them to the river to fill with water. The ceremonial bamboo poles (*kawayan*) are cut, brought into the Long House, decorated and set up. The war-cry is raised. Agongs are beaten without dancing. Spears are attached upright to the two poles of bamboo. A display of textiles on the laya and the balekayo frames is made. The sugar cane liquor is brought in. A cock is shot as a sacrificial victim. The shelf of the hanging altar (*taguan ka balekát*) is put up. The sacred food — chicken, red rice and cocoanut — is prepared, and cooked in bamboo vessels.

Fourth and last night. Torehes of biáú nuts are lighted

and the war-cry is raised. Sacrificial offices over the chicken and omok, rites over two bowls of balabba, and rites with betel are performed at the altar called *balekát*. Betel is ceremonially chewed. The sacred food is deposited in two bamboo vessels, called *garong*, and elevated to the shelf of the *balekát*. A supplementary *Awas* is performed by the old women. Chanting of *Gindaya* is resumed. Festival dances are performed, accompanied by the beating of agongs. There ensues a general drinking of balabba by the entire company. Three successive periods of chanting *gindaya*, of dancing, and of *gindaya* proceed. The feast is served and eaten. There follows a recitation of exploits by the old men as they grasp the bamboos. Men and adolescent boys eat the sacred food at the altar. Drinking of sugar cane liquor and informal speeches take place. *Gindaya* is sung through the night and until one hour after sunrise.

Ceremony of *Awas*, or offerings of areca-nuts to spirits.

Among the many ritual acts which have been listed in chronological order, are several important ceremonies that have their place on the second and third nights, and on the third day of the *Ginum*: the *Awas*, the *Tanung*, the *Pamalugu*, the *Sonor*. A somewhat detailed account of these several functions will now be given, and this will be followed by a narrative of the events on the fourth and main day of the festival.

The word *awas* means, "something given to a god," "a gift to a spirit," and there are two or three ceremonies that take their name from the idea of the gift itself. The first or preliminary *Awas*, called *k'arag k'awas*, is performed on the second night, and consists in the offering of betel to certain gods, to the *buso*, and to dead *gimokud*. This ceremony seems like a private one, for few attend it besides the old women who conduct the rite, and the chief *datu*, who assists toward the end.

The second or main *Awas* occurs on the afternoon of the third day, in the *Long House*, in the presence of many people. This second *Awas* is essentially one of substitution, in which little images are laid down to receive and to hold the diseases of the *Bagobo*. The religious formulæ are said by the *datu*. Both the first and the second *Awas* are characterized by the use of very small leaf-dishes, which have the name of *kinudok* and, as aforesaid, bear some resemblance to little boats.

Finally, there is a short awas performed over a great number of extremely small leaf-dishes, with an intention not materially differing from that of the two preceding Awas. This last I shall call simply a supplementary awas. It forms an element of the ritual on the last night of Ginum.

Preliminary Awas. The preliminary Awas, though attended by few, is an extremely important ceremony, at which the offerings of areca-nuts and the accompanying devotions are directed toward the following spirits: Pamulak Manobo (creator of the world), the various buso, and the gimokud or ghosts, both those that have been long dead and those recently departed from this earth.

"We celebrate the Awas," old Datu Oleng said to me as we conversed about the Ginum, "because the earth and the sky could not have been made by man. Pamulak Manobo made the world, and made all the different kinds of men: Bagobo, American, Bila-an, Moro, Übü (Ata), Kulaman; and he made all the trees and all things that grow on the earth; this is why we prepare areca-nut — because we pray to Pamulak Manobo. As for all the Tigbanua Kayo and all the dead buso, we place areca-nut for them to keep us from being sick."

An element of pure worship may be recognized here, as of making an act of thanksgiving to Pamulak Manobo for the creation of the earth and of the things that grow on it. From this aspect, the Awas stands out rather distinctly from other Malay rites, the greater number of which are permeated by suggestions of bargaining with deity.

Several of the old women had charge of the first Awas; they made the preparation and performed the ceremony, assisted at one point only by Datu Oleng. The women were Miyanda, sister to Oleng and the leading woman of the group; Singan and Ikdë, Oleng's wives, and Sugé, a priest doctor. The only one of the younger women taking part in the rite was Sigo, the eldest of those of Oleng's daughters who were still virgin. This girl, during the devotions at the shrines, stood near to the old women while she held a branch full of thick-clustering areca-nuts, which, one by one, she plucked off and handed to the old women, or laid in a little pile ready for their use.

Shortly before sunset on the second night of Ginum, the women began to place areca-nuts in a number of small dishes — twenty-three in all — which they had made from hemp leaves during

that day. These leaf-dishes, or *kinūdok*, were of the same form as those which had been made for the feast, but were only about one-fourth as large as the banquet dishes, for they measured not over five by ten inches, some being only three inches in width and nine in length. Like the larger *kinūdok*, these ceremonial dishes were made by curving a section of hemp-leaf so that the corners of one end over-lapped, and the opposite end opened out flat. The cornucopia-shaped tip thus formed was then folded over on itself and fastened to the body of the leaf by a small stick of sharpened rattan. In these smaller vessels, the suggestion of little boats was somewhat more apparent than in the larger ones, though, as stated in a preceding paragraph, we have at present no evidence to prove that this boat-shape was produced intentionally.

In all but one or two of the leaf-dishes, the old women laid betel-leaves — one very small leaf in each dish — and upon the leaves they laid whole areca-nuts, ranging in number from one to nine. In one *kinūdok* there was a single areca-nut; two dishes had two nuts apiece; one held three, while the remaining nineteen dishes each contained from four to nine nuts. One of the women tore into fragments some of the betel-leaves that were left over, and after wrapping these fragments in small pieces of hemp-leaf, she tied them into a few tiny packages. The remaining hemp-leaves were gathered up by Singan, tied together in a bundle and left on the wide shelf (*taguán ka sekkadú*) where the seventy water-buckets stood.

When all was ready, the women picked up ten of the leaf-dishes, leaving thirteen on the stoop just outside the door, and then our little procession started from the house, to lay the offerings at four different shrines by the wayside. There were but seven of us: the four old women, the girl Sigo, Islao and myself. We turned east from the Long House, and went a short distance down the narrow path that led southeastward to the river. At a spot where great trees overhung the path, not more than three or four minutes' walk from the door-step, the women halted and sat down on their feet in the posture common to them. Crouching there on the ground, they set down beside them their ten *kinūdok*, and uttered low-voiced prayers. The faint sunset glow had blended with the soft light of a moon almost at half when they placed their offerings of areca-nuts and of buyo-leaf, just as their ancestors through long centuries had offered areca and buyo by moonlight on those mountain peaks.

Miyanda first laid several of the leaf-dishes on the left-hand side of the path; then, facing north, she summoned the god who lives at the source of all the streams.

"Malaki t'Olu k'Waig, I call you now, and ask you to speak to the Tigbanuá Balagan (Buso of the Rattan) and the Tigbanuá Kayo (Buso of the Wood), so that they will not hurt us. Give them these leaf-dishes with the betel, for themselves, because we want no sickness to come to us while we make the Ginum; and that fearful sickness that is traveling round the world — do not send it here where the Ginum is. If the sickness comes here, do not let it go from this awas to where we live; but make it stay shut up in these kinüdok, until you, Malaki t'Olu k'Waig, come to kill it. When all the Diseases that go round the world and the old bad Buso want to come to our house, make them stop here in the hemp leaves. Malaki t'Olu k'Waig, you must keep us from getting sick."

Then Singan, designating certain of the leaf-dishes, said: "Here, Tigbanuá Balagan, these are for you;" and Sugë, pointing to other of the leaf-dishes, added: "Here, Tigbanuá Kayo, these are for you; now do not come to our Ginum."¹⁸⁷

Then, turning to face the east, they placed on the ground the remaining number of the ten leaf-dishes on the right-hand side of the way, and addressed their petitions to the spirits of the dead, in order to induce them to remain in Gimokudan and not to trouble the living at the festival.

"All of you, Gimokud, we give you these areca-nuts and these betel-leaves; we ask you not to think at all about our Ginum. Old Gimokud and new Gimokud,¹⁸⁸ these nine areca-nuts are for you, one and all. We pray to you, too, all the Tagamaling and all the Tagaruso, and we offer betel to all of you while we beg you to keep away from this our Ginum."

¹⁸⁷ The same mental attitude, at the moment of laying down an offering, comes out very nicely in the following prayer of a Toradja, recorded by the missionary Kruijt, in Central Celebes: — "O Götter, die ihr auf dem Takalekadjo wohnt, ich kenne eure Anzahl nicht, aber hier ist ein Sirihprieemchen (quid of betel) und ein Stück Fuja, die ich euch gebe; denn ihr seid gross, und wir sind geringe Leute. Wir reisen dort drüben hin; macht unseren Weg gerade, gebt uns Sonnenschein, denn hier ist ein Sirihprieemchen, das ich euch gebe, und meine Nachkommen werden euch das auch geben." P. and F. SARASIN *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 235. 1905.

¹⁸⁸ Spirits of persons that have been long dead, and spirits of those recently deceased.

The function at this first place of prayer now complete, we returned to the house; and while Singan and Ikdě waited on the little porch the rest of us walked under the house, from front to back, and on down a very narrow footpath that ran for a few feet to the southeast, ending at a little thicket. Here, almost hidden in a natural growth of luago shrubbery, stood a buso-house (*buis*), and here we halted. Miyanda had brought from the house two more of the leaf-dishes, and one of them, which contained four areca-nuts, she set on the ground under the shrine, for the Buso of the Ground, with these words: "This kinūdok is for you, Tigbanua Tana." Then, placing the other leaf-vessel which held eight areca-nuts on the floor of the little house, she said: "To you, Tigbanua ka Buis,¹⁸⁹ I give these areca-nuts, and I ask you to keep us in good health all of the time."

Having returned to the porch by the same way we had followed on leaving, we stopped a moment for Miyanda to pick up two more of the leaf-dishes. Then, while the other women waited there at the house door, Miyanda, followed by myself, took her way to another buso-house that had been set up north of the Long House, at a distance from it of about twenty feet. Around the shrine had been placed thick-leaved branches of luago, kalimping and terinagum, all of which were set rather deep in the earth, so that they stood erect like a natural growth of bushes close to the little temple. On the ground below the shrine, Miyanda laid a leaf-vessel containing one areca-nut and one betel-leaf, and on the floor of the little house she put the other leaf-vessel, that had in it one betel-leaf and eight areca-nuts. At the same time, she said to the Tigbanuá of this buis a few words to the same effect as those uttered at the preceding devotions.

Thereupon, the other three old women — Singan, Ikdě and Sugě — came down the short ladder from the stoop, and brought with them the nine leaf-dishes that remained of the original twenty-three. They followed Miyanda and myself along a path that opened north-west from the last-mentioned hut-shrine, and led toward the houses of the two datu, Oleng and Ido. When we had reached a point about 108 feet¹⁹⁰ distant from the Long House, the women squatted down as before, and placed the nine leaf-dishes in order on the

¹⁸⁹ Buso of the Shrine.

¹⁹⁰ 65 paces of 20 inches each.

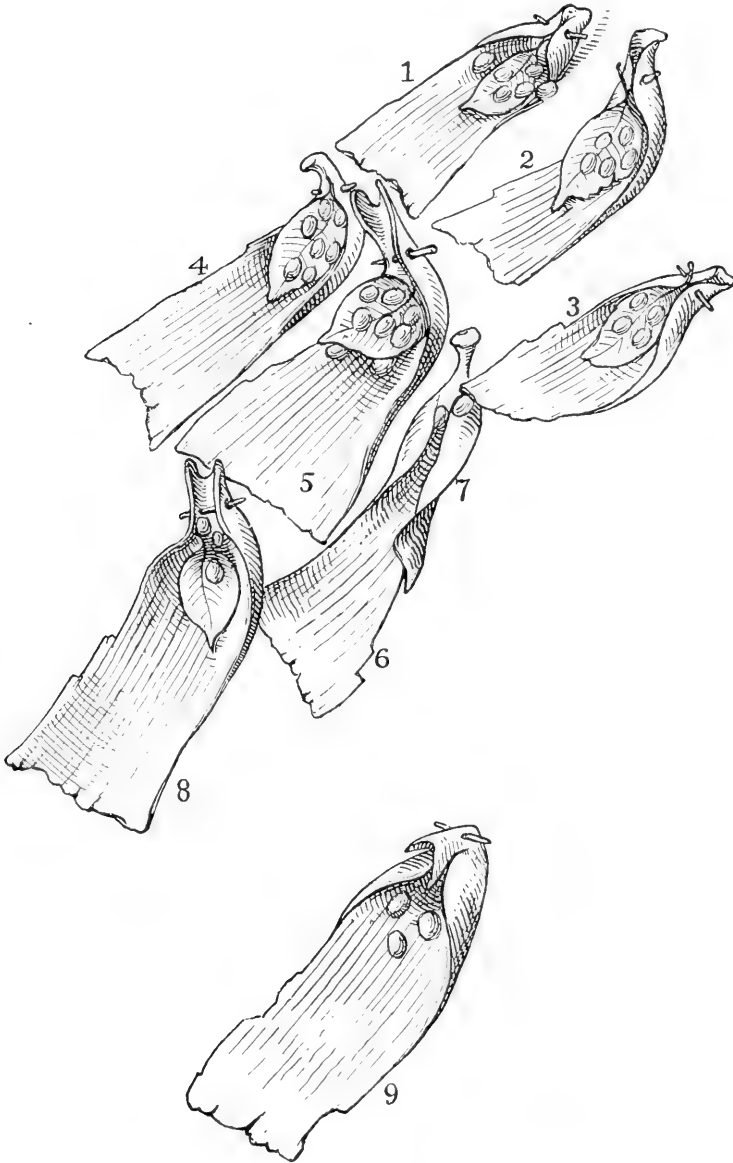


FIG. 1. — *Leaf dishes used in the rite of preliminary Awas*
Showing arrangement in order on the ground at the last station. The areca-nuts in dish No. 6 cannot be seen, as they are hidden by the curved margins of dish No. 7 upon which dish No. 6 lies. Drawn by Irwin Christman from a field sketch by the author.

right-hand side of the way. At that moment, Datu Oleng, who had just finished setting out the magic tanung belonging to another rite, overtook us and himself repeated the formula over the last nine kinüdok, thus concluding the Awas. He stood erect just back of the women and said:

"You, Tagaruso, and all you Tagamaling, and the Tagasoro that makes men dizzy, I bring this betel offering for you all; you must not keep coming to our house, because I am giving you areca-nuts to stop that. And now, Pamulak Manobo, we ask you to protect us from all the bad buso, when you see them coming to us. To you, Malaki t'Olu k'Waig, we offer prayer because you are the head of all the anito and must know all things."

The kindly spirit that these conservative old people showed in permitting a woman of another race, a new acquaintance, to take part in this private ceremony, was emphasized by many a little token of friendliness. They would take my hand as I knelt beside them, and ask me if it were not all "very good;" and once Ikdë put her arms around me and asked if people performed rites like this in America, and what would I do when I had learned all the Bagobo ceremonies and other customs.

After the final prayer we returned to the house, the old women in advance, filing along in the moonlight, followed by Oleng and myself. No further ceremonies occurred that evening.

Three days later, the preliminary Awas was repeated as a brief minor ceremony, fresh leaf-dishes being then laid down, simply because the first had become dry, and the areca-nuts had withered during the delay resulting from Ido's absence and from the ominous earthquake. I did not see this repeated ceremony, as at the same time the rite of Tanung was going on, but the words said by Miyanda over the leaf-dishes were reported to me as follows:

"You, Tigbanuá to the North, and Tigbanuá of the Rattan, and Tigbanuá of the Wood, and Tigbanuá of the Ground, I have prepared areca-nuts for you all, while praying you not to let us be hurt, for we want to have good health all of the time."

Presumably this preliminary Awas was repeated at the first station only, by the path leading to the river. Here I afterward found fourteen leaf-dishes, and their disposition was explained to me as follows. Eight had been consigned to the buso, through the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig as intermediary, and six were for the gimokud (ghosts). Of the eight kinüdok offered to the buso, two contained four areca-

nuts each; one dish held five nuts; two dishes, six each; two had each nine nuts, and one dish contained fifteen nuts. Four of the leaf-dishes belonging to the gimokud held, respectively, one, two, seven and eight nuts, and the other two kinüdok had four nuts each.

Main Awas. On the afternoon following the Pamalugu in the river, preparations were being made for the second Awas, as well as for the setting out of the Tanung branches, both of which ceremonies were scheduled for the sunset hour. Kaba had already whittled out two rough figures of wood, to be used in the Tanung, and Ido was chiding the women because they had failed to make the leaf-dishes for the Awas. Then Miyanda and Singan hastily pinned together some pieces of hemp-leaf, — enough to make nine ceremonial vessels, — and were just stacking them into a pile when Datu Oleng arrived in haste at the Long House. He appeared to be under strong emotional stress, and instantly called, in an agitated voice, for Ido and then for Singan. Immediately afterwards came Datu Yting, bringing the startling news of an earthquake shock that had occurred shortly before. It must have been a very slight shock, for none of us at the Long House had felt the tremor; but straightway all ceremonial activities were cut short. The three chiefs, with Buat and the two women, Miyanda and Singan, held an informal conference on the porch. At this deliberation the fact came out that if any Ginum ceremony is held on the same day that an earthquake shock is felt, the death of all the members of the family of the man who is giving the Ginum will certainly follow. On the other hand, the moon would be full in a few days, and, if the Ginum were deferred until after the date of full moon, it could not then be celebrated at all that month; because to hold the festival during the third or fourth lunar phases is strictly tabu. An animated discussion of the question, including many calculations and much pointing toward the moon, was summarily closed by Datu Yting, who announced that if they did not hold the culminating ceremonies within two or three nights, he, for his part, would go home without waiting for them. Now Yting's judgment was revered throughout the length and breadth of Talun, and to lose his presence at the feast was unthinkable; accordingly, it was proposed to hold the Tanung and the Awas rites on the next day, and to let the chief rites of the Ginum follow at night. The final ruling, however, placed the main ceremonial two days later than the earthquake; while the Tanung

and the Awas were arranged to be held twenty-four hours later than the time of the shock.

Accordingly, the next morning, in preparation for the main Awas, old Kaba made twenty-three little figures of men, called *tingoto*, some of which he carved from the white wood of magabdbad, and others he shaped out from its green stem. The manikins were not over one inch or one and one-half inches long. The women made the leaf-dishes; and at noon Sawad came in bringing a cluster of fresh areca-nuts, which, he said, he had gotten for the Awas. The rite was performed early in the afternoon, in the kitchen (*abu*),¹⁹¹ near the door. A large number of the Bagobo observed the ceremony. Oleng sat on the floor, the little images laid in order before him. Of the twenty-three *tingoto*, eleven were of the white wood, and twelve were of the green stem of magabdbad. Ten of the white figures were placed in a row, with one a little apart from the rest; while eleven of the green figures were laid in a row, and one green figure by itself. Oleng then said a short ritual over the twenty-three manikins.

"Now I lay you here, little *tingoto*, to make you just like slaves to us. We give you to the bad sickness and to the buso in place of our own bodies;¹⁹² and now the buso and the diseases will not hurt us, because we are offering them these *tingoto*. Let the buso think about these little human figures and not hurt us. Now all of you, little *tingoto*, you must keep us from being sick."

At the close of this recitation, Miyanda placed six areca-nuts at the feet of the ten white figures, and said:

"I pray to you, Buso, and to you, Sickness; and I lay down these little men to make you kind to us. We give you these ten figures so that our own bodies will not be hurt by disease, and we give you these areca-nuts so that you will not do harm to us."

At a later hour, the *tingoto* were taken out to a retired place under the trees to the northeast of the Long House and laid beside the narrow trail, and with the figures were placed six leaf-dishes containing areca-nuts. Near the ten white figures were

¹⁹¹ The word *abu* has two meanings: (1) kitchen, the room that contains the three fire-stones and the native hearth. In the Long House at Mati, it was the first room that one entered from the north door; (2) In a ceremonial sense, the *abu* includes the two rooms farthest north. The rites on the first and second nights of the Ginum are held in the *abu*; on the third and fourth nights, in the sonor (the whole house).

¹⁹² See Charms and Magical Rites, Part III.

laid ten areca-nuts, and near the eleven green figures, nine areca-nuts; while the odd white figure had eleven nuts beside it, and the odd green one had nine. My notes do not state the precise arrangement of the tingoto and of the leaf-dishes on the ground; but my impression is that the ten white figures and the eleven green ones lay either inside of the leaf-dishes or close to them, while the odd white figure and the odd green one lay apart at a little distance. Close beside three of the leaf-dishes, three sprays of magababab were planted, or stuck in the ground.

After the ceremony, Oleng spoke to me of the symbolism. There are ten, with one more, of the white figures and eleven, with one more, of the green figures only because it has always been the custom of the Bagobo to use that number at Ginum, for the celebration of Awas. He explained that the ten white figures are intended to hold the sickness and keep it away from us, while the eleven green figures are put there on account of the earthquake — to save us from harm. The white and the green tingoto that are kept apart from the rest represent the two horns of that great Buso deer called Náát who has one good horn and one bad horn. The white tingoto is the right antler, all of whose branches point upward and are good; but the green tingoto is the left antler, the bad one, that has one branch growing downward. Then Oleng seized my pen and made a diagrammatic sketch with a firm eager stroke, for he clearly considered this detail a vital point in the ceremony.

Ceremony of Tanung, or Magic Rites

against Buso. The distinctive elements of the rite called Tanung are two: first, the planting or sticking into the ground of a clump of branches from various vegetable growths that have a magic value; second, the placing of large wooden images,¹⁹³ as spirit scarers, at certain points near the



Long House. Like the Awas, there are two ceremonies with the same name. The first or preliminary Tanung is held on the second evening of Ginum, and the main rite at the close of the third day. The magical branches themselves are collectively called tanung, and the same

FIG. 2. — Antler of Buso deer
Diagram by Datu Oleng showing the left antler with one bad branch turning downward and another branch tending to deflect. Enlarged.

¹⁹³ Hein refers to similar usages among the wild tribes of Sarawak, where wooden

name is given to the ceremony. Other terms, interchangeable with Tanung, are Sáút and Bunsud, the last word having primarily the signification of "a post" or "setting a post in the ground." The use of *bunsud* here has reference to the pushing of the foot of the wooden image into the ground, like a post. It will be noted that both the green branches and the wooden images are intended to block the invasion of spirits of evil that attempt, regularly, to break into the ceremonial house on the occasion of a festival. A second point to be noted is that some of the magic branches are acceptable to the diseases, and are put there to make the diseases kindly to the Bagobo.

Preliminary Tanung. The preliminary Tanung was performed just after sunset on the second night. Leafy branches from a number of trees and shrubs were fixed deep in the ground at two different points: (a) at a spot directly north of the Long House, and beside the path that leads into the village; (b) at the beginning of the trail that winds down the mountain in the direction of Santa Cruz and the coast, a place near the southeast border of Mati. These branches were from the red-leaved terinagum, the sharp-pointed balekayo, and the balala — all of which act as "medicine" very salutary for the Bagobo. The specific purpose, as has been said, is to keep away the bad buso who try to come to the Long House, bringing sickness to the Bagobo, and introducing besides a form of mental stimulation that would set the men to fighting, and would drive from the house all peace and good fellowship. One of the datu went out to cut the tanung, and Oleng, with the help of his second son, Andan, made the holes in the ground and planted the branches. The tanung stood up perhaps five or six feet from the ground, one clump on each side of the path at the

figures are placed near the house to keep off epidemics. "Die Dayaks vom Sekayam stellen Holzbildnisse von 30—100 cm. Länge, Konto genannt, an die Pfosten ihrer Thüren oder an den Weg, welcher zu ihren Wohnungen führt, und die Dayaks vom Katingan thun dasselbe, um Seuchen von ihren Kampongs abzuhalten, indem sie der Meinung sind, dass die krankheitbringenden Hantu von diesen Holzstatuen abgehalten werden, bis zu den Bewohnern der Häuser selbst vorzudringen." Cf. *Die bildenden Künste bei den Dayaks auf Borneo*, pp. 31—32, 1890.

The Punan of Sarawak, according to Furness, use carved poles, instead of single figures, to scare off evil spirits, at least on certain occasions. A Punan chief had ill-luck; "wherefore to exorcise the evil spirits a great feast had been held, poles elaborately decorated with carved faces were erected to frighten away demons; . . ." *Home Life of Borneo Head hunters*, p. 179, 1902.

chosen places. This rite occurred synchronously with one of the offices of the *Awas*, and consequently I did not hear the ritual words, although we were not very far from the spot where the branches were being set out.

Main Tanung. The main *Tanung* consists in setting in a hole in the ground a large human figure of wood, which is put outside of the festival house, in the hope that *Buso*, mistaking it for a living man, will be afraid to pass by it. Two of these figures are put on station.

On the day of the earthquake, *Kaba* brought in large branches of the red-leaved *terinagum*, and the mottled green- and white-leaved *terikanga*, to be ready for the planting. Then, from a chunk of *terikanga*-wood, he fashioned two human figures nearly three feet in height, roughly cut and highly conventional in form. With his short knife he shaped out, first, a circular ridge outlining the limits between head and trunk; below that, a three-sided bust and waist; then, leaving a protruding abdominal region, he sloped off the body gradually to the base, so that it ended in a six-angled point for the feet, with no division for legs.

"This is to make the *Buso* afraid," remarked the old man gleefully, as he whittled away at the image.

The ceremony took place at sundown, when the *tanung* branches were set out in two places: on the path winding to the river, and beside the way leading to the other houses of the village. Ten different varieties of trees and shrubs were represented, each of which had a charm value so that it would be effective in producing the emotion of fear in the evil spirits. At each of the places where the *tanung* was planted, one of the human figures of wood was also placed, the leafy branches being clustered so close about the figure as almost to conceal it. *Olang* performed the ceremony, with the help of two young men who dug the holes and assisted in "planting" the figures and branches.

The first part of the rite was performed on the path leading to the river, and here the *tanung* was set out on the right-hand side of the way. When the younger men had done the manual part, *Datu Olang* turned toward the clump of magic branches enclosing the image and, facing south, made the following invocation.

"I plant this *tanung* toward the south for all you, *anito*, and for you, *Malaki t'Olu k'Waig*. I plant the *tanung* so that sickness and other harm will not come to us at *Ginum*. All of you, *anito*, we

ask you to take care of us and to protect us from the bad buso and from the things that might hurt us while we celebrate the Ginum. You, Tigbanuá Balagan¹⁹⁴ and Tigbanuá Kayo, I plant this tanung for you, and I beg you not to come to make men fight at the festival. You, too, the bad Sickness that goes all around the world, I plant this tanung for you, so that you will not hurt us, but have a kind heart for the Bagobo."

After this, we retraced our steps toward the Long House, passed by it, and went on up the path leading to the other houses in Mati. At a point not over forty or fifty feet from the house, the second part of the Tanung rite was performed, the branches being placed on the left-hand side of the way. When all was ready, Oleng turned toward the figure in its thicket of potent charms¹⁹⁵ and, while facing the north, he invoked the most dreaded of the buso, the diseases and the magic plants themselves.

"For all of you, the evil Tigbanuá, and for you, the bad Diseases, I plant this sarabak and this badbad to make you feel kindly toward us. Now you, the Tanung that we plant, Balekayo and Dalinding, watch over us and be all-knowing in respect to us.¹⁹⁶ If the Sickness approaches, or if the Buso tries to come to our Ginum, you must not let them pass by this spot, or go from here to our house."

After the ceremony, Oleng repeated to me the names of the plants that Buso fears, and that hence are used for the Tanung: *sarabak*, *kapalili*, *terikanga*, *ramit*, *dalinding*, *balala*, *balekayo*, *badbad*. "There should be ten names," the old man said, "but I can now remember only eight of them." One of the plants that he had momentarily forgotten must have been *terinagum*, branches of which were brought in by Kaba for the ceremony. "Long ago," added Oleng, "the old men told the Bagobo to plant the branches for the Tanung ceremony, and that is why we do it now."

¹⁹⁴ Tigbanuá Balagan is the Buso of the Rattan, and Tigbanuá Kayo is the Buso of the Forest.

¹⁹⁵ Thickets consecrated to spirits, as well as groves and reserved places in the forest, are frequently mentioned by the Recollects and by other missionaries as elements associated with the ancient worship of the Filipino. Cf. Bolinao's sketch of religious customs in Zambales and Marivelez. BLANK and ROBERTSON: *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 21, pp. 144—146, 270, 272, 276—277, 282. 1905. Some of these thickets may possibly have been buso-scarers, rather than consecrated places.

¹⁹⁶ See pp. 27—28.

Ceremony of Pamalugu, or purification. The Pamalugu, or ceremonial washing in the river, takes place on the third day of Ginum — the day preceding that on which the culminating rites occur.

The time set for going down to the river was an hour after sunrise, or thereabouts, but it was considerably later — eight o'clock or eight-thirty — when the party started from the house. During the wait, the men beat agongs and chewed betel as usual, while the girls sewed and embroidered on festival garments that were yet unfinished. The sun, showing dimly from behind masses of clouds, was more than two hours high when the priestess, Singan, came in from the woods where she had been gathering the various kinds of plant-medicines required for the ceremonial. She carried a large bundle of small green plants, freshly cut, together with bunches and sprays plucked from large vegetable growths and from certain trees, all of which green things she had laid in a piece of sheath torn from the areca-palm, a material which forms the regular wrapping-paper of the wild tribes.

Here are the native names of a number of the varieties of plants in Singan's bundle: *bagebĕ*, *sarabak*, *dalinding*, *tarinagum*, *maga-budbud*, *urag*, *lambingbaying*, *badbad*, *uliuli*, *manangid*, *balintudug*, *lawáád*, *kapalili*, *bawing*.¹⁹⁷ Singan divided the green bouquet into two equal parts, carefully placing upon another piece of areca-palm sheath one spray or plant of each kind. When she finished, she had two green piles of fairly uniform size, which she made into two bunches and tied with a strong, fibrous string of areca. One of the boys tore off the narrow strips from a section of sheath, and handed them to Singan as she needed them.

One element of the collection of greens was kept apart from the rest — a single branch of areca palm that had just burst from its enveloping sheath at the top of the trunk, and was full of clusters of tiny white blossoms and pale green sprays of undeveloped leaves. This branch, called *bagebĕ*,¹⁹⁸ Singan preserved almost intact, only breaking off one or two little sprays to add to the two bunches already made up.

¹⁹⁷ An extensive list of the various leaves used to make up the medicinal bouquet with which the rice-paste (*Tepong Tawar*) is applied, is given in SKERT: *op. cit.*, pp. 77—80.

¹⁹⁸ *Bagebĕ* is the word for the flowers and leaf-buds of the areca palm in the earliest stages of development. The blossoms just forming, are pure white, and the leaf-buds range from white to pale green at the moment of the bursting of the enveloping sheath. The same name is sometimes applied to this flowering axis when mature.

When the magic greens, known as *sagmo*, were ready, the priestess sat holding them all, while the people gathered for the walk to the river. Presently Ido said, "Panoydun" (Let us go), and Singan glanced swiftly at Datu Oleng, who at once gave her a signal to make the start. Then, with Singan well in advance, leading the way, we all set out. Singan was closely followed by Salimán, pale and emaciated from his long illness, and by two of the little children. At a short distance behind, Oleng led all the other people who were to be partakers of the rite. I was directly behind Oleng; then came Buat; then Salí, Oleng's elder brother, a very aged man; then other members of the family: Ido, Inok (Oleng's third son), Sigo with her girl-cousin Odik, Miyanda, and a long line of Oleng's sons, nephews and grandchildren, with a number of friends and guests.

The people, for the most part, wore their every-day clothes — Oleng, his customary blue cotton jacket and hemp trousers of a dull claret color, his well-worn tankulu bound round his head; the women went down dressed just as on an ordinary working day; many of the men wore trousers only, and plain ones at that. Ido alone had dressed for the occasion in a splendid pair of festival trousers made by his Bila-an wife, who had decorated them richly with embroidery of fine needle-work and appliqué, and with figures done in small mother-of-pearl discs.

After a climb of perhaps twenty minutes down a bank that, for a part of the distance, was steep and slippery, we found ourselves at the bottom of a sharply V-shaped valley, where the grade of the stream's bed was slight and the stream ran shallow and was not over ten or twelve feet in width. As the bed of the river widened out, it was full of great stones and boulders that told of the work of a young and vigorous stream which, during violent storms, had rolled the boulders down the steeper grades, but in this more level place had become overloaded with stones and debris and was reduced to a mere brook. Here and there, where the shallow current had become blocked, there were little pools hedged in by slippery white boulders, and in other places there were flat stones with their tops fairly above the surface of the water, and convenient to stand on.

They consulted together as to the exact spot for the ceremony, whereupon Oleng seated himself on one of the stony resting-places, while the boys and younger men busied themselves in clearing a

freer passage for the stream by pulling out vegetable growths and scooping up handfuls of pebbles. Then followed the preliminary rites.

Singan laid her bunch of leafy medicine upon the ground, and began to place the areca-nuts and the betel-leaves, as she took them from her little basket, in several spots that served as temporary shrines. At the same time she uttered the appropriate prayers. The placing of the betel for the gods, with ritual words, is called *garub-dan*.

First the priestess laid an areca-nut on its betel-leaf in the water at her feet, and said: "Tigbanuá of the water, this betel-nut I am laying here for you, to appease you. And you, Tigyama our protector, I beg you to keep away from us the sickness, for you care for the living."

Singan next put one areca-nut and one betel-leaf on a large stone, with these words: "You, Tigbanuá of the stone, are now to have this areca-nut for yourself, while we are engaged in the Pamalugu. From early times the Bagobo have celebrated the Ginum, year by year, and we beg you not to listen if the children have a good time and make a noise. See, I fix the betel for you."

The woman then stepped from one to another of the stones in the river-bed, until she found a good place on the east bank, that is, on the side opposite to the slope down which we had come. There, on a boulder, she laid one areca-nut with a betel-leaf and addressed the Buso haunting that bank. "You, Tigbanuá of the other side of the river, here is an areca-nut for you; it is to keep you from being angry with us that we fix the betel. And you, Malaki t'Olu k'Waig, who live at the source of all the streams, protect us with your tidalan (spear shaft) from the bad Disease that is going round the world."

Then Singan made her way over one and another boulder, along the bed of the stream for some little distance to the north. She moved cautiously, for the stepping-places were slippery and she was frail and weak. On reaching a certain spot, she bent down and said, as she dropped an areca-nut with its betel-leaf into the stream: "Water that lies to the north, this is your betel; and I beg from you this favor while we celebrate the Ginum, that you will not take any notice of the merry noise of the people."¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ The idea is that the evil spirits which inhabit the water, on hearing the merriment, may come to hurt the people at the feast.

Having moved toward the slope leading up to the village, the priestess then faced the west, laid down on a stone one nut in its leaf and, speaking very slowly, addressed the Buso of the Rattan.²⁰⁰ "To you, Tigbanuá Balagan, I give this areca-nut, for now, as every year, we hold a festival for the ancient balekát. We beg you not to send sickness upon us, and we want you to tell all of your friends not to hurt us. It is with areca and with betel that we ask from you this favor."

After this, she turned to face the south and, laying a nut and a leaf on a stone as before, she spoke first to the buso, and then to that glorious and divine malaki who dwells at the never-failing spring of all the waters. "To you, Tigbanuá, I offer this areca-nut, and I pray to you all, to move you to be kind to us. Take this, and do not make us sick while we celebrate the Ginum. You, Malaki t'Olu k'Waig, keep us by your power from illness and from stormy weather, for you are the all-wise (*matulus*) Anito."

Before the ceremony, a very small shrine had been set up on the western border of the stream, having the usual white bowl wedged into a rod of split balekayo; toward this tambara the priestess now turned and laid in the bowl one areca-nut and one betel-leaf. Having done this, she took up her bundle of green sagmo (the medicine plants) and handed to the girl, Sigo, the branch of blossoming sprays from the betel palm that had been kept entire. Without speaking, the young virgin placed the branch in her girdle or within the waist folds of her panapisan. Singan then laid in the water — one at each end of that section of the stream that had been set apart for the purification — a young plant or a leafy cluster selected from the sagmo, and placed one spray of bagebē on the little shrine.

At that moment Oleng, who up to this point had remained seated, rose and called Singan's name. The priestess turned to him and Oleng

²⁰⁰ Similarly, on the Peninsula, "the annual bathing expeditions . . . are supposed to purify the persons of the bathers and to protect them from evil." W. W. SKEAT: *op. cit.*, p. 21. Ceremonies of purification having the special intention of driving away demons are mentioned in Somadeva's stories; e. g.: "Then he bathed in the Vitasta and worshiped Ganesa . . . and performed the ceremony of averting evil spirits from all quarters by waving the hand round the head and other ceremonies." *Op. cit.*, p. 197. Cf. the Iranian ceremony in which an offering is made to the water itself. "He offered the sacrifice to the good waters of the good Daitya." J. DARMESTETER (tr.): "The Vendidad." Sacred books of the East, vol. 4, p. 210. 1895.

spoke one word, "Sakan" (I, myself). Then, with slow steps and an attitude in which high dignity and a reverential sense of his sacred office were peculiarly blended, the old man advanced to the edge of the water and, in a clear voice, summoned the gods dear to the Bagobo — the beloved Tigyama, protector of man, and Pamulak Manobo, creator of all nature. It was an impressive moment when the aged chief stood there, alone, still, beside a massive boulder, in the silence of the mountains with the cool refreshment of morning touching the air, his children and grandchildren grouped, in perfect hush, upon the banks. Feeble and spent, he yet stood erect, and strong in spirit, his face expressing a grave sweetness and purity, as he called upon the ancient gods of the tribe.

"Where are you, Tigyama? and where are you, Pamulak Manobo? Come near to us for a little time, while I perform the ceremony of Pamalugu; while I pour water over the men and over the women, to keep them in health and strength. This prayer and this Pamalugu I offer, begging you to remove from our bodies the evil sickness. Show your love for us; keep us from disease during the festival of Ginum, and make us well all of the time."

As soon as Oleng ceased speaking, his wife, Singan, stepped down into the bed of the stream and stood in the shallow water, with the two bunches of medicine in her arms. The people had dispersed themselves informally, and were sitting about on the great stones, waiting for their turns. Five young men, sons of Datu Oleng, were the first to present themselves for the rite. They went down together and stood before Singan in the water, or sat on the stones on the west side of the stream. Those who had the tutub or tan-kulu on their heads removed it, so that their black hair, long and luxuriant, hung down over their shoulders and around their faces, as they stood with bowed heads before Singan, and received the pamalugu at her hands. The priestess held one of the bunches of leafy medicine in the running brook, and drew it out dripping. Then, holding it over the young men, she let the water fall in a stream upon their heads, whence it ran down over necks and shoulders and backs. Again she dipped the sagmo into the water, and again allowed the magic stream to pour down on their bodies; and then again, until the effusion had been performed nine times. She held the bunch of greens in a vertical position, with the stems downward, so that the water from leaves and twigs collected into one stream; or she held the bunch horizontally, but in either case

by a slight movement of her hand she could effuse five heads almost at the same moment.

During this ninefold purification, the young men were facing the bamboo shrine; after the ninth pouring, there came a slight pause, whereupon they all oriented, simultaneously, so that they now faced the east. Singan applied the water in the same manner as before, nine times again, but she used the other bunch of sagmo while the candidates held the eastward position.

When Oleng's sons had retired, his nephews went down into the stream by fives. Oleng himself stepped into the stream and assisted his wife in the pamalugu of the nephews, he and Singan each holding one of the bunches of sagmo. Over each group of five the water was poured nine times while they faced the prayer-stand, and, similarly, nine times when they turned toward the east. During the ceremony, the men washed their faces, arms and bodies with the water trickling over them. There was more or less conversation and some laughter. Under this apparent lack of formality, however, lay an exact ritual that a careful observer could not fail to note.

Following the nephews of Oleng, his grandchildren (boys and girls together) came by fives, and presumably some children of nephews and nieces. A certain order in which candidates were to present themselves was apparently adhered to, for when Oleng's daughter and her cousin stepped into the water and took their places they were sent back to await their turn.

When any group of five had received pamalugu, the individuals would go off behind the larger boulders, slap the water off from trousers or skirts, shake out their hair, and perchance seize the occasion to take off some garment and wash it in the stream.

After Oleng and Singan had worked jointly for some time, Singan withdrew to the bank, and Oleng continued the purification alone. Presently, to my surprise, Ido motioned to me that my own turn had come, and that I was to let down my hair. Oleng sat down on the bank, and Ido gave me pamalugu like the rest, thus perhaps recognizing me as a sharer in the benefits of the Ginum, and as one of themselves, rather than a mere spectator.²⁰¹

²⁰¹ The two times nine number of effusions was broken in a few cases. Ido had eleven effusions while facing the tambara, with slaps on his back administered with the sagmo after the third, the fourth, and the seventh counts. Water was poured over myself the

Immediately afterwards, Ido himself was effused by Singan, and he was followed by a group of three — Sawi, a son of Sunog, Bagyu the leper, who was one of Oleng's nephews, and another youth. Then came Sigo and her cousin, Odik, while Singan was pouring the water, for Oleng was now resting at the edge of the stream. Not many women received pamalugu; but Sigo, on this occasion as at the Awas, represented, it would seem, the unmarried daughters of Oleng of whom she was the eldest. Sigo and Odik were effused immediately before the officiating functionaries.

When practically all of the people present had come out of the river, Singan still stood waiting, and then Datu Oleng went down to her alone. Up to this point, the act of lavation had been done without any accompanying ritual words, except the checking of the count by the occasional utterance of a number; but now a prayer was said by the priestess as she poured the sacred water over her husband. "Anito, take away from Oleng's body the sickness that is there; and you, Malaku t'Olu k'Waig, keep him from sickness. Drive off the evil spirits, so that they may not come to our Ginum and bring bad diseases to us while we hold the festival."

Oleng was straightway followed by his sister, Miyanda, a woman of distinguished presence and splendid physique, the director of all the women's industries, and the leader of Anito rites. She, too, stood alone, while Singan effused her the orthodox two-fold nine times with the words: "All the bad sickness in Miyanda's body, Anito, we want you to take away and carry it to the place where the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig lives."²⁰² Then Miyanda added her own petition: "You take away this feeling of weakness from me."

Last of all, Singan herself received pamalugu from the hands of Oleng, who said, while he poured the water over his wife: "I pray to all of you who are true anito that you will take away this sickness from me, for I have no hunger for my food, and I am very feeble. Make me a little stronger, so that I may gain many good things. Now that I have been washed in the pamalugu, I think that I shall get well."

conventional eighteen times, but Ido counted the second set of nine as eight, for he said "walu" (eight) after the last lavation. Possibly this was a detail in conformity with a Bagobo custom elsewhere noted: namely, that of mentioning a number less than the correct count.

²⁰² The thought is, that if the sickness is taken to the benevolent Malaki at the water sources, he will strangle the sickness.

The lustration of the priestess was to have closed the ceremony, but one woman came late, running down the steep bank, and Oleg did not send her away, but himself gave her the purification.

Very few women were at the river, though unquestionably they were not excluded from any motive of sex discrimination. They were all very much occupied with other matters on that day. The young women were busy in finishing off their festival clothes; the older ones, with house cares, for the presence of many guests in the Long House entailed much additional labor. There was preparation for ceremonies, too, such as bringing down the seventy water-flasks for the ritual washing that was to follow.

When all was done, the people went away in scattered groups, some climbing up the bank directly after the ceremony, others staying behind to wash their clothes. Those Bagobo who did not go to the river, as, for example, Malik, who was engaged in making the new tambara, Kaba and his family, went through with a performance at home that was considered an equivalent. Each of them poured water from one of the bamboo joints over his head, twice nine times.

When Singan came back to the house, in company with Oleg, she brought with her the two bunches of sagmo and laid them up on the high guest bed that had been made for the festival. It was then late in the morning, and the priestess absented herself until the next ceremony, that of Sonar.²⁰³

Ceremony of Lulub or washing of water-flasks. A short ceremony, that I did not see, took place immediately after the pamalugu. As reported to me, this rite consisted in the washing of the new sekaddu, or bamboo joints, seventy of which had been made to hold water for the feast. A sekkadu consists of one banö; that is to say, it is the hollow internode of the bamboo that lies between two nodes or joints. One node forms the bottom of the vessel, and at the other end the mouth of the vessel is cut. The vessels must have been washed on the outside only, since openings

²⁰³ Almost directly after our return from the river, Ido and several others sat down to have their damp hair freed from innumerable small organisms. Soon, the floor of the porch was filled with people sitting in rows for a like purpose. The women did the work with marked success, each woman hunting in the head of the man immediately in front of her, spying the louse with a rapidity perfected by experience, and deftly squeezing it to death between her thumb-nail and a tiny, flat blade of wood, that resembled a paper-cutter.

for the mouths were not cut until early in the morning of the last day of the festival.

The old women, Miyanda and Singan, performed the Lulub, assisted by younger women. They rubbed magic leaves over the surface of the bamboo joints and then washed them in the stream. Afterwards, according to the account I received, one of the old women carried a joint of laya bamboo to a place south of where the Pamalugu had taken place. She stuck the baně, or joint, either in the earth at the edge of the stream or in the bed of the shallow water, and said these words. "Now I place this baně of laya for you, Tigbanuá Balagan, and for you, Tigbanuá Waig. Remember this, when we are trying to draw water and to pray to you. And you, Gimokud mantu (new) and Gimokud tapi²⁰⁴ (old), do not envy us while we have our Ginum, because you have gone to the Great Country. I think you did not want to stay on earth any longer."

At the conclusion of the rite, the old women taught the girls that they must not play so much while the house was full of guests.

Ceremony of Sonar, or Offering on the Agongs of Manufactured Products. Soon after our return from the river, preparations began for the next ceremony — the laying of gifts upon an agong-altar, with accompanying rites. Devotions are directed, at this office, toward Mandarangan, the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig, certain anito, and the agongs themselves that are addressed as sonaran. In the ceremony of Sonar, just as in Pamalugu, there is an intention of securing from the gods both health and wealth; yet in the lavations the thought of purification is dominant, while at the offerings on the agongs the desire to grow rich is stressed.

It was toward the middle of the forenoon when we came back from Pamalugu, and there was an interval before the following ceremonies. Four new bamboo prayer-stands had been made by Malik early in the day, and these tambara were now ready to be used at Sonar, the bowls being wedged in the split balekayo in the usual manner; but there were many other things to be gathered together by men and women who had already had a full morning.

From the frame on which the agongs hung, three of the smaller instruments were taken from the upper row, and one of larger size

²⁰⁴ The term ceremonially used to characterize souls that have been long dead is *tapi*, and this same adjective is applied to old manufactured objects. An aged person is called in life *tugul*, never *tapi*, like an old thing.

from the lower row. The four agongs were placed on the floor in the middle room, not in contact with one another, but close enough together to form an unbroken square. At one side of this temporary altar, the bamboo prayer-stands were laid down in such manner that the four bowls formed a little square, while the rods of balekayo lay stretched out between (or beside) the agongs. The large agong, and two of the smaller ones, were placed with their convex sides up, so as to give a base on which material offerings could be piled; while the fourth instrument was put concave side up, like a big bowl which might function as a sort of font.

The ceremonies that followed may be briefly summarized as follows, though there was no well-marked line of separation between the several acts, for two might be going on at the same time: (a) the offering of manufactured products to the gods; (b) the ablutions called Sagmo; (c) the visitation of anito; (d) the rites with balabba.

Offering of manufactured products to the gods

Datu Ido sat down on the floor, in front of the agongs and facing the east. During the first part of the proceedings, Datu Oleng sat perched on the high guest-bed and watched all that went on, but gave no directions. At once the people began to bring their nice things to Ido, who put them on the agongs or on the floor close to the altar. In a few cases, the gifts were placed by the owners themselves. Old Miyanda took the initiative and put on one of the agongs a pair of man's trousers (*saroar*). Then came a long delay, during which everybody went about his ordinary occupations. The men chewed betel; the girls kept on putting stitch after stitch on the fine embroidery decorating garments to be worn at the dance on the following night. In the interval, Datu Ido and Miyanda, with a few others, talked over the proper disposition to be made of the things destined for the agong altar.

Then Miyanda went to another part of the house, and returned with an armful of hemp skirts, or sarongs, woven in figures and called by the Bagobo *panapisan*. She brought, also, women's cotton waists, and necklaces of beads in solid colors, — green, white and yellow, — all of which articles she placed together on one agong. In the meantime, Ido had fetched a finely-decorated waist, a long *panapisan* of Bila-an make, a number of pieces of Visayan textiles and imported prints that had been secured at the coast and some

white cotton cloth. All these he put in a pile on the floor. He then changed the arrangement of the agongs, by placing them in a row running north and south, with the one containing water at the south end of the line. He laid the four tambara just east of the agongs. At this point, the washing of faces began, as described under the following caption. All the time, the women and the men were approaching the altar from all directions of the house, bringing garments, ornaments, swords, and calling, "Ido! Ido!" so that the chieftain might recognize each individual, and thus associate every object with its owner. Ido, under this stress, was trying to keep the offerings in classified groups, so that at the end of the ceremony they could, the more conveniently, be returned. He kept asking, "Whose is this?" or "Whose is that?" before placing the various articles. His disposition of things, however, was not always respected. One cotton textile he demurred at taking from a young man, but finally consented, rolled the cloth into a small wad and put it on top of the pile of objects which he, himself, had brought to the altar. As soon as Ido's back was turned, the young Bagobo unfolded his textile and spread it out on Ido's things, whereupon the chief, his eye returning to the spot, placed the cloth in still another position. Soon, the three agongs were heaped with offerings — embroidered shirts, newly-woven panapisan of glistening hemp, wide bead necklaces and many cotton textiles. Ido took from his neck a fine gold cord (*kamagi*) and with it crowned his own heap of gifts.

The straight, one-edged swords called *kampilan* were brought, to the number of eight, and also four long spears. Ido laid on the floor the eight *kampilan* beside the agongs, and placed the spears with their blades under the swords. At the Ginum that I had earlier observed at Tubison, there were, similarly, eight of the *kampilan* — a type of sword that forms a valued element in the ceremony and is presumably associated with the war-god, Mandarangan, who is addressed in the prayers at this time.

Only a few trinkets were dropped into the agong containing water, for an object placed in this agong cannot be reclaimed — it goes to the priestess through whom the gods speak. On being invited to make some offering, I contributed a heavy armlet of brass, that Loda had cast from a wax mould. I stipulated, however, that it should be put on the agongs, and not in the water, as it was an object of value to me. Directly, then, Olung called

from his high seat, and requested me to put a little bell into the water. I did so, adding also a small mirror. The priestess quickly put her hand into the agong and took out the mirror, which she held, clasped tight, during the anito seance that followed.

Ablutions called Sagmo. The agong that was turned with its concave side up had been filled to about one-fourth of its capacity with water, and the two green bunches of sagmo, with which the candidates at Pamalugu had been sprinkled, lay in the water. Just after the bringing of offerings had begun, and when Ido had placed the four agongs in a row, a number of people came, one or more at a time, and bathed their faces in the water that held the sagmo. A good many of those who washed in the agong had not been present at Pamalugu; but some who had received purification in the early morning laved their faces now, as well, in the medicinal water. There was more or less laughter and talk during the ablutions, and all the while people were bringing their gifts to the altar, so that the religious nature of the rite was somewhat obscured. The value of this washing for the warding off of disease is apparently due to the magic sagmo hallowing the water in which it lies.

Visitation of Anito. The usual manner of conducting an interview with the gods is described in a later section of this paper. Such interviews take place, ordinarily, at night, this being the only instance that came under my observation of a seance during the day.

When the people had finished bringing gifts, the priestess, Singan, sat down on the floor at the south end of the row of agongs, so that she faced north, and thus had the agong holding the medicinal greens directly in front of her. Covering her head and face completely with her red cotton scarf (*salugboy*), she began to utter those harsh and sepulchral groans that regularly announce the coming of a spirit. Her right hand, grasping the tiny looking-glass, lay in her lap; she pressed her left hand to her cheek, while her body shook and trembled. Not only the children, but adult Bagobo also, gazed at the priestess with keen curiosity, for they rarely get a look at her in this condition. At the night meetings, the torches are always extinguished. Her voice came muffled through the cloth wrapped round her head, few of her words could be heard, and soon the people began chatting and laughing. The oracle was very brief, and was uttered without the chanting that forms a customary feature of a seance. I was able to record only that the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig spoke as follows:

"I am come this noon because you summoned me by the gifts on the agongs. Now let all the people upon whom water was poured from the sagmo, at the Pamalugu, put bells and brass bracelets into the agong with the sagmo."

Rites with balabba. The ceremonial drink of fermented sugar cane, barely tasted on the first night of the festival, is drunk freely on the third day; and it is at this stage of the Sonar that the first deep draught of balabba is taken. A portion is offered to the gods as their right, before the people drink.

While Singan was muttering incoherent words, Ido brought a long bamboo flask, and from it poured out balabba, until he had filled four large bowls, and his own little cup, with the thick, rich, brown liquid. A delicious aroma came from the bowls, as it were of boiling molasses mingled with old rum. Then the people began to be eager for the close of the worship, and for the end of the abstinence of the long morning; but they sat waiting in their customary attitude of patience. Ido had placed the four bowls in a row parallel with the agongs, but on the other side from the tambara. His own little cup he moved into several different positions, placing it, first, at the north end of the bowls, then at the south end, again, in the middle, and finally back at the north end again.

As soon as Singan had lapsed into silence, Oleng came down from his perch, and placed himself in front of the bowls of liquor, so that he sat facing east, and also facing the agongs. Ido was at his left, and he motioned me to a place between Oleng and himself for this, the most worshipful act of the Sonar. The Long House was full of Bagobo, standing, or sitting, as near the agongs as they could place themselves, without intruding into the reserved positions. Datu Yting was also at the altar, near the other datu.

Oleng, now acting as priest, touched the rim of the bowl of balabba that stood farthest to his right, and said: "All of this, anito, is yours, for this year we are making our Ginum; and when all of you, anito, have drunk from this bowl of balabba, then we will drink the rest."

A spray of a fragrant plant called *manangid* had been laid beside the bowls, and he took this spray and stirred it three times around in the bowl. Then, with the tips of his fingers, he touched the rim of the second bowl, as he had touched the first, and said, addressing the agong-altar: "Sonaran,²⁰⁵ the balabba in this bowl is yours.

²⁰⁵ Oleng was doubtless addressing the spirit resident in the agongs. The agongs functioning as an altar are called *sonaran*, while the name of the ceremony is *Sonar*.

See, now we have placed upon you our valued things — panapisan, jackets, trousers, woven necklaces, gold kamagi, textiles, kampilan, spears — because, from this time on we want to get rich. Now, Sonaran, that we have put our gifts here upon you, you must save us from sickness.” Then he stirred the liquor in this bowl three times with the spray of manangid. Finally, he touched the rim of the third bowl, as he offered it to the great war-god, with these words. “Now you, Mandarangan, this third bowl is for you, because we are again holding our Ginum. We ask you to taste this balabba, and to drink it all, then the rest of us will drink.” Having said this, he stirred the balabba in the third bowl three times, with the same spray. The fourth bowl, unless some detail escaped my observation, was not dedicated to any deity, nor were any prayers said over it. At the close of the office, Oleng gave the spray of manangid to Ido, who put it in his hair.

Oleng spoke to the gods in a conversational tone, and was sometimes prompted by Datu Yting when he forgot a word of the formula. Ido gave vent to a few explosive groans while Oleng was praying, for he thirsted to begin sipping the sweet balabba.

At the conclusion of the devotions, the three datu, Oleng, Ido and Yting, drank from the bowls, and afterwards the rest of the people. My impression is that they drank from all four bowls, but this item escaped me. Ido gave his own cup to me to use individually, and offered to refill it when empty, but the large bowls were passed about, from hand to hand, among all the company.

When we had finished drinking, Malik took up the four new tambara and fastened them to the wall, or to some house-pillar. Ido began returning the objects from the agongs to their respective owners, and called out their names if there was delay in claiming the articles. I saw one man gird on his kampilan as soon as Ido returned it, but, in general, the people laid the smaller articles in the tambara, and put larger objects in a wide scarf (*salugboy*) hanging close to the tambara. Here they must remain for at least one night, and afterwards be retained always in the possession of the individuals who offered them. At last, the three agongs were hung up in their former places, and a tap-tap on a large agong, nine times repeated, announced the end of the Sonar. A pile of swords still lay on the floor, and were picked up after the tap-tap had sounded. Last of all, the agong containing the water and

bunches of medicine was pushed under the high bed, where it remained until the end of the Ginum(?).

Ceremonies on the Main Day of Ginum. The fourth and main day of the festival — the Ginum proper — is crowded with important and deeply interesting ceremonial, that begins at dawn and continues until after sunrise on the following morning. Attention should be drawn to the events distinctive of the day, although, as has been indicated in an earlier summary, many other rites (such as drinking balabba, chanting gindaya, beating agongs, dancing, performing awas, and so forth) which took place on earlier days, reappear during the culminating ceremonial, but are here characterized, usually, by new elements that have to do with the formality, or with the extent of time, of the performance.

On the last day occurs the sacrifice of a human or of an animal victim; the cutting down of two ceremonial bamboos followed by the bringing in, the shaving, the decoration, the raising, and the attaching of spears to these poles; the raising of a war-cry at fixed points in the ceremonial; an exhibition of products of the loom and of the warriors' kerchiefs; the preparation and the cooking of special forms of sacred food; an illumination with ceremonial torches; the altar ceremonial, when sacrificial food and holy liquor and betel are first laid before the Tolus ka Balekát, and afterward eaten; the rehearsing by old men, while clasping the bamboo, of the number of persons they have killed; and the serving and the eating of an excellent banquet, in which everybody present has a share.

When the first trace of dawn appeared over the mountains, and while the darkness in the Long House was still unbroken, the girls got up and called Loda and several of the other young men, who were to start the t'agong-go. They rose forthwith, and beat agongs lustily for about half an hour. Thus, at daybreak, the culminating period of the great festival was ushered in.

About one hour after sunrise, eight men left the house to cut the two bamboos that were to be placed in the festival house on that day. The ceremony of cutting down the two bamboos, or *kawayan*²⁰⁶ is called *Dudo ka kawayan*. The eight men included

²⁰⁶ The Bagobo distinguish nicely the many varieties of bamboo that grow in their country. The larger bamboos (*Bambusa arundinacea*) that grow to a height of from forty to sixty feet and are used for the heavier house timbers and for flooring, are called by the Bagobo *kawayan*. Two of these trunks are cut for the ceremonial poles at Ginum.

Ido, Bansag and other picked warriors, each of whom wore the tankulu, a sign that he had killed at least one man. No other Bagobo was permitted to go on the expedition. They had to go some distance over the mountains, to reach a certain spot where the bamboos might be cut, in accordance with a regulation that the ceremonial kawayan must be cut each year from the same place in the forests. The old man, Oleng, did not go with the party, but rested during the early morning at the Long House. Later, he seemed very impatient for the return of the men; he paced up and down, watching from door or window, and would say, as the hours crawled by: "It is time for them to come. I will go out and meet them." About the middle of the forenoon, he left the house with two or three other men, intending to meet the party, and to return with them.

In the course of another hour, a current of suppressed excitement passed through the waiting group of people, as the word passed among us, "They are coming."

It was near the middle of the forenoon when a prolonged shout was heard in the distance, and then repeated. After the second shout, the nine men, headed by Oleng and Ido, came filing up the path from the southeast, bearing two long trunks of bamboo.

The little procession came up the house-ladder and through the narrow door, each man wearing the tankulu, and having a blossom or two of red and gold darudu fastened in the folds of his kerchief and hanging over his forehead. The expression on the face of every man was one of rapt abstraction and of high exaltation. Immediately on entering the house, they rested the two bamboo poles against one of the transverse timbers. Then Ido, followed

A smaller species (*Bambusa blumeana*) has a slender, brittle stem, covered with short thorns, and is called by the Bagobo *bale-kayo*, which means "house wood." They make use of balekayo everywhere for the lighter parts of the frame-work of the house, such as the joists running from the ridge-pole to the edge of the roof, to support the thatch; and for the entire wall, sometimes, of the Long House; for flutes and other wind instruments; for making fires where a short-lived, intense flame is needed, as when shells are to be calcined for lime. This is the bamboo that the Spaniards referred to as "thorny cane" (*Cana espiña*). Another bamboo (*Bambusa vulgaris*?) is thornless, has an exceedingly hard-grained stem, and is known among the Bagobo as *bubung*; this is decorated with fine carving and used for lime-tubes. The color of the wood is light yellow in the young tree and a rich, mellow tan tint in older trees. Still another bamboo, of which the native name is *laya*, has a slender white stem that is utilized for various purposes, one of which is to supply a ceremonial frame at Ginum, on which textiles and other garments to be displayed before the gods are hung.

by the other seven men, leaped toward the structure from which the agongs hung, and seized hold of its long rods, round which ogbus vine had been twined at an earlier hour. The eight men, close clasping vine and pole, raised the same war cry that we had heard from afar. There was a long drawn out nasal, prolonged by holding the tongue against the palate so as to produce a humming sound on one note — n-n-n-n-n-n! — followed by a continued sonant — r-r-r-r-r-r-r! — given with open throat and resonant voice, while the bodies of the men swayed slightly back and forth. When this behavior had lasted for several minutes, Ido sprang to the agongs, grasped a tap-tap, and beat the instruments with short, ringing strokes, his face expressing a jubilant ecstasy, as he darted from Tarabun to Matia, and from Matia to Mabagung.²⁰⁷ He produced such a grand clash of percussion melody that one felt a sense of trampling under foot all foes to the Bagobo. From the first signal at dawn until now, the agongs had not been struck.

Next followed the ceremonial decoration of the bamboos. The two poles were of unequal length and girth, the longer one consisting of nine internodes, and the shorter one of eight internodes. The longer bamboo was perhaps fifteen or more feet in length (the exact measurements I failed to secure). With one end resting on the floor, and the other end on a cross-beam of the house, each bamboo stood at a gradual slant during the time that the men were working on their decoration.

First, Ido scraped on each pole four lines running from one end to the other, as an outline for the detailed work. On these lines, the men shaved²⁰⁸ off the skin of the bamboo in short lengths,

²⁰⁷ Specific names of the instruments.

²⁰⁸ The ceremonial use of shaved poles, and of bunches of shavings, among the Ainu of Saghalin is discussed very fully by Sternberg. After mentioning the various hypotheses in regard to the significance of this element, as put forth by Batchelor, Bird, Dobrotvorski and Aston, the writer states his own conclusions: namely, that the shaved sticks to which the Ainu give the name of *inao* represent supernatural agents who carry the prayers and offerings of the Ainu to God, and that the shavings themselves are the tongues of the mediating-envoy. The Ainu place these *inao* at the door, in front of the house, and at spots on the mountains, in the forest, and at the riverside. On special occasions, as after recovery from an illness, or on returning from a journey, such shaved sticks are set up. The bear to be offered in sacrifice is often decorated with bunches of shavings. "To sum up," Dr. Sternberg says, "*inao* are shaved trees and pieces of wood, commonly in the shape of human figures, which act as man's intercessors before deities. Their power lies in their numerous tongues (shavings), which increase the suasive power of their eloquence to an extraordinary degree." (p. 436) "This odd cult," he states, "has

until they had made nine clusters of shavings on each pole, each cluster close to a nodal joint. The clusters on the long bamboo consisted each of nine shavings, and the clusters on the shorter bamboo, of eight shavings each, every individual shaving remaining attached by its base to the pole. Each one of the single shavings was then split into three or four or more fine curls, so that a series of festoons appeared running down the poles, a group of festoons at each node.

The next process was a mechanical device for the attachment of leaves and flowers. Near each of the four central nodes on the long bamboo, they cut a pair of small holes, so that there were eight holes, four on one side, and four on the opposite side of the pole. Similarly, they cut three pairs of holes in the shorter bamboo, near the three central nodes. They inserted long slender sticks into the perforations thus made, letting each stick run through a pair of holes, and project several inches on each side. There were thus eight sticks passing through the trunk of the larger bamboo, and six sticks through the smaller one. The corresponding pairs of perforations in the two poles did not lie exactly in the same horizontal plane, and hence the sticks did not meet end to end. Long branches of a plant called *baris* that has a slender, glossy-black, stiff stem, were tied to the projecting sticks, every *baris* stem being split into shreds — one large shred and eight small shreds for the long bamboo, while the stems for the shorter pole were cut into twelve shreds each.

The attachment of leaf-pennants and of flowers completed the decoration of the poles. Great bulla leaves were cut or torn into

spread from the Ainu to the neighboring people of the Amur region, — the Gilyak, the Orok, the Gold, and the Orochi . . . Judging from Krasheninnikof's description, an analogous phenomenon exists among the Kamchadal, but with the substitution of fibres of sedge-grass for shavings." (p. 430) "The *Inao* of the Ainu." Boas anniversary volume, pp. 425—437. 1906.

Several years earlier, Furness had suggested a like interpretation for the symbolism of the shavings. He says of the Kayans, when they select a camphor tree, "if all omens are favorable, and they find that the tree is likely to prove rich in camphor, they plant near their hut a stake, whereof the outer surface has been cut into curled shavings and tufts down the sides and at the top. I suggest as possible that these shavings represent the curling tongues of flame which communicate with the unseen powers." *The Home-life of Borneo Head-hunters*, pp. 167—168. 1902.

The Kayans are said to have lost sight of the significance of this ceremonial element, and the Bagobo suggested no explanation.

ribbon-like strips, which were fastened on by piercing them with the stiff, wiry stems of the baris branches, so that an effect of waving green pennants was, perhaps unconsciously, secured. Finally, the symbolic flowers of the Bagobo warrior — red kalimping and blossoms from the scarlet and gold darudu — were tied to the projecting tips of the baris stems, and also to the bulla-leaves. The last flowers and leaf-strips were added, and the final touches given, after the raising of the poles.

At the same time with the processes just described, other Bagobo were thrusting into the upper end of the hollow poles bouquets composed of leaves and flowers of different kinds, with white clusters of tender young leaf-buds and undeveloped fruit from the areca-palm. These clusters are called *ubus*, and form one of the characteristic decorations of the ceremonial bamboos. Sprays of *ubus* may be worn at the throat, or stuck in the leglets, or tied to the spears of brave men who have killed other men. A large part of these clusters of leaves and flowers were concealed within the bamboo trunks, but they protruded for a short distance from the openings.

The next proceeding was to raise the poles into place, so that they should stand upright beneath the steepest part of the roof, and directly in front of the altar called *balekát*. The shorter bamboo was easily lifted to a vertical position, so that its upper end rested against a joist of the slanting roof; but when the long bamboo had been raised to an angle of some fifteen degrees from the vertical it was found to be too long, by several inches, for the extreme height of the roof, and it could not be forced to stand up straight, so as to touch the ridge-pole as custom demanded. This check to the performances proved a serious matter; for to let the bamboo stand at a slant would be contrary to custom and hence unlucky; while to cut it shorter would be a sacrilege, certain to be followed by the sickness or the death of somebody. The old men and women talked over the matter, and everybody wore a grave and anxious face. My crass suggestion that they break the roof was dismissed as if unthinkable, and a long delay ensued, followed by a fresh attack on the pole, a new adjustment, a pressure from the upper end of the bamboo against the yielding joists and the thatch of grass, and a tacit consent of all concerned to allow the ceremonial bamboo to stand at a slant removed by an extremely small angle from the vertical.

Just as the decoration of the poles was finished, there were brought

into the house two long rods of the slender, brittle-stemmed variety of bamboo called *balekayo*. These were to serve as an additional frame on which to hang fine textiles and other garments for the ceremonial exhibit. They were very long, from one-half to two-thirds the length of the entire house, and they were lifted to their place between the two rods of *laya* that ran lengthwise of the house, and parallel to them. The usual bindings of rattan fastened the *balekayo* to the heavy cross-timbers of the house. Immediately afterwards, a number of long-shafted spears were brought to the ceremonial bamboos, and tied to them. At the moment of attaching the spears, Datu Oleng said a few ritual words, which I was unable to record. The spears stood with their points up, in the usual position of a spear at rest, when it is customary to thrust into the earth the sharp-pointed cone with which the handle is tipped.

While the rite with the spears was in progress, the women and girls were gathering together all the new hemp textiles that, with tireless industry, they had dyed, woven, washed and polished, and with the textiles they piled up many women's waists, men's trousers, *salugboy* (scarfs), fresh cotton textiles and various other articles. All these they now brought forward and hung on the *balekayo* rods and on the long poles of the frame of *laya* wood that had been put up, primarily, for the *agongs*. The function of the three crossbars of this frame now became apparent, for so large a number of garments and stuffs were displayed that they covered every inch of the *laya* and *balekayo*, lengthwise and crosswise, thus making a sort of rectangular super-enclosure within which the ceremonies proceeded. This is the annual occasion when the highly artistic work of the women is spread out to view, when all the guests may see, as in a picture gallery, the decorative designs done in glistening hemp, the rich embroidery, the figured patterns formed by tiny discs of mother of pearl. Ordinarily, the Bagobo keep all their treasures packed away in tight yellow wood boxes or in baskets, leaving the room, even in wealthy families, bare of all furnishings except the loom, the altar and the hearth. Even at the *Ginum*, the exhibition appeared to be purely a ceremonial affair. The girls spread their beautiful things over the frames with a serious and quiet mien, as if they thought only of the gods, for whose pleasure the offerings were made, and who alone were to enjoy the spirit, or essence, of the material objects.

Immediately after this, the sugar cane liquor was brought in. It

was carried in three long vessels of bamboo that Andan and Agwas had made while we were waiting for the coming in of the two great bamboos. These vessels, called *balanan*, had handles for the more convenient bearing and pouring of the liquor, whereas the ordinary water-bucket (*sekkadú*) has no handle. The balabba was brought in by young men, who proceeded to pour out some of the dark brown liquor into a tall metal jar, called *taguán ka balabba*, that had just been placed in the Long House. They stood up against the wall the balanan holding the remainder of the liquor, to be kept for the evening rites. After this, there was a short intermission; it was long past noon, and nobody had eaten since very early that morning.

The central event of the Ginum, namely, the sacrifice offered to the god of the balekát, took place on the evening of the fourth day, the preliminaries being handled in the afternoon. After the intermission, Datu Oleng carried a cock that had been tied in the house down under the house, where it was shot by Ido, with an arrow having a head of bamboo. The fowl was plucked under the house, and then brought up into the house again, where it was cut into pieces by Muku, a brother of Singan's. He cut it up in the same manner that the Bagobo cook commonly prepares a chicken for the pot: that is to say, opening the fowl by one lengthwise gash of the work-knife, removing entrails and opening gizzard, chopping off the wings, tearing off the skin by a downward pull over the legs, striking off the legs, and finally cutting the body, wings and legs into very small squarish chunks. Before this process was finished, another ceremonial detail of import was in progress.

Against the west wall, and near the two bamboos, the shrine called *balekát* hung in its usual place. It consisted of seven piles of old and smoke-grimed bowls and saucers, suspended by rattan hangers in the customary manner. Directly in front of this altar, the young men put up the broad shelf called *taguan*²⁰⁹ *ka balekát*, and attached it firmly to the timbers of the roof by means of strong bands of plaited rattan. It hung at quite a distance above our heads, so that, in order to place or to remove anything from the shelf, the altar assistant was obliged to climb up the wall, and

²⁰⁹ *Taguan* is a word that expresses the idea of a receptacle of some sort. It may be a shelf, as *taguan ka sekkadú* (shelf for water-flasks), or *taguan ka balekát* (altar-shelf); it may be *taguan ka sulu* (torch-holder); or *taguan ka balabba* (jar for balabba).

on along the sloping roof, a feat easily accomplished by the help of house-posts and cross-timbers, and of that monkey-like agility which is characteristic of the movements of Bagobo youths.

The balekát now being complete for the sacrificial offerings, the composition of the elements that were to form the offerings proceeded. The sacred food that is placed before the Tolus ka Balekát, and afterwards eaten by the men and boys, is a mixture of chicken, red rice and cocoanut. The dessicated fowl, to which some cocoanut is added, is cooked by itself, while the bulk of the cocoanut pulp, with all of the rice, is cooked in a separate set of vessels. After being taken from the fire, the contents of the different vessels — chicken, rice and cocoanut — are mingled together, before being offered to the god.

When Muku had cut the fowl into bits, he separated it into two portions, the portion on his right hand for the men, the portion on his left hand for the adolescent boys. In the meantime, Inok was seraping out white pulp from one-half of a ripe cocoanut, with a grater called *parod*. This is a little piece of cocoanut shell, armed with a row of teeth notched on one edge. The curve of the remaining margin of the shell fits nicely into the hollow of the palm. As the shredded cocoanut pulp fell down in little heaps, Muku picked it up, handful by handful, and mixed it with the chicken-meat at his right hand. He rubbed each handful of cocoanut thoroughly with a small part of the chicken, and dropped the mixture into a bamboo joint. He put each handful of cocoanut and chicken as soon as he had rubbed them together into the vessel, then picked up more cocoanut, mixed it with some of the remaining chicken meat, and so on, until all of the chicken on his right was disposed of. Next, he rubbed shredded cocoanut, in the same manner, with the pile of chicken meat on his left hand, but all of this mixture he put into a second bamboo joint. Both of the two bamboo vessels had been lined with sarabak leaves before the mess of cocoanut and chicken was dropped into them. Finally, Muku poured into each of the vessels sufficient water to cover, in part, the food and tied up the openings with leaves of hemp or of sarabak.

Simultaneously, or a little later, nine other bamboo vessels, called *lulutan*, were being filled with rice and cocoanut in the following manner. Inok continued to grate cocoanut from the same half section of the nut, until he had seraped all of the pulp from the shell. Then, from a large basket beside him, he took a quantity

of raw red rice that had been crushed in the mortar, and stirred it up with the shredded cocoanut. The red rice is called *omok*, and is one of the special forms of sacrificial food.²¹⁰ I understood that the same name (*omok*) was given to the mixture of red rice and cocoanut. Another young man, *Ayang*, took a part of the little pile of red rice and cocoanut, heaped it on a *sarabak* leaf, and laid on it another *sarabak* leaf. He then lifted the leaves with their contents, so that his palms did not touch the *omok*, and pressed the whole into one of the bamboo vessels — the *lulutan*. A very little cold water had previously been poured into the vessel. Immediately afterward, *Buak* filled a second *lulutan* in the same manner, thus using up the remaining cocoanut from the first half shell. *Inok* then attacked the other half of the nut and scraped out all of the meat, which he mixed with the rest of the red rice, whereupon *Ayang* and *Buak* proceeded to fill seven additional *lulutan*. Each of the bamboo vessels was filled up to about two-thirds of its capacity, or a little less; but the amount put into each did not vary, for *Buak* measured the content exactly, every time, by inserting a little stick of *laya* wood into the vessel and minutely examining the point to which the moisture mark rose. When the nine *lulutan* had been prepared, *Inok* tied together the two empty halves of cocoanut shell with rattan so as to make one hollow nut, which he left ready to hang on the altar at the close of the evening ceremony.

The nine *lulutan* and the two bamboo joints containing the chicken and cocoanut were then carried down the steps to a place under the house, where each vessel was filled to the rim with cold water, and its top tied securely with a leaf-cover. On stones encircling a wood fire, all of the vessels were placed where the food might steam until soft, the fresh green bamboo being not at all inflammable.

It was then deep dusk, and we hastened up into the now dark house so that we might be in time to see the illumination. Long torch-chains of *biáú* nuts, that had been strung a week earlier, were now to be lighted to take the place, for this one night, of the

²¹⁰ I have been told that the root of a plant, probably saffron, from which a yellow dye is obtained, is used at *Ginum* to stain the sacrificial food yellow, but, on this occasion, I did not observe that any yellow stain played a part. *Mandarangan*, however, is said to be very fond of yellow rice. *Skeat* mentions, frequently, the ceremonial value of yellow among the peninsular Malays; but, as for the *Bagobo*, red and white seem to be the colors chosen for offerings and for sacrificial use.

ordinary torches of leaf-wrapped resin. To Maying, the second in age of the virgin daughters of Oleng, the privilege of making the sacred illumination was assigned. She hung several strings of biáú nuts on the forked branches¹ of the native candelabra that stood on the floor, and other strings she suspended from house timbers. The nuts were rich in oil, and the flame flared up as soon as lighted, the entire length of the sections being soon a row of flickering lights. The Long House was as bright as if hundreds of candles were burning. The silence was broken by a resounding shout from the men, who now raised the war cry again at the moment the blaze leaped forth.

Close upon the last war cry of that Talun Ginum, arrangements for the evening ceremonial were gotten under way, and the people grouped themselves at their several activities in the appointed places in the Long House: young women attended to the cooking of foods — rice, pig, and venison — for the feast; old women prepared leaf-dishes for a supplementary awas; young men tended the fire under the house and watched the bamboo vessels in which the sacred food was steaming; other young men up in the house helped in the preparation of the feast, by placing cocoanuts ready to be grated at a later hour. Some of the old men sat near the balekát, while talking or making preliminary moves toward the altar ceremony now close at hand. Oleng was on his high seat (*dega-dega*) just north of the balekát, from which he had been observing carefully the dressing of the fowl, the mixing of the ceremonial food, and the succeeding activities. The weary guests sat in tightly-packed lines on the floor, their faces wearing a patient, solemn expression, and waited.

The ceremony over the chicken and omok was performed by Oleng and Ido in front of the balekát, on the west side of the house where broad leaves were laid on the floor. On these, the contents of the nine bamboo vessels containing the cooked rice and cocoanut, and of the two vessels containing the chicken food were poured out, the sarabak leaves being left in the lulutan. The chicken and rice which had been boiled separately were now together in one brown soft mass forming a mixture called *taroanan*. But in spite of the apparent homogeneity of the food, there was a sharp distinction between the right-hand and the left-hand portions, for, in mixing the chicken and rice, Ido or his assistant poured the contents of the men's bamboo on the rice to his right, and that of the boys'

bamboo on the rice to his left, thus keeping the two apart as Muku had done in filling the vessels. The two halves of the sacred food were marked by two sarabak leaves that Ido laid upon it, one leaf on the right-hand portion and one on the left, with a very narrow space between the ends of the leaves to mark the dividing line. Upon each sarabak leaf he put eight pieces of areca-nut, and in front of the aisle between the leaves, one entire areca-nut upon a buyo leaf. Standing before Ido were two white bowls for balabba.

Immediately in front of the sacred food, Ido sat, while Oleng took his place a little to the left, at the southeast corner of the altar, and Malik, son-in-law to Oleng, sat between the two datu. At the south end of the taroanan, were Buak, Inok and Ayang, watching with deep interest the proceedings, and ready to assist in handing about utensils. The chief of Bansalan sat on the dega-dega but fell asleep during the ceremony, and did not waken until near its close.

The only material offerings to be seen besides the food and drink were a small pile of shells, little brass linked chains and miscellaneous ornaments that lay on the floor at Oleng's left hand. This collective gift, called *pamading*, was put there, I was told, so that the Bagobo would get rich; but I did not observe that it was touched during the ceremony, or that attention was directed toward it. No doubt it was a case of simply laying before the gods valued objects, with an expectation of receiving back a manifold increase.

Mention should here be made of four vessels called *garong*,²¹¹ which had an important part to play at the altar ceremonial. They were large cylinders of freshly-cut laya bamboo, with fitted lids shaped from the nodal joints. The four *garong* were of uniform size, and each had, perhaps, five or six times the containing capacity of the *lulutan* in which the rice was cooked. They had been

²¹¹ Bamboo vessels, looking much alike, receive different names, according to the function of each type. The *sekkadu* is a water-flask; the *balanan* is a vessel with handles and contains sugar cane wine; the *lulutan* is the vessel in which the red rice and coconut mixture is steamed, while the *garong* is a vessel decorated with shavings and reserved especially for altar use, including the sacred function of being elevated to the shelf with its contents of food or of wine. Each of these vessels consists of one internode of bamboo, of which one of the nodes forms the bottom of the vessel and the other node is utilized, often, for the lid.

I have no record of the specific name for the bamboo vessels that contained the chicken; possibly they, too, are called *lulutan*.

made that same day, immediately after the bamboos were filled with green sprays. Like the bamboos, the four garong were ornamented with festoons of curled shavings peeled off in regular clusters on the surface of the vessel, two garong having nine clusters of shavings, and the other two, eight clusters. Two of these vessels were intended for drink offerings, and two for food offerings. At the beginning of the ceremony we are now discussing, the two garong destined for drink offerings were filled with sugar cane liquor, poured from the balanan by one of the young men who were serving as altar attendants. From one of the garong (now full of balabba), the sacred liquor was poured into two bowls that stood in front of Ido, between him and the sacrificial food. The other garong full of liquor was elevated to the shelf of the balekát. To do this, one of the attendants climbed up from the south wall and then along the roof, until he was close to the south end of the shelf of the balekát. The vessel was then handed up to him by Ido(?) and placed on the shelf, where it remained throughout the following rites.

The more distinctively sacrificial part of the ceremony opened with the stirring of the sugar cane wine in the two bowls. For this purpose two spoons, known as *barakas*, were used, the spoons being made of small sections of bulla leaf twisted to the shape of bowl and handle, and the stem-handle tied in a knot. The larger spoon had tied to its handle a red blossom of kalimping, and the smaller spoon was adorned with a scarlet blossom that had tasseled petals. Ido dipped into the bowl of balabba on his right hand the smaller spoon, and, having taken it out with a little of the brown liquor, he laid it with the liquor in it beside the bowl. In the same manner, he dipped the larger spoon into the left-hand bowl, took it out and laid it, holding a few drops of liquor, beside the left-hand bowl. He then stirred the balabba in the bowl to the right, with a small spray of manangid, and thereupon, either Ido or Oleng, with a second spray of manangid, stirred the contents of the bowl to the left.

The *Garrugga*, or worship, was then performed by Datu Oleng, who, in his priestly character, laid before the Tolus ka Balekát the flesh of a victim slain in sacrifice, together with those selected products of the field and fruit of the trees that are most highly valued by the Bagobo — rice and cocoanut and areca-nuts and the precious wine extracted from sugar cane. In his right hand, Oleng held a

small tube of hard bamboo, such as is used everywhere by the Bagobo to contain powdered lime. From the lime-tube, he sprinkled lime on the sixteen pieces of areca-nut, by sifting the white powder in showers through a little sieve stopper of rattan that closed the end of the tube. As he repeated certain ritual words, he made frequent passes, tube in hand, to and fro over the sacred food, often pointing the lime-tube toward the food and toward the areca-nuts on it. In the low, conversational tone of voice so often heard at a Bagobo ceremony, Datu Oleng said: "Tolus ka Balekát, I am making a Ginum this year for you. I have prepared eight areca-nuts and I pray to you, while offering you the areca-nuts. Tolus ka Balekát, you demand a human victim this year, as in the years before when we celebrated the Ginum, but now we do not kill a man in sacrifice any more, because the Americans now hold control, and we are using a little American custom in giving you no human victim. Instead, we have killed a chicken,²¹² which we offer to you with the red rice." Oleng then sprinkled lime on the betel several times, and stirred the balabba in the left hand bowl with his spray of manangid, whereupon Ido stirred the contents of the right hand bowl with the other spray of manangid. Following this, the two spoons of bulla leaf, each still having in it a small amount of balabba, were handed up to be placed upon the shelf of the balekát, the young man, Madaging, having climbed up for that act.

Next followed a ceremonial drinking and a chewing of betel. Datu Oleng, Datu Ido, Sali, and other men of renown, drank from the two sacred bowls of sugar cane liquor, and passed the bowls from one to another until they were drained to the bottom. Thereupon, the men about the altar took the sixteen pieces of areca-nut that lay on the sacred food, and chewed them in the customary manner. Some other men then took areca-nut from the altar and chewed it.

Up to this point, the sacrificial food had lain spread out before the god, but in plain sight of all the people as well. Now, it must be passed up for the enjoyment of the great deity of the balekát alone. It was not put back into the same vessels in which it had

²¹² "Whatever kind of sacrifice is asked for by the *gharu*-spirit must ... be given, with the exception of the human sacrifice which, as it is expressly stated, may be compounded by the sacrifice of a fowl." W. W. SKEAT: *Malay Magic*, p. 211.

The Malay magician says that "if the spirit craves a human victim a cock may be substituted." *Ibid.*, p. 72.

been cooked, but into the two large shaved bamboo vessels (garong) that still stood empty. Ido filled these garong with the taroanan, or sacred food, and carefully drew together and gathered up the last scraps clinging to the broad leaves on which the food had been spread. Then he closed the vessels with their tight stoppers, and passed then up to be placed on the shelf beside the garong of wine. There they remained during the music, the dances, the chanting and the feast, and were not taken down until after the old men's statement of exploits.

As soon as the taroanan was elevated to the shelf, Inok hung up, below the balekát, the cocoanut shells that he had tied together at the time the omok was mixed. At that moment, the profound stillness that had lasted for an hour and a half broke to the sound of the big drum, beat with dull monotonous taps, and accompanied by resounding strokes on the agongs. This was the signal announcing the close of the altar ceremonial. All the men who had been drinking balabba at once discharged an animated flow of talk, but the utter silence prevailing throughout the rest of the company remained unbroken.

Before this point in the ceremonies, a supplementary awas had taken place over a number of extremely small leaf-dishes which were said to number two hundred — a rite conducted by the old women, Miyanda and Singan. This sacred office was going on at the same time as the altar ceremony, and hence was not observed by me, but was reported to have occurred after the taroanan food was spread on the altar, and before Oleng said the prayers over it. I failed to ascertain what was afterward done with the leaf-dishes, but, if their disposition followed that of the other leaf-dishes at the three preceding awas, they would have been taken out and laid down by the wayside.

It was not until after drum-beat that the chanting of Gindaya began, but from this time on, ceremonial chants were given at intervals throughout the entire night. The sons and nephews of Oleng carried much of the burden of the gindaya; they sang in the customary antiphons, one against one, or two against two, with recitatives intervening in the usual manner.

After the opening performance of gindaya, the music of the agongs called the dancers to the floor. The first dance was done by three warriors alone who were dressed in embroidered trousers, fine beaded jackets and tankulu of a very dark chocolate color, the tint showing that they were brave (*maganí*) men, whose human victims were

many. This and the later dances were all performed in the same part of the house in which the bamboo poles stood, and in which the altar was situated. They danced on the restricted portions of the floor on each side of the two bamboos. This initial dance of the men was followed by a second ceremonial chant.

At this Ginum, there were eleven agongs suspended from the laya rods. Four of uniform size formed the upper row, and each was named Matio. Just below them hung four others of uniform size, but somewhat larger than the four above them. The agongs in this lower row were called, from left to right, respectively, Tarabun, Mabagong, Marubur, Mabagong. The eight instruments just mentioned were all played by one expert musician, who beat tap-tap while dancing in the customary manner of an agong-player. Suspended just below the eight was another agong considerably larger in circumference, but of shallow convexity. It bore the name of Inagongan, and a woman performed on it, beating an accompaniment to the theme of the leading musician. Beside the Inagongan, hung a very small instrument called Bandiran, on which a child rang the tones. Some little distance to the right of the ten instruments just named, was suspended an agong of exceedingly large size that was tapped by a man as an accompaniment, and that bore the same name as the woman's instrument — Inagongan. One or two drums, each beaten by two persons, a man and a woman, assisted the eleven agongs at every set performance.

Now came the event that had been looked forward to with keen anticipation by the weary people — the general drinking of the fragrant and delicious balabba. So little food had been served for the preceding twenty-four hours that it seemed more like a day of abstinence than a festival, for when the Bagobo are preparing for a great celebration, they pay no attention to bodily wants. Many of the guests had tramped a long distance over the mountains and were very tired; the refreshment of this first drink of balabba relieved the tension greatly. When the liquor was served, separate cups were supplied to the special guests, but a few large bowls sufficed for the majority of the company, who passed the same bowl from hand to hand. As fast as emptied, the bowls were refilled from the large metal jar, or from the fourth garong of bamboo.

Three successive periods of chanting Gindaya succeeded the drinking. Then followed the beating of agongs in dance measure,

a signal which brought girl dancers to the floor.²¹³ They were in festival costume of shining hemp skirts; short, tight-fitting waists of cotton, decorated with conventional designs done in fine needle-work; bracelets and leglets of brass and of bell-metal cast from a wax mould. These ornaments were hollow, and each inclosed a number of tiny, freely-rolling globes of metal that tinkled in the movements of the dance. The girls wore, also, necklaces of beads, pure white or many-colored; inlaid ear-plugs connected by tasseled pendants of white beads that passed under the chin; and some wore wide belts bordered with small, hand-cast bells.

When the dancing was done, two young men approached the bamboos, and standing there, each with one arm encircling a pole, they began afresh the monotonous yet sweet-toned chant that lasted until the banquet opened.

Ever since the conclusion of the altar ceremony, many women and men had been dishing up food and making preparations for serving that houseful of guests. All of this work was going on at one end of the Long House, while the chanting and the dancing were in progress at the other end. Under Sigo's direction, Sambil, Sebayan and three other girls, filled the hemp-leaf dishes that had been made five days earlier with an appetizing mess just dished from the big clay pots, and called *kumoán*. The ingredients were white rice, grated cocoanut, hashed venison and pig fat. Other delicious cocoanut mixtures were being prepared to be served with the *kumoán*. Several of the young men halved and grated the cocoanuts, whereupon other men caught up the white shreds by handfuls and mixed with boiled and slivered fish, manipulating the food swiftly with fingers and palms. Other men mixed bits of venison with grated cocoanut, and still others cut off narrow, thin slices of fresh boiled pork. Three men were kept busy in handing out to the women these foods as they were ready. Bansag handed up the pork; another man, the cocoanut-venison; and another, the cocoanut-fish. The five girls filled all of the leaf-dishes — an individual leaf-dish for each guest, and one for every member of the family. They pressed into each leaf-dish a large portion of the rice and meat stew, and a small portion of cocoanut-venison and of cocoanut-fish.

²¹³ See also pp. 85—87 for a discussion of the dance. The Bagobo say that Mandarangan comes to see the dance, and watches its performance with pleasure.

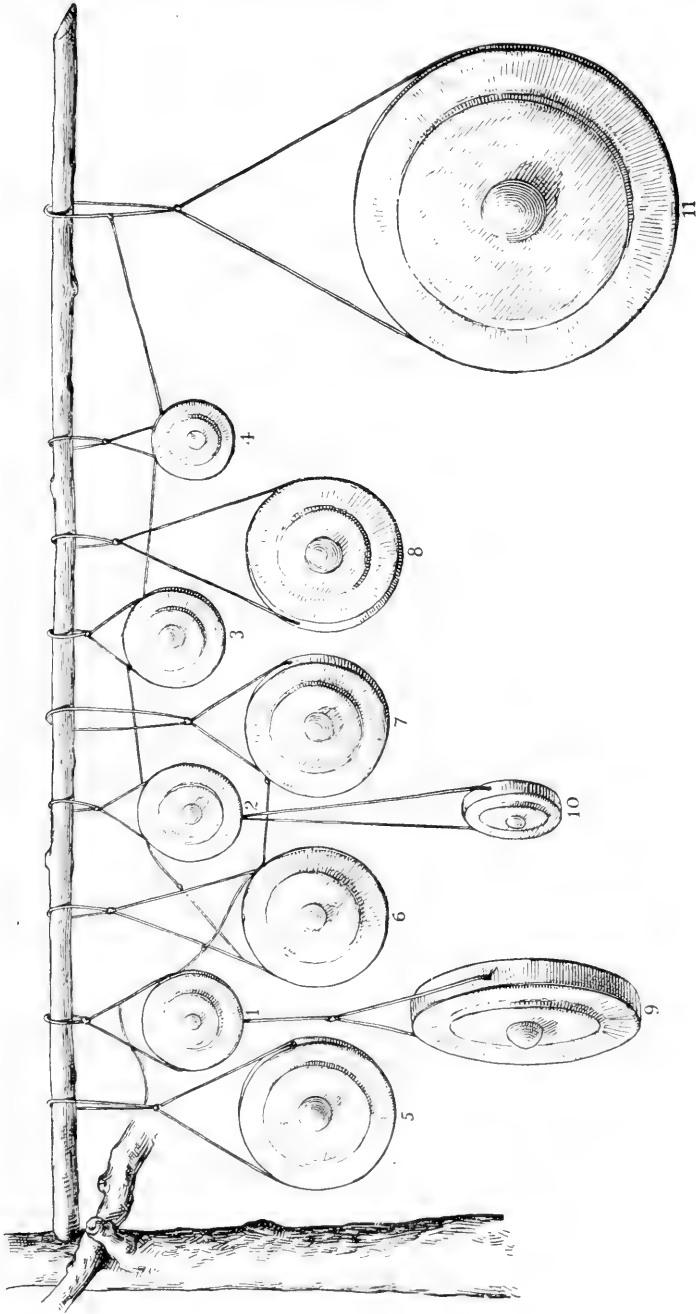


FIG. 3. — *Agongs at Datu Oleg's Long House*
Arrangement used at the celebration of Ginum at Talun, August, 1907. Names of agongs: (1, 2, 3, 4) Matio; (5) Tarabun; (6, 8) Mabagong;
(7) Mantur; (9, 11) Inagongan; (10) Bandiran. Drawn by Irwin Christman from a rough field sketch by the author.

Eight large plates of heavy white crockery were prepared with special attention to arrangement and quantity of viands, for they were to be served to the eight most distinguished guests at the Ginum. An ample supply of the kumoán stew was heaped on the plate, and pressed into pyramidal shape; the white food of cocoa-nut and slivered fish was piled beside the stew, and the whole bordered by bits of venison that had been first roasted, and then broiled to a hard crisp. This last-named delicacy appeared only on the plates of the eight elect, of whom I was one, the other seven being datu and other Bagobo of note.

We all sat on the floor, tightly packed in solid rows, between which the girls made their way and, with the help of a few young men, handed to each of us a leaf-dish or a plate. I failed to note just which were the "distinguished guests," besides myself, who received the special plates, but among them may have been included Datu Yting of Santa Cruz; the datu of Bansalan; the two brothers of Tonkaling, datu of Sibulán; Sali, elder brother to Olang, and Awi. When all were served, Ido called out in a loud voice, "Langun pomankit!" ("Let all eat!") and in reply all the people shouted out in unison, "Mimankid!" ("We will begin to eat.") There were few words spoken after that until the end of the meal, for we were all well-nigh famished. Swiftly the leaf-dishes were emptied and the plates cleared, as with eager fingers the food was rushed to the mouth. Scarcely had the meal come to a close when the ceremonial offices were resumed.

The recitation of exploits began. An aged man, wrinkled and gaunt from continued privations, his shriveled skin clinging close to the bones of his famished face, stepped toward the ceremonial bamboos and, clasping a pole with one hand, made a statement before the god of the balekát, and in the presence of the assembled people, to the effect that he had slain a certain number of men during his lifetime. All the Bagobo listened attentively, but made no comment, or gave sign either of dissent or of applause. It was Sali, brother of Olang, who was making the recital. Directly he had finished, another old man came forward, and then another, each grasping a pole, or one of the spears attached to the bamboos, throughout his recitation. No man may lay hold of the bamboos, or of the ceremonial spears, unless he has killed at least one man. If any man break this tabu, he will be struck down by some terrible illness.

When Datu Oleng made his recitation, he stated that he had killed thirty men, and he then gave a charge to the bamboo and to the balekayo and to the ogbus vine that they were to keep on growing until the Ginum should be celebrated next year. Oleng was followed by Awi, who gave a lengthy autobiographical narrative telling how he had killed eighteen men in one locality; and the circumstances which led him to kill nine men in another place; and then, at a later period, eleven more; and how, on a certain occasion, he had killed one woman; and, at another time, one man; and, finally, how he slew three men — a total of forty-three on the face of the statement. Right here, however, there comes into play a remarkable tabu that changes the result of the count.

When a brave old Bagobo, while holding the bamboo pole, takes his oath on the number of men he has killed, he must always give one half the actual number, for if he should dare to state the correct figure he would be attacked by disease. Moreover, his audacity would be manifest to all the people, for if, while clasping the pole, he should reveal the true number of his victims, the great bamboo would instantly split, from the top down through the entire length of the pole, without blow from human hand. The man's own Mandarangan, or personal war-god, would cause the bamboo to split, because the man has spoken the truth about his exploits. Applying this key, therefore, to the recitations of Oleng and of Awi, we double the count of each, and discover that Oleng had sent down to Gimokudan sixty individuals, and that Awi's victims reached the grand total of eighty-six. This case is a fair illustration of that indirectness which forms such an essential element in the psychic complex of the Malay. Other instances, too, of what we call dishonesty or lying, may, perhaps as easily, be often traced to some religious scruple, or to some ethical restraint, making it incumbent on a man to say something less, or something more, than the truth.

When the old men had finished checking up their achievements, a rite of peculiar significance took place, namely, the eating of the sacred food that a little while before had been offered to the god of the balekát. The deity was supposed to feast on the spiritual essence of the food, but the material part was partaken of by the Bagobo men and adolescent boys, this being one of the very few privileges tabu to women. The two garong containing the sacred

food were lifted down from the shelf, and the contents poured out on the leaves that had been laid below the hanging-altar. The distinction between the portion for the men and that for the boys was still preserved, so that, just as before, the men's food lay to the right of the officiating datu, and the boys' food to his left. Old men near the altar ate first, and then the others, a few at a time approaching without formality, each thrusting the fingers of one hand into the taroanan and conveying a small portion to his lips, the boys taking from the left side and the men from the right. Only the Bagobo and men from tribes closely akin in language and in appearance are permitted to eat the sacred food. Any male guest from the Guianga tribe, I was told, would be accepted at the altar like a Bagobo visitor; but no Bila-an, or Ata, or Kulaman, or a man from any other of those neighboring groups with which the Bagobo trade and intermarry, would be permitted to eat the taroanan. My own observation bore out this statement, for although ten or fifteen Bila-an had been at Mati for weeks waiting for the festival to begin, not a man of them approached the altar. Yet one of Ido's wives was a Bila-an woman, and the entire party of her tribe was entertained at Ido's house.

Now that the strain of the religious exercises was past, the people fell to drinking sugar cane liquor with a freedom that up to this time had not been permitted. The bowls were passed round, first to guests from other towns and afterwards to the people of the home village. Speeches of an informal nature followed the first or second round of drinks. Datu Oleng and Datu Yting spoke on various little happenings of the week, and Yting urged the men not to drink enough to make them boisterous, but to remember that the señora was present.

Soon the chanting of Gindaya rose again, and continued at intervals throughout the entire night. Balabba flowed freely all night, and some of the men kept on drinking until noon the next day, so that they grew hilarious, and finally drowsy from the effects of a drink which is but slightly intoxicating, unless taken in large quantities. The extreme sweetness and rich quality of this liquor often proves too much for a people accustomed to a slim diet, and many Bagobo are sick the day following a festival. There often follows a period of exhaustion that almost prostrates an old man for some little time. Datu Yting had planned to return to Santa Cruz immediately after the festival, but it was two or

three days before he felt strong enough to make the journey.²¹⁴

Arrangement of the Long House. The Long House, called *Dakul Balé*, has another name that refers, possibly, to its security from evil spirits. It is known in Gindaya chants as the "Tinalung Tambubung," or "shady, well-roofed house." The phrase that best combines these various elements is "long, narrow house with a good roof."

On first entering the Long House, it appeared to be one continuous room, for there were no dividing walls, or noticeable partitions. Yet there were actually five compartments with distinct functions, in which separate activities connected with the festival took place. The lines of separation between the rooms consisted in strips of bamboo or of palma brava,²¹⁵ running the width of the house and projecting barely above the level. These relief partitions were tied to the same timbers to which the slats of the floor were lashed. There was a double floor, the lower one being of balekayo, and the upper of split bamboo of the larger variety (*kawayan*). This upper floor, or carpet, was made from internodal sections of bamboo, averaging 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length. The green sections are put

²¹⁴ The following description of a Mandaya ceremonial is interesting to refer to at this point, because it combines, in one complex, elements that appear at several different ceremonies of the Bagobo Ginum: the rectangular altar made of four smaller altars suggesting the sonaran of agongs; the floral decorations; the great bamboo set up in the middle of the space; the drum-call at the opening of the festival; the costumed dancers; the interview with Mansilatán in which the emotional disturbance shown by the priestesses, the following silence, and the devotions as a whole resemble very closely the Bagobo manganito; the offerings of areca (*bonga*) and of betel (*buyo*); the feasting and drinking at the close of the ceremony.

"Otro sacrificio es el Talibung. Para celebrarlo levantan cuatro altares en forma de rectángulo, y cada esquina del altar es adornada con flores. En medio de estos cuatro altares, colocan una caña gruesa de tres brazas de largo con sus hojas. Se inagura la función al son del *gimbao* ó tamboril, salen tres ó cuatro *bailanes* bien vestidas, organizan un baile al rededor de dichos altares. — Al cabo de cuatro ó cinco vueltas se sientan à la vez, tiemblan, eruptan prolongadamente, sigue luego un silencio sepulchral en cuyo tiempo fingen el descenso de Mansilatán y su conversacion con ellas, en cuyo tiempo les infunde el espíritu profético, le adoran luego, y le ofrece cada cual su pollo asado y partido, juntamente con algunos camarones, los cuales mezolan con *buyo* hecho de tabaco, cal, fruta y hoja de la *bonga*, despues de cuya ofrenda repiten su baile, sientase, tiemblan, eruptan, escuchan a su dios, anuncian la buena cosecha, la curacion de la enfermedad, el buen viaje, y luego sigue la accion de gracias en el festin y la borachera de costumbre." P. PASTELLS: *Cartas*, vol. 2, pp. 39—40. 1879.

²¹⁵ *Palma brava*: *Coripha minor*. The Bagobo call it *basag*. It is a blackish wood, strong and hard-grained, and is much used for building purposes, both for upright timbers and in place of split bamboo for the slats of floors.

through a process of striking, cracking and splitting to make them flexible, so that they can be laid down flat to form the "asug ka kawayan" (floor of large bamboo).

The room farthest south had a platform floor, raised by a few inches above the rest of the house floor, and the edge of this platform served as a seat, it being the nearest approach to a bench that the house contained. This room was occupied entirely by guests from other towns with a few from the same village. They all sat crowded close together, covering this slightly elevated platform.

The next room to the north formed the center of religious rites, and contained the sacred objects connected with the celebration. Near the centre, the two ceremonial bamboos stood; the agongs hung on the east side; the hanging altar was on the west wall, and below it the sacred food was spread; a space on each side of the two bamboo poles remained for the dancers. The dega-dega, or high seat from which Oleng reviewed the ceremonial, was just north of the balekát.

The third room was utilized in various ways. Attached to the east wall was the wide guest-bed of bamboo. It was 10 feet, 2 inches in length, and 4 feet, 1 inch in width, and would accommodate a number of men, sleeping side by side, their bodies across the width of the bed; that is, at right angles to the wall. As many more could sleep on the floor below, just as in a lower Pullman berth. On the floor beside the bed, the young men cut in halves ripe cocoanuts, and mixed venison and fish with cocoanut-meat. The west side of this room caught the overflow of visitors, especially young girls who, with a few men, sat in well-packed rows on the floor. A narrow aisle, between the cocoanuts and the girls, made possible locomotion from the north end of the house to the ceremonial room.²¹⁶

In the fourth room, the women were filling leaf-dishes with food for all the people; piles of the leaf-dishes lay on the floor near the west wall. On the east side was the vacant floor space used by the older members of Oleng's family for rest at night.

The last room to the north, and the smallest of the five, was the kitchen, which opened upon a very small porch. In the northeast

²¹⁶ The uprights and the long bamboo rods that formed the frame of the loom, from which the last textile had been removed before the festival, kept their place against the west wall, in this third room.

corner of the room were the three large stones that formed the native fire-place. They rested on a bed of earth several inches high, banked by strips of wood, and having an area sufficient to hold, besides the fire-stones, big clay pots, piles of kindling-wood, and a little group of people who would gather round the fire. On this hearth, during the Ginum, all of the boiling and the broiling processes were carried on, and here, after the visitors had trooped off, the members of the family would gather to roast corn and to chat.

Festival of Ginum at Tubison. On May 27—28, 1907, almost three months earlier than the Talun festival, it was my privilege to be a guest, during the last fifteen hours, at the celebration of Ginum at Tubison, a mountain village at the top of a steep ascent several hours ride northwest of Santa Cruz. Datu Imbal and his wife, Siat, were the hosts. The festival was held three days before the expected sprouting of the rice in Imbal's fields, as he had planted somewhat earlier than several other Bagobo who, during that very week, were giving rice-sowing festivals to their neighbors. My observation of the ceremonies covered the period from about two hours before sunset of one afternoon until one hour after sunrise of the following morning. I shall here call attention to those ceremonial details alone which present points of variation or contrast to identical rites on the corresponding night at Talun; and, while passing over those lines of ritual behavior that may be expected to manifest themselves regularly at Ginum, I shall mention particularly some few single religious functions that appeared at Tubison, and were absent from Talun, as well as cases of the reversed situation.

The first important difference to be noted is one that touches the order of ritual functions. The offering of material objects upon the agong-altar with accompanying ceremonies²¹⁷ (Sonar) which at Talun took place on the third day of the festival, was performed

²¹⁷ The ceremony of placing the sacred food before the gods, and of reciting a liturgy over it, probably took place very early in the evening. I must have missed that important rite, for I was told that a ceremonial had been performed at the agong-altar about dusk while I was in the grounds with the young people. If that were the case, the rite must have been very much shorter than at Talun. I feel pretty well convinced that the betel ceremony which, at Talun, accompanied the rites over the sacred food was, at Tubison, transferred to the Sonaran as described. In each case the officiating priest placed sixteen slices of areca-nut on the altar, each being laid on a piece of betel-leaf; they were separated into two sets of eight each, by sarabak leaves at Talun, and by the little ceremonial spoon of bulls leaf at Tubison; and the betel was similarly sprinkled with lime by the celebrant. Sugar cane liquor was drunk at the earlier ceremony a

at Tubison on this last night, as one of the early evening functions. A single agong — a very large one — formed the altar, and on this the entire ceremony was performed, there being no additional agong holding water and medicine for lavations. The rite of washing and the anito seance were both absent from the Sonar as performed at Tubison. On the other hand, we have at Tubison the ceremonial preparation and chewing of arca-nut and betel-leaf on the part of the old men, a function which at Talun did not occur in connection with the agong oblation. Another element of variation was the large number of sacred dishes used in drinking the sugar cane liquor. There were, in all, sixteen cups, saucers, and plates, eight being placed to the right of the agong, and eight to the left; whereas at Talun there were but four bowls and one individual cup. The wide variety in the kinds of gifts brought to the altar at the Talun feast has been noted; but at Tubison the offerings were noticeably limited to swords, knives and brass armlets,²¹⁸ there being no textiles or bead-work or embroidery produced for the rite. Many of the bracelets were brought tied in bunches, and a few of these the celebrant fastened to the swords that leaned upon the agong. In other respects, the details of Sonaran as performed at the two places were fairly parallel.

The bamboo prayer-stands,²¹⁹ called *tambara*, formed at Tubison a more distinctive ceremonial element than at Talun. It will be

Tabison, I understood, as well as at the later one; just as at Talun this ritual drinking occurred at the agong ceremony and also at the final sacrificial rites. As a whole, however, I should remark that the two ceremonies stood out from each other more sharply distinct at Talun than at Tubison.

²¹⁸ There were in all thirty-five brass armlets brought to the altar, in eight clusters at different times, the clusters numbering from two to six armlets each; of these only three were the fine bracelets cast from a wax mould and called *balinütung*, the others being the wire armlets punched in patterns and called *pankis*. As for the swords, they were all of the long, one-edged type called *kampilan* — the most valued weapon among Bagobo men, and always worn in full dress. The ritual performance over the agong opened with eight *kampilan* piled one upon another, and resting in part on the floor, and in part on the agong. After the sugar cane wine had been poured into the sixteen dishes, another *kampilan* was brought, thus giving nine, instead of the eight that at Talun made the proper count.

²¹⁹ In each corner of the house stood a bamboo prayer-stand (*tambara*) dedicated, respectively, to the god of the house (*dios ka balē*), the god of the fire (*dios ka apuy*) the personal guardian of our host (*dios ku Dulu Imbal*), and the unseen spiritual protector called Tungo, this last shrine being set up with the particular intention of keeping the family from sickness ("diri masakit to manobo tun to bali" — "not sick the people in

recalled that at the last-mentioned place bamboo stands functioned merely as accessories to the agong rite, both in association with the altar itself, and as shrines on which the gifts that had previously been offered on the agongs might be hung. At Tubison, on the contrary, separate ritual recitations were uttered by the elder brother of Datu Imbal, while standing before two of the four tambara that occupied the corners of the house, and these devotions were accompanied by some display of dramatic action which cannot at the present time be discussed.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of this festival at Tubison was the notable part taken by women, particularly in the singing. While the chanting of gindaya was, as usual, reserved for young men alone — indeed, the women told me that the daughters of Datu Imbal did not know the words of the gindaya — yet many other vocal performances were given by girls and women. My notes, taken during the night, mention thirteen of these songs and chants, six of which were performed by a chorus of adult women, three by young girls assisted by a few young men, three were recitatives by single female voices, and one was a duet between Imbal's sister and his brother's son, the same nephew who carried the burden of the gindaya. Alternating with the songs of the women, or sometimes massed in consecutive numbers, came choruses by male voices, including the war song (*dura*), while ever and anon rose the chanting of gindaya by Iti, Umpa and Imba, sons of Datu Imbal, and by Umč, son of Imbal's brother. Some of the women's songs were given in a high key and with an explosive utterance that approached a shriek; others were softly chanted at a low pitch.

One, at least, of the women's choruses was led by Siat, the wife of Datu Imbal, a middle-aged woman of remarkably impelling personality, who took a prominent part in directing the schedule of the entire night, acting, indeed, as a co-master of ceremonies with Imbal himself. There was something very impressive in the execu-

the house?"). It was before the two last-named shrines that the ritual recitations above referred to were made. Above these two altars, and covering the intervening space, were draped a great number of the ceremonial, dark red kerchiefs called *tankulu* which were hung from the bamboos, and spread from joist to joist, so as to form an almost continuous canopy at this end of the house — the same end where the agong-altar rites were said. The family of Imbal had a wealth of tankulu, in a wide variety of figured patterns, and they formed the festive decoration of the house. There were no long lines of textiles displayed, as at Talun.

tive ability with which she superintended the various functions and the scrupulous care that she bestowed on the correct performance of ritual details, her attention passing so swiftly from one to another of the activities that were going on in the various parts of the Long House that it seemed as if she perceived the entire situation at one glance. Once I noticed that her keen eyes were fixed sharply on Umě, who was singing *gindaya*; it was obvious that he had made a blunder, and he stopped short, looking at Siat and laughing in a half-disconcerted manner, but Siat promptly corrected him, giving him his cue, and he resumed his chant. One ritual recitation was given by Siat in a high voice, and she drank sugar cane liquor from several of the sacred dishes at the altar. One other woman drank with the old men.

A few minor ceremonial features may now be mentioned in which slight variations from the rites at Talun become apparent. The dancing took place late in the afternoon and up to dusk; during the evening and the night, no dances were performed. The sprigs of fragrant *bullá*, that were worn by all of us women at our waists, had to be discarded at a definite point of the ritual. It was rather soon after the opening strains of *gindaya* were heard, and while the food was being pressed into leaf-moulds, that a little girl came to me and removed the *bullá*-leaf from my belt, and I saw that the Bagobo women were laying aside their own decorations of *bullá*. Another detail to be noted is that the sacred food, when taken from the altar was emptied into a flat basket and placed on the floor, where each man reached for it, putting his hand into the basket. I observed no separate portion for the boys. The general drinking of *balabba* by the guests followed immediately upon the consumption of the sacred food, a much later period in the ritual sequence than at Talun, where everybody was invited to drink *balabba*, not only before the men's food was laid out, but prior to the big general feast itself.

We now turn to a dramatic episode of the ritual which set off, to a marked degree, the religious activities of this night at Tubison from those we have recorded of Talun. The chief actor was an old man, Datu Idal, head of the neighboring village of Patulangan, and his part consisted in falling on the floor in a trance, or a pseudo-trance. This performance occurred quite late in the night, after all the liturgical ceremonial as well as the eating and drinking had come to an end. Following a period of successive singing,

interspersed with sharp cries from groups of women and groups of men, and while I was standing at one end of the house listening to the chanting of *gindaya*, there came a noise of tumult from the next room, and thither everybody began to rush and crowd together. There was a sound of a heavy body falling, followed by low cries and exclamations. Instantly, the wife of *Imbal* hastened to me and begged me not to be frightened; she told me that what was happening was very good for the *Bagobo*, but that I must stay where I was, and not attempt to go to look. As soon as her attention was diverted, I succeeded in making my way to a place where I could get a glimpse of *Datu Idal*. He lay on his back, stretched out at full length on the floor, his eyes closed, his general aspect being that of a person in a faint. *Siat* (*Imbal's* wife) sat at his head and gazed fixedly at his face. The old people who were standing about explained that *Idal* was dead, but that he would come to life again by and by; and they assured me that it was something good for the *Bagobo*. The crowd gradually thinned out and the *Bagobo*, one after another, lay down on the floor and fell asleep. After a while *Idal's* condition of stupor, if it were such, seemed to pass imperceptibly into natural slumber. After keeping her position as watcher for one or two hours, *Siat* lay down beside the old man, drew over herself a part of the cotton sleeping-blanket which she had spread over him, and soon dropped off to sleep. By that time, nobody was awake except the youths who were relieving one another at the *gindaya* and myself. I did not venture to lose sight of the sleeping *datu*, for it seemed highly probable that he would "come to life" suddenly, to bring to some dramatic culmination the events of the night; but nothing unusual occurred. The hours wore on toward dawn, while only the monotonous intoning of *gindaya* broke the stillness. Soon after sunrise, *Datu Idal* stirred, opened his eyes, sat up, and began to chew betel as if nothing had happened. Everybody else woke up as usual; and, as the sun shot rays across the mountain tops, only the soft chanting of the weary boys, each still holding over his lips an edge of the sacred kerchief as the last strains of *gindaya* came forth, indicated that a great religious festival was drawing to a close.

In attempting to characterize briefly this festival night as a whole, one would note the high degree of animation that pervaded the rites, a spirit which was quite as plainly apparent before the sugar

cane wine had been served as after the general drinking. In marked contrast with the quiet, orderly, almost conventional manner in which the proceedings at Talun were put through, the religious activities at Tubison suggested some hidden psychological stimulus to which every performer responded.²²⁰ There were frequent shrieks and screams from the women; groans and loud calls from the men; shouting of directions; sudden dramatic outbursts, as when one *datu* seized hold of another and tried to drag him from his seat, or when one clasped the wrists of another during the prayers before the bamboo stands, or when the entire company oriented at the same moment, crowding together and facing the north, while the men sang the locust song (*Apany*). Yet, throughout this intense excitement, one was conscious of an organization so exact as to inhibit any excess of emotional discharge. Many of the above demonstrations, as well as the war songs, the cries, and the prolonged humming and trilling sounds that are associated with war expeditions, gave the impression of a battle-field with a fight in progress, or of the return from a successful man-hunt.

Question of Head-hunting. Much work remains to be done before the complete significance of the Ginum ceremonial is revealed. Some of the religious rites that I have attempted to describe suggest similar customs which, by a parallel development or through convergence, have grown up in many countries and among many peoples all over the world. No attempt has been made in this paper to draw attention, outside of a limited territory, to parallels that will occur to every student of primitive religion.

There are other elements of the Ginum which seem peculiar to Malay groups, but the material is lacking for a detailed comparison. Among these elements, the triumphal entry of the two bamboo poles, with the attendant ceremonies, calls for special investigation. That they are raised in honor of the same god who receives so

²²⁰ Two possible causes may be hinted at for what may be termed this difference in psychical atmosphere: — (1) Possibly a human sacrifice had been offered at Tubison during the preceding twenty-four hours; while at Talun the enforced substitution of a fowl as the bloody victim may have dampened the spirit of the feast. But *cf.* pp. 96—97.

(2) There was evident, at all times, in Imbal's family a temperamental strain of buoyancy and of mental alertness that thrilled me, on every occasion when any one of them came to visit at my house. Possibly, all of the guests were infected by the enthusiasm and vivacity of our hosts. Olang's family, on the contrary, with the sole exception of Ido, were less spontaneous in manner, not at all optimistic, cautious, reserved, and not inclined to be over-hasty in the execution of their intentions.

large a portion of the devotional exercises, that is, the *Tolus ka Balekát*, is a point we have already noted; that the poles are associated with exploit factors which include the shedding of human blood is demonstrated by the war cry at the entrance of the poles, by the attaching to them of spears, by recitations of the number of lives taken, and by the detail of grasping hold of a ceremonial pole and of maintaining this position as long as the narration continues.

Father Mateo was convinced that the decoration of the poles was a sign that a human sacrifice had just been made. He mentions this conclusion in two different letters, written about six months apart. In his valuable description of Bagobo ceremonial, he says: "From the place of the sacrifice they then go to the house of their chief or the master of the feast, holding branches in their hands which they place in a large bamboo, which is not only the chief adornment, but the altar of the house in which they meet." And again, "Curious persons who are present at those feasts, do not understand the language of the old men nor see anything that hints of a human sacrifice, but those who are fully initiated in the Bagobo customs, will note immediately the token of the human sacrifice which was made in the woods on the preceding day among the branches placed in the bamboo or drum, before which the old men above mentioned make their invocation to Darago." These passages were written after Father Mateo had been ministering to the coast Bagobo for about two years.

My own findings agree with those of Father Gisbert, in regard to the bamboos. At an interview with the anito, this association of the poles with the sacrifice was stressed, and the Bagobo were told by the god that the reason they were sick was because they no longer followed the old Bagobo custom of killing a man before performing the ritual with the bamboo poles; and the point was made that it was formerly the custom after the man was killed to get sprays of areca and certain plants to take into the house, and to set up the two *kawayan*, and to sing the war song. But in addition to their connection with the sacrifice, the bamboo poles may have a larger significance.

During my observation of the bringing in of the poles and of the rites that followed, I was impressed by the resemblance of these activities to the sort of celebration that one would look for at the close of a successful expedition against an enemy. The behavior of the men suggested forcibly the return of a war party from some

big slaughter, of the bringing back of heads, or of a related exploit. Since that time, I have read Dr. Furness's picturesque account²²¹ of the return of the Kayan head-hunting expedition, and I have noted several features of the celebration that closely resemble the Bagobo rites accompanying the entrance of the two bamboos. Still more striking is the similarity in mental attitude toward the ceremony, as would appear from such emotional responses as the fixed position of the warriors, the rapt and exalted expression of their faces, the restrained eagerness of the waiting women, the break into the war cry on entering the house. Since this behavior is only one of many points of resemblance between the Bagobo and the wild tribes of Borneo, it seems possible that the same stimulus — that of hunting human heads — gave rise to the ceremony in the one group as well as in the other.

Among the Berawan of Sarawak, according to Furness, when, in

²²¹ "At the very first glimmer of dawn I was awakened by an unusual stir throughout the house. The women and children and the few men who were so unfortunate as to have been obliged to remain behind, were all collecting along the edge of the veranda below the eaves, whence they could get a view of the river. Just at the very instant that the sun sent its first shaft of level light down the long expanse of river, we heard coming up-stream, a solemn, low, deep-toned chant, or rather humming, in harmony. There were no articulate words, only a continuous sound, in different keys, from treble to bass, of the double vowel *oo*, as in *boom*. A minute later the long line of canoes, lashed three abreast, slowly rounded the turn, and drifted toward the house. The men were all standing. . . Only a few were at the paddles, merely enough to steer the procession, while all the others stood as motionless as statues, holding their spears upright and the point of their shields resting at their feet. On and on they slowly glided, propelled, it almost seemed, by this inexpressibly solemn dirge, which was wafting this sacred skull to a home it must for ever bless. . . . In order to watch the ceremony more narrowly, I left the veranda as the boats neared the beach, and I shall not soon forget Abun's solemn, absorbed demeanour. I could not catch his eye, and, unlike his usual self, he took not the smallest notice of my presence, nor did any of the others. Every face wore the rapt expression of a profoundly religious rite. Without intermitting the chant, Abun, bearing the skull, led the procession in single file to the up-river end of the house. . . . When they were all gathered, still chanting, in a close group, the old 'fencing-master' stepped out to the front with a blow-pipe, and, looking in the direction of the Tinjar River (still chanting) addressed a vehement warning to the enemy, and then (still chanting) raised the blow-pipe to his lips, and blew a dart high in the air to carry the message to them. The chanting instantly ceased, and all gave a wild, exultant shout. . ." *The Home Life of Borneo Head-hunters*, pp. 90—92. 1902. [The account continues with a narration of the rites held over the skull.]

According to Furness, the Kayans have a legend on the origin of taking heads, and the mythical account says that it was first done on the advice of a frog, and that this initial trial brought them so many blessings that the practice was ever after continued. *Op. cit.*, p. 60.

the old times, a man hunt was inconvenient, a slave was sacrificed as a substitute. From this point of view, we might look upon the Bagobo custom of sacrificing a single individual at Ginum as a mere vestige of a much more noteworthy outpouring of blood for the satisfaction of Mandarangan and for that of the Tolus ka Balekát. But this view is not altogether satisfactory, for there is no reason to suppose that human sacrifice may not be a practice that has been associated with the Ginum equally as long as head-hunting, if we admit both as ceremonial elements.

The situation in regard to head-hunting among the Bagobo offers a question for investigation. For my part, I have never seen a human head preserved as a trophy, nor have I seen a human skull in any Bagobo house. Pig skulls are occasionally hung on the wall, the number recording the skill of the hunter.

The Bagobo seem to stand in great fear of the human skull, as to them it is a representative of Buso. One old woman, a priest-doctor, caught sight of a single skull among my ethnological objects, and suffered such a shock that she told me, weeks afterward, that she had been sick ever since she saw the "bonga-bonga" at my house. Her feeling was fairly representative of the general sentiment.

Yet the frequency in many other Malay groups of this practice of taking heads, particularly in Borneo, in Celebes²²² and in several parts of the Philippines, leads one to look for the custom in the history of the Bagobo tribe. One definite statement is given by Father Gisbert in a letter to the Superior of the mission, written from Davao, July 26, 1886. The case is one of head-hunting on a large scale and it occurred only two generations ago. The father of Manip, who figures in the episode, was Panguilan, the grandfather of the present datu of Sibulan,²²³ so that these heads were taken well within the last one hundred years.

²²² The Sarasin brothers write that the greatest pride of the natives of Minahassa was in head-hunting. The captured heads, they brought home in triumph, and this entry was followed by banquet and dance. Small pieces of the slain foe were devoured. Cf. *Reisen in Celebes*, vol. 1, p. 43, 1905. The natives on Kendari bay, in southeast Celebes, say that if they did not take heads their crops would fail, and sickness would come. Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 379. For head-hunting among the Tolokaki, see *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 374—375.

²²³ See also "The Wild Tribes of Davao District," p. 111, where Cole gives a contribution from Sibulan that throws light on this point. He says: "According to the tales of the old men, it was formerly the custom to go on a raid before this ceremony

"The father of Mánip was the dato of Sibulan, who died a few months ago at a very old age (perhaps he was as much as a hundred), and whom [sic] they say had already attained to the condition of immortality, which was due to the *matuga ginanaa*, or good heart of Mandarangan, because of the many victims that he had offered that being. It is said that when he was yet a youth, he sought a wife, but did not obtain her until he had cut off fifty human heads, as was attested by the hundred ears which he carried in a sack from the river Libagánon to Sibulan." Blair and Robertson, vol. 43, p. 246.

[The word "ginanaa" (ginawa) literally means "loving."]

Just why, and when, the custom of hunting heads passed out of use among the Bagobo is an interesting problem. There is one vestige, at least, in the practice that some old men have of fastening the hair of their slain victims to the handle or to the scabbard of a weapon. I bought from Awi one sword with human hair attached. Nieuwenhuis²²⁴ found this use to be a substitute for the old practice among the Kayan.

All we can say now is that there is some evidence that the Bagobo took heads at a time not very remote, and that the character of certain of the Ginun ceremonies suggests that they may originally have been performed in association with the bringing back of heads (as well as with the human sacrifice), the two poles serving for the attachment of the skulls. The present ritual of tying on the spears and the recitations of the old men may be vestigial.

A Few Ceremonial Chants. A few of the typical chants are here given.

DURA

(Part of a war-song that is said to be sometimes chanted at the time of cutting down the two ceremonial bamboos).

[i. e. Ginun] was to take place, and successful warriors would bring home with them the skulls of their victims which they tied to the *patanan*." The author in a footnote explains this word as meaning "Ceremonial poles dedicated to Mandarangan and Darago," and continuing he says: "In Digos and Bansalan the skulls were not taken but hair cut from the heads of enemies was placed in the swinging altar *balakat*, and . . . left there until the conclusion of the ceremony."

In connection with Mr. Cole's use of the word *patanan*, it should be noted that at Talun they invariably called the two poles *kawayan* (the ordinary name for the large species of bamboo); but the ritual that was performed after the setting up of these poles they called *patanan*. It is quite conceivable, however, that in another mountain group the name for the ceremony might easily pass over to the ceremonial object itself, particularly among such a metaphor-loving people as the Bagobo.

²²⁴ Cf. Quer durch Borneo, vol. 1, p. 92. 1904.

Shout the war-cry;
 Sing gindaya;
 Pamansad ka kawayan.²²⁵
 Cook food for Ginum;
 Serve food; dish it up;
 Make the leaf-dishes.
 Clear the jungle;
 Fell the trees;
 Lop off branches;
 Burn the field;
 Plant the rice;
 Build the fence;
 Place the altar.
 Put on trousers;
 Pull the drawstring;
 Bind on tutub;²²⁶
 Dress the hair;
 Put on necklace;
 Gird on sword;
 Hold the war-shield;
 Take the spear;
 Hold up spears;²²⁷
 Gird on sword
 Fringed with goats' hair,²²⁸
 Tipped with kids' wool.
 Ride horses;
 Run the horses,
 Racing, racing.
 Dance to kuglung;²²⁹
 Dance to flute;²³⁰
 Dancing, all dancing.

Lay betel in mouth;
 Tobacco makes dizzy.
 Wash in Ragubrüb;²³¹
 At bank of Malilyo.²³¹
 Cook food; climb for bees²³²
 Making combs very high;
 Fix logan²³³ for bees.
 Make saddles; make stirrups.
 Dig the holes;²³⁴ build the house.
 Make palandag.²³⁵
 Place altar and bowls.²³⁶

GINDAYA

Make the house strong;
 Lay red peppers,²³⁷
 Lest fighting break in.
 Hang up torches at dark.
 Dance to the flute;
 Hold shield on guard;
 Break the shield of the other;
 Fight with swords; fight with spears;
 Ride horse running,
 Racing, racing,
 Make fish-traps;
 Dam the river;
 Catch the fish.
 Climb fruit-trees.
 Beat agongs, all dancing.
 Go swimming and diving;
 One boy drowns;²³⁸

²²⁵ Recitation of exploits that is made by the old men while grasping the ceremonial bamboo.

²²⁶ A kerchief worn by those not eligible to the tankulu.

²²⁷ That is, while tying the spears in an upright position to the bamboo poles.

²²⁸ It is usually the scabbard, not the sword, that is decorated with a fringe of hair or of wool.

²²⁹ The man's guitar having two strings.

²³⁰ The *talati* — a small wind instrument of light bamboo that is blown from one end.

²³¹ The name of a river.

²³² That is, smoke out the wild bees to get wax.

²³³ A framework of wood and rattan that is sometimes fastened to the branches of trees to induce the wild bees to hive there.

²³⁴ The holes for the posts of the Long House.

²³⁵ Another kind of small flute, that is blown from the side.

²³⁶ This is the *balekát*, with its pingan, or bowls.

²³⁷ A charm against demons.

²³⁸ Probably a reference to a single accidental occurrence.

He is dying.	Wear good clothes.
Make saddles; play agongs.	Cook food;
Clear the brush:	Make leaf-dishes;
Hew down trees:	Dance and cook.
Burn the field:	Get wood for the fire;
Pile up branches;	Bring water; fetch leaves;
Lop off branches:	Get water in buckets.
Burn it over.	Raise the bamboos,
Plant the rice;	Balekayo ²⁴⁰ and laya ²⁴¹
Hedge the altar; ²³⁹	Get tamanág ²⁴² wood;
.	Manga, ²⁴³ lanzone, ²⁴³
Weave at loom.	Durian, ²⁴⁵ areca;
Burn the meadow;	Pound natuck. ²⁴⁶
Hunt the boar.	Build the house;
Climb for cocoanuts.

GINDAYA

(A part of the Gindaya chanted on the opening night of Ginum.)

"God the Protector,^{246a} the All-knowing, come down here and tell us, you who have been there, the story of the bird far away in the mountains. You have heard the tale of the youngest nestling of limokon,²⁴⁷ perched on a golden tree on the farther side of the mountains of Baringan,²⁴⁸ concealed under the branches, finding at the topmost point fresh branches pointing toward the sunset, waving toward the dawn.

²³⁹ The magic plants that are placed around the hut-shrine at rice-planting. Some of the references are anticipatory of clearing and planting, as the Ginum is often held in January.

²⁴⁰ The textiles exhibited at the festival are hung from a frame of light bamboo, called *balekayo*. See p. 136.

²⁴¹ The agongs are suspended from rods of *laya* wood.

²⁴² A white, porous, highly inflammable wood, much used for kindling.

²⁴³ *Mangifera indica* L.: a large and delicious fruit having a yellow skin, a long pit, and a juicy pulp. Foreigners call it "manggo," but natives give *ng* in this word as a single phonetic element.

²⁴⁴ *Lansium domesticum*: a small fruit with translucent white pulp having an acid flavor.

²⁴⁵ *Durio zibethinus* D. C.: A good-sized fruit having a heavy rind covered with prickles, and a very soft, cream-colored pulp, which has a pleasantly pungent flavor, but an offensive smell. The durian is a favorite fruit with the natives.

²⁴⁶ Sago, which is extracted from the sago palm, pounded and boiled to a jelly. Bagobo mothers feed their babies freely with *natuck*.

^{246a} This is *Duma Tungo*, the "god who keeps the people." *Duma* sometimes means "wife," sometimes "companion." In the Long House at Tubison, there was an altar dedicated to *Tungo*, and there is a question as to whether the two divinities are identical.

²⁴⁷ The omen pigeon.

²⁴⁸ Fabulous mountains of the ulit, the romantic tale.

In the north on the seashore lie nine million kalati;²⁴⁹ in the north on the seashore lie nine rows of sequins. To fifty trees the branches cling; in the south they drop showers; in the north the breeze makes branches sway.

There is a place in the Salikala mountains where there grows a bontia²⁵⁰ pebble on the rocks. Wire cannot dent it; iron and knives cannot cut it."

GINDAYA²⁵¹

Gindaya chanted antiphonally by Ynok and Ábě against Atab and Luma. Ynok sings to Atab:

"Now here we are. I have been traveling eight years to find my own brother; these many years I have sought him, and now we have met in the house called *Tinamalung Tambobung*²⁵² (narrow long house with a good roof). Now I want to ask you, my brother,²⁵³ if you have any areca-nut and buyo leaf with you. You have probably come from a town a long way off and if you have no betel you will be hurt by the wind and the hot sun in my town. I have something to ask you. I want you to show me the way to Tangos,²⁵⁴ the little island near to this town. I must meet somebody there; and I have lost the way to my own town. I have not been back for eight years. I should not know my own areca-palm plantation nor my buyo. But this month I am going to find my way, and we will make our luas,²⁵⁵ not to speak each other's names. We will meet in one month and one day. Now I am going toward my own town; and do not you say anything bad about me after I am gone, because we are very intimate friends.

Atab sings in reply to Ynok:

"Here I am, my nearest brother. I came from Tangos island, near to the

²⁴⁹ Small discs of mother-of-pearl that are ground and pierced for beads by the Bila-an, the Tagakaola and the Kulaman tribes. The Bagobo get kalati in trade for use in decorating festival garments.

²⁵⁰ *Bontia* is said to be a tiny white stone of magic properties. If kept wrapped in a cloth and put away in a bamboo tobacco case or other tightly covered vessel, it will after a time reproduce itself. It will have one child at a time, several years apart. If the case or box it is kept in be not securely covered, the bontia may run away. This magic white stone is described as "a little larger than a grain of rice, but smaller than a kernel of corn." The bontia was once found in a bird's nest by a Bagobo of Tuban. There is one variety of bontia — the *bontia tigaso* — that never gets children, however carefully kept.

²⁵¹ This chant may, perhaps, refer to the wanderings of mythical ancestors, but I am not able to make a definite statement as to this.

²⁵² A shady house with a good roof; that is, the Long House. Except in the chants, they always call it *dakul balé*, or "big house." The main elements of this term are *-malung*, shady; tam-, prefix with a sense of "good;" *bobung*, "roof."

²⁵³ "Brother," or "own brother" is equivalent here to "close friend."

²⁵⁴ Tangos was explained as meaning any small island near to a town. From this it would seem as if, perhaps, this song had its origin at a festival on the coast.

²⁵⁵ The names of certain persons are *luas* or *tabu*.

town, and I walked a long way on the American road with the wire,²⁵⁶ to meet my own brother. I think I am a little *pangalinan*²⁵⁷ and the smallest boy in the world, because I did not bring any areca-nut. It is not right for you to say, "My nearest brother," when you ask me for betel. I think you do not feel kindly to me, because I heard bad words from you after I came. After that, I did not care to keep the areca-nuts and the betel-leaf."

Rite of Human Sacrifice, called Pag-Huaga

A fundamental feature of the worship of certain gods is the offering to them, from time to time, of a human victim, with appropriate rites. The war-god, Mandarangan, demands this sacrifice; and the persons who take part in the ceremony pray that he will keep them from sickness and death, in return for the human blood which they, for their part, are pouring out for him to drink. At the Ginum a deity of the altar, called Tolus ka Balekát, is the one for whom, from ancient times, the human sacrifice has been killed and ceremonially offered up.

Three hundred and fifty odd years ago, when the Spanish priests began the religious conquest of the Islands, the custom of killing a human victim as a religious ceremony was widespread among Tagalog and Visayan peoples of Luzon and the Visayas, as well as through the mountain tribes of Mindanao. These last-named have never given up the custom, in spite of persistent efforts made by the missionaries to crush it out. The attack has been renewed by the American government, but the human sacrifice represents so vital an element in the religious life of the Bagobo and of the other tribes who have always performed it that it dies very hard. There have been numerous references by many authors to the sacrifice, and we have three or four detailed accounts of it; but all of these were given to the various writers by Bagobo individuals, for, so far as we know, no white person has ever had the opportunity of being present at the rite. It is doubtful if any investigator will ever be in a position to record from personal observation a human sacrifice. But of the significance, and of the

²⁵⁶ A good illustration of the tendency of the native to incorporate recent happenings with the ancient elements of his story. Atab had walked along some part of the coast between Davao and Bolton, where telephone connections were established about 1906. Thence he had taken the path up the mountain trail to Talun.

²⁵⁷ The traditional small boy of the old stories (*ulit*) who, though poor and often dirty and covered with sores, eventually becomes a great datu, or a famous malaki.

manner of its performance, we can get a tolerably clear idea from the several accounts that have leaked out, or that have been extracted by questioning.

One does not want to betray the confidence of a Bagobo friend, or to place him in an uncomfortable situation with respect to the local authorities, now that the situation has become strained in regard to this native custom. Without, then, mentioning the name of the young man who gave me an account of the sacrifice, I will simply say that the story was told without question on my part; and, on his, with a spontaneity and a naïve dwelling on gruesome details that grew out of his ignorance of the danger of exposure, quite as much as his confidence in my discretion. This was several months before the case occurred that has been published by the United States War Department.²⁵⁸ My informant had observed a number of sacrifices, and he was a keen observer. I have two or three pictures that he sketched of the slave tied to the sacrificial post.

As the sacrifice offered up at Ginum is fairly typical, that form may be selected for description.

The slave to be sacrificed at an approaching festival is selected some time²⁵⁹ in advance. It may be two or three months beforehand that the purchase, or barter, or transfer of the slave into the family holding the ceremony is agreed upon. During the first and second nights²⁶⁰ of the festival, the slave-boy is kept in the ceremonial house, tied by his wrists to the wall, and fed "like the dogs" with scraps held to his lips. Clearly there is no suggestion of making the ceremonial victim the subject for special privileges during the hours just before death, or of feasting him before sending him to sacrifice.

On the last and main day of Ginum, shortly after sunrise, the slave is taken to the forest, or to the beach if the village is not

²⁵⁸ A full report of the governmental investigation that followed the human sacrifice of December 9, 1907, was published in the Annual Report of the United States War Department for 1908, pp. 367—370. Washington, 1909; and is reprinted in F. C. COLE: *The Wild Tribes of Davao District*, pp. 115—119. 1913.

²⁵⁹ According to the account in the government report above cited, the appearance of the constellation Balatik is the signal for a sacrifice. This constellation appears early in December. Mr. Cole heard the same statement from Datu Tongkaling. *Op. cit.*, pp. 114—115. The same writer states that this constellation is identical with Orion. Plasencia called Balatik the Greater Bear. Cf. BLAIR and ROBERTSON, vol. 7, pp. 186—187. 1903.

²⁶⁰ Among the Hindu also, the victim for the human sacrifice was kept chained all night. Cf. Tawney's footnote to SOMADEVA: *Kathá Sarit Ságara*, vol. 1, p. 336. 1880.

too far from the coast. All the people from several miles around gather to attend the ceremony, except the younger children who remain at home, where they later have a little supplementary performance.

At the place picked out for the ceremony, a frame — the *takosan* — is set up. This consists of three posts, vertically placed, with a cross-piece connecting them at top. The three upright elements form the *patindog*, and the horizontal cross-bar is the *balabag*. The balabag is decorated from end to end with fresh young shoots from the areca palm. Directly in front of the middle patindog, a hole is dug in the ground, to which the slave's body will finally be consigned; the pit is called *kutkut*.

Near to the sacrificial frame, there is set up a small shrine (*tambara*) consisting of the usual white china bowl wedged into the split end of a rod of bamboo set upright on the ground, and secured to a tree or other support. In the bowl of the tambara the usual offerings of areca-nuts and buyo-leaf are laid. Before this shrine, the old men gather for the office called *garug-dun*, which is recited by one or two of them acting in the capacity of priests. The burden of the rite is a prayer to Mandarangan, dwelling on Mount Apo, asking him to accept the sacrifice, and to keep the Bagobo from diseases and from all calamity. At the close of the *garug-dun*, or just before it, the slave is brought forward for the *saksakán*, or the rite of killing and cutting the body to pieces.

The slave is fastened to the middle post of the *takosan*, his hands uplifted, his wrists and ankles bound to the *patindog* by strong cords of vegetable fibre (*ylana*). Often he is tied so tightly that he cries out more in physical pain than in fear: "The fetters hurt me! Take them off! I can't bear the bands! Untie them for this time!" Immediately many of the men begin the dance with war-shields — the *palagisě* — a performance of remarkable maneuvers, demanding considerable practice as well as athletic skill. The leaping, the bending at the knee, the agile passes with the shield in presenting, drawing back, springing lightly from one to another position — all of these feats are done with a high degree of dramatic effect that is intensified by the character of the occasion. As they dance, they draw nearer to the *takosan*, and with spears and *kampilan* begin to make stabs at the victim. Others of those present, men and women, rush forward and each tries to inflict a wound on the slave, each one stimulated by the hope of a benefit to be gained

for himself if he assist at the sacrifice. In a few minutes the slave is dead from a multitude of gashes. The instant he is dead, they cut the body, with the exception of hands and feet, into small pieces, each about two and one-half inches by four inches in size, and drop them into the hole prepared to receive them. The ritual name of *pinopul* is given to a piece of a slave's body thus ceremonially cut off. The hands, sectioned just below the wrists, and the feet, just below the ankles, are left entire, these parts being reserved to carry home to the little boys in the family that offers the sacrifice. The lads cut these members into small pieces and bury them in another hole in the ground. This performance is for the purpose of making the children very brave.

Immediately after the sectioning of the body, one of the young men opens the chant called *gindaya*, in which he is joined by one or three others who sing antiphonally for half an hour. Thus closes the tragic rite, from which the Bagobo hope to secure so large a measure of health²⁶¹ and prosperity.²⁶²

²⁶¹ It is immediately after the conclusion of the sacrifice, or else the day after according to Gisbert, that the bamboo is filled with branches, and the accompanying rites are celebrated. "From the place of sacrifice they then go to the house of their chief or the master of the feast, holding branches in their hands which they place in a large bamboo, which is not only the chief adornment but the altar of the house in which they meet." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 43, pp. 234, 1906. Again he says: "Curious persons who are present at those feasts, do not understand the language of the old men nor see anything that hints of a human sacrifice, but those who are fully initiated in the Bagobo customs, will note immediately the token of the human sacrifice which was made in the woods on the preceding day among the branches placed in the bamboo or drum, before which the old men above-mentioned make their invocation to Darago." *Ibid.*, vol. 43, pp. 249—250. Cole received from Datu Ansig a statement to the same effect, that the sacrifice was made "at the time the decorated poles were placed in the dwelling." *Op. cit.*, p. 111.

²⁶² That the idea of substitution enters prominently into the complex of associations set up by the act of human sacrifice is nicely shown by Father Gisbert in the following paragraph: "When any contagious disease appears, or whenever any of their relatives die, the Bagobos believe that the demon is asking them for victims, and they immediately hasten to offer them to him so that he may not kill them. They are accustomed generally to show their good will in the act of sacrifice in the following words. . . 'Receive the blood of this slave, as if it were my blood, for I have paid for it to offer it to thee.' These words which they address to Búsao, when they wound and slash the victim, show clearly that they believe in and expect to have the demon as their friend by killing people for him. For they hope to assure their life in proportion to the number of their neighbors they deliver to death, which they believe in always inflicted by Busao, or the demon who is devoured continually by hunger for human victims." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 43, p. 250. Attention has been called already to the confusion between

A human sacrifice of an entirely different type is that called *gaka*, the victim being a Bagobo of virtue and valor who is killed in order that his liver may be eaten by other brave Bagobo men. The manner of sacrifice is the same as that of the slave, the man being bound to the takosan and gashed to pieces. Before the body is buried, the liver is removed and ceremonially eaten.²⁶³ This is the only trace of cannibalism²⁶⁴ that appears in Bagobo customs. They look with horror upon the practice of eating human flesh as a means of nurture, and say that it is a custom of the buso. The eating of the human liver is a religious rite.

In prehistoric days, the custom of offering a human victim in sacrifice was widespread throughout the Islands. The Tagal, according to Plasencia, tied a living slave beneath the body of a dead warrior.²⁶⁵ Artiedo, in 1573, writes of Filipino tribes in general, that they have a custom of killing slaves to bury with the chiefs.²⁶⁶ This usage is not strictly analogous to the Bagobo rite, for the slaves were, no doubt, sent along to provide the distinguished dead with servants in the other world — a custom practised by the Bagobo in addition to the ceremonial sacrifice.

Among the Visayan people, we have records of both kinds of sacrifice. Chirino says that the people of the island of Bohol gave the slaves a hearty meal and then killed them immediately afterward. Male slaves were buried with the body of a man, and female slaves with that of a woman.²⁶⁷ The chronicler of the Legaspi expedition states that the Visayans of Cebu sacrificed several slaves at the death of a chief.²⁶⁸ Saavedra records, in 1527—1528, that the natives of Cebu offer human sacrifices to the anito.²⁶⁹ Morga, it is true, wrote, in 1609, that the Visayans "never sacri-

the personality of Mandarangan and that of Búsao which appears throughout the writings of the missionaries.

²⁶³ According to Coronel, the Zambales of Luzon ate the brains of those whom they beheaded. BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 18, p. 332. 1904.

²⁶⁴ The statements of popular writers as to the reputed cannibalism of the Bagobo ought to be taken with a good deal of caution. Henry Savage Landor, for example, writes of "their eyes having a most peculiar lustre, such as is found in cannibal races." *The Gems of the East*, p. 362. 1904.

²⁶⁵ Cf. BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 7, p. 195. 1903.

²⁶⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 199. 1903.

²⁶⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 303. 1904.

²⁶⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 199. 1903.

²⁶⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 42. 1903.

ficed human beings;"²⁷⁰ but the Recollects, in 1624, found many instances of this rite, and recorded that in Visayan groups a sacrifice, either of a hog or of a human being, had to be made before a battle, in sickness, at seed-time, when building a house, and at other special times.²⁷¹

In regard to the wild tribes of the south, Pastells and Retana state: "the human sacrifice . . . called *huaga*, is only practised among the Bagobo, and the most barbarous heathen of Mindanao."²⁷²

Furness²⁷³ obtained an account of the sacrifice among the Berawan of Sarawak, and here two points are of special interest for our discussion: first, that the slave is killed to take the place of a head hunt; and second, that everybody present at the sacrifice is allowed to have a thrust, a distribution of privilege which, from various accounts, seems to be stressed by the Bagobo.

Ceremonial at Rice-sowing, called Marümmas

Rice may be sown while the constellations Mamarë, Marara, and Buaya are visible, May and June being the months in which the most numerous rice-plantings take place. If a new field is to be cleared²⁷⁴, the work is done two or three months before *Marümmas*.

²⁷⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 133. 1904.

²⁷¹ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 21, p. 203. 1905.

²⁷² Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 270. 1904.

²⁷³ "In former days, on the death of any influential chief, if his people were either too lazy or too cowardly to go head-hunting, a male or female slave was purchased and sacrificed in honor of the dead. From far and near, friends were invited to take part in the high ceremony. When the poor wretch of a slave was thrust into a cage of bamboo and rattan, he knew perfectly well the death by torture to which he was destined. In this cage he was confined for a week or more, until all the guests had assembled and a feast was prepared. On the appointed day, after every one had feasted and a blood-thirsty instinct had been stimulated to a high pitch by arrack, each one in turn thrust a spear into the slave. No one was allowed to give a fatal thrust until every one to the last man had felt the delight of drawing blood from living, human flesh. We were told by the Berawans that the slaves often survived six or seven hundred wounds, until death from loss of blood set them free. The corpse of the victim was then taken to the grave of the Chief, and the head cut off and placed on a pole overhanging the grave. Frequently some of the guests worked themselves into such a blood-thirsty frenzy that they bit pieces from the body, and were vehemently applauded when they swallowed the raw morsel at a gulp." Home life of Borneo head-hunters, p. 140. 1902.

²⁷⁴ See the account of the ceremonial clearing of the fields at Sibulan, and of the religious preparation therefor, given by F. C. COLE, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

First comes the *kamut*, or clearing away of undergrowth; next the *pamuli*, or felling of large trees, one week after *kamut*; and finally the burning over of the land, called *panorok*.

The Marümmas is a co-operative affair, to which all the neighbors come to assist in turn the man whose field is to be sown. During the season for planting, there is a Marümmas held every few days at one or another field. After the sowing is done, the host gives a feast to all who have helped him. The occasion is made one for a display of rich textiles worn by the women, while the men have on good trousers and richly beaded carrying-bags and kerchiefs.

The ceremonial at the sowing is performed for the pleasure of the god Tarabumě, who cares for the rice plants, making them grow and bear grain for the Bagobo. The ceremonial tool is the digging-stick, a slender pole of wood, ranging in length from six and one-half to eight and one-half feet, to one end of which is tied a little spade (*karok* or *mata*) of wood or iron, while at the upper end the pole is run through a nodal joint of bamboo about two feet long, split lengthwise to form a clapper. Whenever the digging-stick hits the ground, the two halves of the bamboo clapper strike together, producing a crisp rattling sound very pleasant to the ear, especially when many are striking in unison. The clapper is called *palakpak*, and the entire digging-stick is *katebalan*, but the *palakpak* being the significant part of the tool, from a ritual standpoint, the whole stick usually goes by the name of *palakpak*. The clapper is decorated with cocks' feathers, as long and gorgeous as can be obtained, and often with strings of beads and little bells, while the long handle is frequently scratched or carved in patterns, and colored with torchblack and dyes from roots and sap. It is for the pleasure of Tarabumě that the clapper is put on the digging-stick, and it is to rejoice the eyes of Tarabumě that it is ornamented with feathers and bells. The Bagobo say that "The feathers are to make the *palakpak* very pretty to please the god in the sky; the bamboo clapper is to make a pretty sound for the god to hear. When Tarabumě sees the feathers and hears the sound, he makes much rice." The bamboo is cut for the *palakpak* several months before planting. Each man cuts an internode of a fixed size, measured on his own body. It must be the length of the distance from a point on his right arm called *katitu* to a point at the wrist called *taklaya*. The *katitu* is a few inches below the

shoulder at a point just above the bulge of the biceps muscle; the taklaya is the middle point of the wrist on its palmar aspect. Between sowing and harvest, the palakpak is kept in the house, for if it were sold or given away during that interval the rice crop would fail.

While sowing, a line of men and boys goes first, moving in the orthodox direction for the Bagobo, that is, from north to south, for if they should move northward or eastward or westward they would be attacked by the sickness *pamalii*. A man holds his palakpak at an angle of about forty-five degrees, with the right hand higher up on the stick than the left. According to the fixed motor habit of his tribe, the right hand grasps the stick from underneath, as it guides the motion, while the left hand, in steadying the downward thrust, is clasped over the stick. This gives a centrifugal motion exactly the opposite of the habit in hoeing common among ourselves. The depth of the hole is to the neck of the mata, or little spade, but the mata are not all of uniform length. The holes are made as far apart as the distance from the point at the wrist where the pulse-beat may be felt to the tip of the middle finger; and the time between the rapid, regular blows of the spade one can measure by the striking of the clappers; it is as the time between the ticks of the pendulum of a small clock. All the strokes are made in unison, so that the palakpak of all the men rattle precisely at the same moment. A line of women and girls follows, each carrying in her left hand a vessel of cocoanut-shell containing the seed rice, or with a small basket of rice hanging from her left arm. With the right hand she takes out a few grains of rice, drops them into one of the holes, and pulls some earth over the place with her foot, patting down the soil with bare toes.

To secure the growth of rice and the well-being of the family that tends it, there is placed in one corner of the field a shrine called *parabunnián*. Before sunrise on the day of the sowing, or the morning of the preceding day, the shrine is set up, with prayers for a good crop and prayers against sickness.

The parabunnián consists of a little house, three or four feet in height, made of light bamboo thatched with nipa or cogon grass, and having a steep, sloping roof like a Bagobo house, but with only three walls, the front being left open. The parabunnián used by the Bila-an people has a floor, and some Bagobo have borrowed

this style of shrine. Inside the house is a very small tambara, with its rod of balekayo split at the upper end to hold a little white bowl, old and blackened. In the bowl are various offerings — a few brass bracelets, tarnished by age, several fresh areca-nuts on betel-leaves, and other small gifts — while a piece of white cloth²⁷⁵ may be hung beside the shrine. At Egianon's rice planting, there were four brass wire armlets in the tambara, a bracelet cast from a wax mould (*balinūtung*), and six areca-nuts on nine buyo-leaves. On the ground, just outside the little house, five areca-nuts on four buyo-leaves lay in a tiny pile. The Bagobo say that the god (probably Tarabumë) will come and chew some of the betel while the festival of Marūmmas is in progress.

Around the sacred hut, runs a little fence made of light bamboo split into slender strips. This is the *bulituk*, and it is like a tiny wicket fence with eight curves. I was told that "the number eight is very good for parabunnián, for with eight curves you could not be sick." Another function of the bulituk is to make the rice plants grow thick together.

Spikes of rattan, leaves and little branches from plants having magical value are stuck in the ground at different points close around the shrine. Each has a definite effect on the development of the young plants during their sprouting and growth.²⁷⁶

Tagbak makes the rice grow and open very quickly. Bon-bon grows abundantly and close together, just as one wants rice to grow, so the use of bon-bon means that there will be a rich sprouting of plants near together. Pula (*palma brava*) makes the rice very sturdy, because the trunk of the pula is hard and strong. Patugu also keeps the rice strong. Stalks of balala (a fine rattan) are put there to keep the leaves of rice moving, just as the balala keeps swaying. Isug causes the rice to stand straight. Lūpo (cocoanut-leaves) keep the sun from the rice, because the cocoanut palm never dies from the heat of the sun.

Ceremonial at Harvest Called Kapungáan

The rice is ready to cut from five to six months after the sowing. At harvest, ceremonies take place which are called *Kapungá-*

²⁷⁵ Small pieces of white cloth are favorite offerings at the out-of-door shrines (*kramat*) of the Malay peninsula. Cf. SKEAT: *op. cit.*, p. 67, 74.

²⁷⁶ For ceremonies at rice-planting in the Peninsula, cf. SKEAT: *op. cit.*, pp. 228—235.

an,²⁷⁷ a word meaning "the finish," referring to the close of the season in which rice is grown.

A shrine is set up in the field, in the shape of a little hut which bears the name of *roro*. In this shrine is put, as soon as harvested, a small portion of rice for the diwata and for the constellation Balatik, which appears in December, one of the months when harvest is celebrated. A portion of the rice in the *roro* is offered to the three constellations, Mamarë, Marara and Buaya — star-clusters under which the rice was sown, and to which the first fruits are now due.²⁷⁸

The religious performance in the house, following the cutting of the rice, is characterized by such typical ceremonial elements as the offering of manufactured products on an agong altar, the offering of food to the spirits, and the ceremony with betel.

The harvest ceremony at which I was present took place in the house of Datu Yting, of Santa Cruz, and covered about three hours, from half after one or two o'clock in the afternoon, until five, when the guests dispersed. The arrangements were largely in the hands of the women,²⁷⁹ one presiding at the altar, and others arranging the sacred utensils.

A wide, low platform, several feet long, close to the east wall of the main room, served as the altar, and in front of this the priestess Odal officiated, sitting on the floor, while another old woman of distinction, Kaba's wife, sat on a box at the south end of the platform, and from this slightly elevated position superintended the placing of dishes and other objects concerned in the rite.

At the north end of the platform, stood one or two large agongs, placed there for the offerings called *sonuran*. First of all, the

²⁷⁷ Three other names, I have heard applied to the harvest festival: one is *Kalapusan*, the Visayan word for "the finish;" another is *Pokankaro*, whose meaning I do not know; a third is *Gatog-hiaan*, which signifies "guessing the season." That guessing games were formerly played at harvest, and perhaps are still in use is certain, although I can give no explanation of them. Sometimes when children are at play, they run to the hemp-field, tear off abaca (hemp) leaves, poke holes for eyes, nose and mouth, and wear them as masks, called *linotung*, which, they say, are like those used at harvest "in the guessing." One man is said to wear a mask called *balekoko*. Masks called *buso-buso*, I have heard from a Bagobo, are worn at one of the Visayan festivals.

²⁷⁸ The harvest ceremony differs in a number of details at Sibulan. Cf. F. C. COLE: *op. cit.*, pp. 88—89. 1913.

²⁷⁹ Father Gisbert says that the harvest festival is called "the feast of women." See BLAIR and ROBERTSON: vol. 43, p. 233. 1906.

articles of clothing and the ornaments to be presented before the gods were brought from various parts of the house by different members of the family, and put in piles upon the agongs, in the informal manner that characterizes this part of the ceremony at Ginum as well as at harvest. Many pieces of hemp and cotton cloth were brought by the women, including a great number of the cotton textiles woven in small cheeks that had very recently been taken off the loom in Yting's house. On the top of the pile of garments they put the ornaments — strings of beads, wide woven necklaces (*sinalapil*) and bracelets of brass. A good-sized betel-box (*katakia*) was placed on the floor at the side of the altar. Just back of the heap of textiles stood a large, high burden-basket (*bokub*) partly filled with rice (*palay*) in the husk, intended as a thank offering to the spirits. Later there was placed in the basket a green spray of palay and a section of bulla-leaf twisted into the shape of a spoon.

The women proceeded, then, to arrange the leaf-dishes, and the crockery of some foreign white ware that stood in confusion on the altar. Every dish was handled by the old priestess, Odal, and from her received its final placing. She sat directly in front of the central point of the altar, erect, dignified, exact in the manipulation of every detail; yet all the time she was watched, closely and critically, by Kaba's wife, who knew the orthodox forms of arrangement equally well with Odal. Datu Yting's younger wife, Hëbë, and a son of Yting's prepared dishes of food by placing rice and grated cocoanut on the plates; and Hëbë's sister helped her in the handing of areca-nuts to Odal, as from time to time they were needed. Yting's older wife, Soleng, walked about the room and near the altar, and made suggestions here and there about the arrangements, or gave some definite direction to the younger women — even to Odal. Occasionally, Soleng or Datu Yting would detect some little break and hastily interfere; or would check some intended move of Odal's with a hastily uttered caution that this or that would be *madat* (bad), or that it would bring upon them all the sickness called *pamalii*. One of these warnings was uttered when Odal attempted to break the spray of bulla.

The priestess arranged in a straight line, directly across the altar before her, nine saucers of thick white ware, each of which contained white food, of mingled cocoanut meat and boiled rice. She placed betel on the rice in several of the saucers immediately,

and in the remaining saucers as the ceremony proceeded. Beginning with the saucer farthest to her right, and moving her hand from right to left, she placed one areca-nut with a buyo-leaf in the first, fourth, fifth and sixth saucers. In the third dish she put three of the little knives (*gulat*) used by women in all of their work. She let the knives stand upright, near the rim of the dish, with the points of their blades imbedded in the rice. At the center of the same dish, she stuck in the food three needles, points downward, two having been threaded with long white hemp, one with short ends of hemp thread colored black, such as women use for the process of overlacing warp. Later, she put an areca-nut on its betel-leaf in this third saucer, and one each in the seventh, eighth, ninth and second, as named, ending with the second from the right.

Immediately back of the nine saucers, Odal made another row of nine dishes, but these were of hemp leaf twisted into a boat-shaped vessel²⁸⁰ such as is used on ceremonial occasions, and in each of these the younger women had put a very small handful of rice and grated cocoanut. Odal added to each a betel-leaf and a thin section of areca-nut, about one-eighth of a lengthwise slice.

The priestess now proceeded to arrange a third row of dishes, directly behind the preceding. This row consisted of nine good-sized crockery plates, heaped up with boiled rice, well-moulded in conical form. As at every festival, certain plates were prepared for distinguished guests; here the number of plates thus designated was six; at Ginum it was eight. I do not know, however, whether the number six in this connection is distinctive of the harvest rites, for this was the only harvest feast that I attended. On these six plates, the moulds of rice were decorated with very small red crabs, arranged in a circle around the base. Above these, were slices of hard-boiled eggs, and encircling the apex of the cone were rings of little fish of a blackish color, the name of which I failed to ascertain. Near the rim of each plate lay eight or nine small heaps of a russet-brown powder, evidently the pounded seed called *lunga*, an edible seed that is used much more commonly in the interior than at the coast, but here included as a representative food to be laid, with the other first fruits, before the spirits. Waving from the top of the mould of rice on each dish were two

²⁸⁰ See pp. 101, 105—113.

or three sprays of green nito²⁵¹ bearing small white buds. The color display was most brilliant and artistic, an effect which may have been unconsciously produced, for the food elements were probably placed in that particular order in obedience to custom. The remaining three plates of the nine had smaller moulds of rice, with no crabs, fish, or eggs.

The details of laying out the altar table were concluded when Odal placed to the right of the first row of saucers another saucer containing the ceremonial red rice called *omok*.²⁵² To the left of this first row she set a bowl containing a few spoonfuls of cocoanut-water from a fresh nut, and just in front of this bowl she laid one of the great circular leaves from the luago — a pile of brown, powdered lunga-seed lying on the leaf. The bowl and the leaf, however, were not put in place until a somewhat later point in the ritual.

Now, Datu Yting who for some time had been lying stretched out on the floor, got up and took a hand in the performance. At the extreme left of the first row of saucers, he placed one of the large, flat baskets that are used by women when they toss the pounded grain to let the wind blow off the chaff. Yting laid eight of the heavy work-knives²⁵³ called *poko* in this rice-winner, together with four of the short knives called *sungi*, such as men use for doing their fine carving of wood, and for cutting up areca-nuts. He brought all of these knives together in a pile, except one *poko* that was added later, and after putting them into the basket he said a few ritual words over them.

Immediately afterwards, the priestess opened her prayer, which was a long one. At first, she was prompted several times by Yting and Ikde; but afterward she proceeded fluently and without break for perhaps fifteen minutes, while holding in her hand a spray of manangid which she waved back and forth over the objects on the altar. In the ritual over the clothing, she mentioned by name

²⁵¹ *Lygodium scandens*: a climbing plant having a slender, glossy-black stem that is widely used for making neckbands and bracelets.

²⁵² See pp. 138, 139.

²⁵³ Father Gisbert seems to have had this part of the ceremonial in mind, when he wrote: "When they harvest their rice or maize, they give the first fruits to the *diuata*, and do not eat them, or sell a grain without first having made their hatchets, bolos, and other tools which they use in clearing their fields eat first." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 43; pp. 237—238. 1906.

each class of garments that she was presenting to the gods: panapisan (skirts), ampit (cotton textiles), sinalapid (wide necklaces), pankis (brass bracelets), and when dedicating the first fruits of the products of the field she turned slightly in the direction of the plate, or bowl, or leaf-dish that she was offering. At a certain point in the service, Yting handed to her a plain, undecorated lime-tube, and she went through with the motions of sprinkling lime over the betel, although no lime came out, because it had become dried in the tube. For a few minutes during the invocation, Hëbë, having stepped to the altar, stood directly back of Odal. As she went forward, she told me in a low tone, on passing, that her own dios were now being called upon. When Odal had finished, Datu Yting offered a brief prayer.

Then followed the binang; that is, the partaking of the now sacred fruits of the field by individuals in the following order: Datu Yting, Soleng (the elder wife), the priestess Odal, Sumi, Hëbë (the younger wife), Brioso (Yting's eldest son), Hëbë's sister, then Ikde, Modesto's mother and several other old women, then the younger women and the men. Each individual took a very little rice with his fingers from some one dish and put the rice into his mouth. A few took from several dishes, apparently in a fixed order. Yting began with the third row of large plates, then passed on to the first row of saucers, and finally returned to the plates. Soleng took a portion from the third saucer, in which Odal had stuck the needles and the little knives. The six large plates of rice, garnished with fish, eggs, etc., were handed entire to the guests of rank. The ceremony closed when all of the food had been eaten.²⁵⁴

In the evening, there was the usual gathering at Yting's house for the consultation of the manganito spirits.

²⁵⁴ A letter written by Father Gisbert, and dated January 4, 1886, briefly characterizes the harvest festival among the Bagobo. "They have two feasts annually: one before the sowing of rice, and the other after its harvest. This last is of an innocent enough character, and is called the feast of women. At that feast all the people gather at the house of their chief or the master of the feast, at the decline of the afternoon. That day they feast like nobles, and drink until it is finished the sugar-cane wine which has been prepared for that purpose. There is music, singing, and dancing almost all the night, and the party breaks up at dawn of the following day." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 43, pp. 233—234. 1906.

For a description of the elaborate reaping ceremonies practised by the Malays of Selangor, see SKEAT, *op. cit.*, pp. 235—239.

Marriage Rites

Courtship and marriage come about in a very spontaneous manner among the young people of the Bagobo. The girls are quite as independent as the boys, and both are of an age, when the question of marriage comes up, to be fully able to make their own decisions. Child marriage, or contract for the marriage of children, does not exist among them. The girl is from fifteen to eighteen years of age, at least, and the boy, eighteen or twenty, at the time of marriage. During courtship there are abundant opportunities for meeting without surveillance from their elders, for songs and walks, for glances and smiles and chewing of betel together. The girls are exceedingly dignified, yet always frank and kindly in their behavior with young men.

Ordinarily the boy asks the consent of the girl directly, and then goes to her parents, placating them with gifts of agongs if they object. Another method which is called a "very good way" is for the boy to tell his father that he wants a certain girl, and ask him to go to her parents; "the boy sends his father" to manage the affair. In other cases, the negotiations are initiated by the parents of the respective families.

"Marriage by purchase" in the sense that many of the early writers on ethnology use the term is unknown among the Bagobo. Though the young man gives a present to his prospective father-in-law for the privilege of marrying the girl, his situation is very different from that which is found among tribes where the woman is actually sold against her will. In the first place, the Bagobo woman is a free agent; she accepts or rejects her suitor at will; her parents will not force her to marry unless she wishes. Secondly, it should be noted that if the young man is accepted, the girl's father gives him in return for the gift he has brought a present equal to one-half of its value; that is to say, if the boy brings ten agongs, the girl's father gives him five of his own agongs, thus making a very personal gift, and completely removing the stigma of selling his daughter. She is honored, deferred to, consulted in everything by her husband to an extent that often seems to place her at the head of the family. A word from his wife will often mould a man's plans and change his intentions on the spot. That the purchase of the woman, in the sense of a marriage gift to her

father, necessarily implies the bondage of the woman, or even a minimizing of the respect in which she is held by the man, is effectually disproved in Bagobo family life, just as it is disproved in many another primitive group.

Trial Marriage.²⁵⁵ A wide latitude prevails in regard to a set time for the formal marriage ceremony. In general, the wedding takes place while the boy and the girl are still respectively *malaki* and *daraga*, or virgins. They marry first, it is said, and try each other afterwards. Another Bagobo custom, which seems to be an ancient one, is to permit the couple to meet without restriction, but to defer the Bagobo ceremonial until after the birth of the first child, or even later. During the period of reciprocal test, if no child is born either one of the lovers may change face, reject the other, and choose another partner. The marriage of Oun and Unē was not solemnized with Bagobo rites until three children had been born, the eldest being then six years of age, and the youngest, eighteen months old. But Oyog married Daban immediately after the birth of their first child.

Formal Ceremony²⁵⁶ **called Taliduma.**²⁵⁷ A formal marriage is an act of high ceremonial significance, at which event such important ritual acts appear as the application of medicine with water (*pamalugu*), the drinking of sugar cane liquor (*balabba*), the chanting of *gindaya*, and even, occasionally, a human sacrifice.

Rites peculiar to marriage include the discarding of old garments and throwing them into the river, an act typical of the casting out of disease; the pointing of a spear toward the mountain, emblematical of the warding off of misfortune; the plaiting together of locks of hair, symbolizing, possibly, the permanence of the union; the exchange of gifts; the setting up of a house-altar when the new family is formed. The entire ritual of marriage, which is performed by a priest or priestess, covers more than twenty-four hours, and informal drinking and feasting often begin a day or two before the formal ceremony.

The first event of the main day is the bringing of the agongs

²⁵⁵ Cf. the mythical romance, "The Malaki's sister and the Basolo," Jour. Am. Folk-Lore, vol. 26, pp. 39, 40. 1913.

²⁵⁶ I did not have the good luck to see a marriage ceremony. The account here recorded was given me by Islao, and I have checked it up by one or two other accounts that came to me.

²⁵⁷ *Tali*-means "to tie," and *duma*, "the other," "the wife," or "the husband."

that are to furnish the wedding music into the house of the girl's parents. This performance occurs at about seven a. m., and is called *piid k'ayong*. The instruments are supposed to be furnished by the bridegroom, and include those that he brings as the marriage price, and others that he borrows for the occasion if his purchase falls short.

When the sun is about two hours high — that is to say, about eight o'clock — the couple to be married, their families and all the friends who have arrived, go in procession to the river, where a convenient place has been selected for the ceremony. Two small flat bowlders that lie close together and project above the water are picked out in a narrow part of the stream's bed where the water runs shallow. The young man and the young woman are directed by the old people to sit down on these two stones, while the people cluster at the edge of the river. The sitting on the stones is a rite called *gunsad*.

There follows the pamalugu, or ceremonial washing. The old man or the old woman who officiates as priest steps down into the stream, holding in his hand a bunch of medicine (*uli-uli*) composed of small branches, leaves and stems of freshly-plucked plants of many varieties that possess magic properties. The priest stands over the young couple, and having dipped the bunch of medicine into the stream he holds it above them, and lets the water drip down upon their heads and bodies. Then with the uli-uli he rubs the head and joints of the pair, giving one downward stroke to each joint, in the following order: top of head, back of neck, shoulders, elbows, wrists, knuckles, finger-joints, hips, knees, ankles, toes, jaw, and last of all the face. The object of the pamalugu is to make the bodies of the young people strong and vigorous, and to keep out disease.

A magical rite for warding off sickness and misfortune is that of bracing the mountain (*T'okud ka Pabungan*). The priest takes two short spears and points them at one of the neighboring mountains (it was Mount Roparan when Oun married Unë) and at the same time recites a formula to the effect that the mountain may not roll down on the young couple and bring them sickness. Then he puts the spears in place, one back of the boy, and the other back of the girl, letting the spears stand braced by stones. They say they do this because it is Bagobo custom (*butasan*), and that it is *s'alat* or something to keep sickness away, because it

means that the mountain will not roll down on them. After the ceremony, the two spears are laid in the river and left there.

The next rite is the *gantugan*, or throwing of garments into the water. Up to this point in the ceremony, the young man and the girl have been dressed in old shabby clothes, so far as externals indicate, but now the girl draws off her skirt (*panapisan*) and reveals beneath a beautiful, newly-woven skirt. She throws her old *panapisan* into the river. At the same time, the man takes off his poor trousers (*saroar*), under which he wears a fine new pair, and flings the old pair into the stream, where the current carries it down together with the *panapisan*. It is said that with the old garments all the sickness goes away, floating out to sea.

The old man then ties together a lock of the man's hair and a lock of the girl's hair as a mark of their union — a function called *pagsugpat k'olu*. The tying of hair is followed by the exhortation called *patongkoy* when the priest addresses the newly-married pair in the following words. "You must put the altar *tigyama* in your house, for an *alat* to keep away sickness. Take a white dish and put into it *areca-nuts* and *betel-leaf*, and keep it in your house. Whenever you get sick, put some more *betel* in the dish. You must never take *betel* from the *tigyama* for chewing, because that would make you very sick."

During the entire ceremony at the river, which lasts for upwards of an hour, all of the guests who wish to do so may bathe in the river since the water acts as an *alat*, or charm, to make their bodies strong against the attacks of sickness. Very many of the Bagobo present go into the water for *padigus*, or bathing.

Between nine and ten o'clock, all return to the home of the bride, where beating of agongs and dancing take place, at intervals, throughout the entire day and guests keep on coming all day long.

During the evening, there is cooking of rice, broiling of pig and venison, and the accompanying preparations for a feast. At about nine o'clock, the festival meal comes off and the guests, seated on the floor in the customary manner, receive the food distributed by some of the younger women. After the meal, there is a general drinking of *balabba*, and afterwards beating of agongs and dancing to the music of agongs and flutes. A few young men chant *gin-daya* in the usual antiphons. At some hour during the night, there takes place a set conversation, or discussion, among the old men,

who sit in a group on the floor, and decide matters that come up for consideration between the two families of the wedded pair, such as the exchange of suitable presents.

At break of dawn on the second morning, the agongs are beaten (*ʼagong-go*), and there is dancing (*sumayo*) for an hour or two.

When the sun is an hour high, — about seven o'clock, — the ceremonies of the day are started under way. There is first an exchange of gifts between the bride and her husband — a ceremony known as *pabulase*. She gives him a good textile made up into a panapisan, which she may have worn for a few days or more, at pleasure, since she took it from the loom. His gift to her is commonly a wide, solid brass armlet, or an entire set of bracelets for one arm or for both. A set, or *budē*, for one arm may consist of forty to sixty rings of brass cut from heavy wire, some of which are plain, some punched in decorative patterns. Two or three fine cast bracelets usually form part of such a set. There is no ceremonial restriction on the disposal of these marriage tokens; they may be kept or sold, at the wish or the need of the young people.

Soon after the exchange of presents, the rite of *tigyama* takes place. The bride furnishes one saucer or small deep plate, of white crockery, and her husband brings another. Both of these dishes, called *pingan*, must be old ones. The pingan are placed with ritual words, and they remain for an indefinite time in their place below the edge of the sloping roof. Areca-nuts and buyo-leaf are put into the dishes for the god Tigyama, with a prayer to be kept from sickness. This entire rite has an important magical value for the prevention of disease and for the cure of sickness, and hence is called *alat*.

The gift to the old man, or woman, who officiates is termed *ikut* — the same name as that given to an old article reserved for the gods, for the priest's fee has a religious significance akin to that associated with a gift to the gods. The bride and her husband present, jointly, two or three articles of some slight value: a spear and a piece of textile, or a shirt simply embroidered, together with a bracelet of brass, or a few hand-cast bells. The giving of *ikut* closes the ceremony, usually at about nine o'clock in the morning.

During the day or the night following the wedding, there is held a meeting of the old men, called *gokum bayako*. This is a form of assembly characterized by antiphonal singing interspersed

with conversation, and having for its object a financial settlement between the two families, in regard to the marriage price. The bridegroom may have been obliged to borrow the agongs, or to buy on credit; the man to whom he owes the instruments may be inclined to come and take them away from the bride's father; the number of agongs brought in by the young man may fall short of those he promised for the marriage price; and numerous complications may arise among a people so ingenious in resources for borrowing, as well as for pawning and promising payment in articles that they hope sometime to acquire. In any case, there might arise a question as to how many agongs are due of those customarily given back by the father of the bride. Gokum lasts, often, far into the night or until morning.

In marriages among families of wealth and distinction, the killing of a slave as a religious sacrifice (*paghuaga*) is regarded as an important factor for insuring an auspicious marriage. This is an old custom among the Bagobo, and as late as 1886 Father Gisbert writes: "When they [the Bagobo] marry, if the lovers think that it will be of any use, they make a human sacrifice so that they may have a good marriage, so that the weather may be good, so that they may have no storm, sickness, etc., all things which they attribute to the devil."²⁸⁸ During my own stay among the Bagobo, no such instance came to my knowledge.

According to Bagobo custom, the young man lives in the home of the bride's parents for perhaps a year, more or less, or at least until his own new house is built. When this is ready they set up their own establishment. But if a Bagobo girl marries a Visayan, she will go with her husband to the house of his parents, in accordance with Visayan custom, for a longer or shorter period.

Neither tribal exogamy nor tribal endogamy exists among the Bagobo. They marry²⁸⁹ freely both within their own tribe and

²⁸⁸ BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 43, p. 235. 1906.

²⁸⁹ The mixture of the Bagobo with other tribes, which is considerable, will lead to interesting questions concerning changes in Bagobo ritual from the outside influence thus brought in. In the sparsely-settled country in the near vicinity of Santa Cruz, I noted seventeen families in which a Bagobo man or woman had taken a mate from some other tribe. Of these, there were five matings of Bagobo with Tagakaola; six with Visayan; two with Tagal; two with Bila-an; one with Zamboanguinian Moro; while one Bagobo man had three wives — one each, from the Tagakaola, the Bagobo and the Bila-an tribes, respectively. In the mountains, intermarriage between the Bagobo and Bila-an peoples,

into other wild tribes with whom they are on friendly terms, as well as with the civilized Visayan and Tagalog. Nor is there any law regulating village endogamy or village exogamy, for they choose partners in the same village, as well as from other villages; but whether or not there is any regulation as to marriage within a certain cluster of villages, I am not able to state.

Rites attending Death and Burial

As sketched in a preceding chapter,²⁹⁰ the *takawan*, or good soul, goes after death to the pleasant underworld; while the *tebang*, or evil soul, departs to find its place among the buso. The dead body, abandoned by both of those personalities that have dominated it during life, is left as the helpless prey of flesh-eating fiends, unless it be safeguarded by friends. Attendants gather around the dying person, to rub his face with the fragrant leaves of tagomaing and manangid and other sweet-smelling plants that have a magical efficacy against the demons. "We do this," they say, "so that Buso cannot come to the sick man; these plants make Buso afraid." If such precautions were neglected a buso would come and suck the blood of the dying²⁹¹ before the heart-beat had ceased.

After death the body is left on the floor, lying on the same mat used during the sickness. A little cushion is put under the head and a piece of hemp or cotton textile is spread over the body, covering the head also. Before the American occupation, a wide strip of Bagobo textile was always used for covering the dead, but now it is a gaudy striped cotton cloth of Moro weave. It appears that this change is intended as a sop to the American government thrown in all sincerity by the Bagobo on account of a laughable, albeit pathetic, misinterpretation of a scrap of our nomenclature. When the Bagobo learned that a large part of Mindanao, including their own territory, had been named by our government the Moro

who are very friendly together, is not unusual. To what extent the traditions and ceremonies are being affected by these unions, is a problem that ought to be minutely investigated. Modifications in material culture and in decorative art are continually being introduced by inter-mixture; and, unquestionably, we may expect to find borrowed episodes appearing in the myths, borrowed rites incorporated into the ceremonies.

²⁹⁰ See pp. 50—61.

²⁹¹ Although Buso is not supposed, ordinarily, to harm the living, those at the point of death are thought to be in danger of his attack.

Province, they at once inferred that Americans wished to favor these traditional enemies of the mountain tribes. Moro customs and Moro products would be favored by Americans. "We now take a Moro gintulu to cover the dead man, because if we used the Bagobo cloth it would make the American governor of the Moro province angry." Before the funeral the body is dressed in a nice pair of trousers, if a man, or fine woven skirt, if a woman, so that it be suitably arrayed for making its entrance into Gimokudan.

During the one or two nights that pass before burial, a death-watch (*damag*) is observed to protect the corpse from all the buso, who are supposed to smell it from afar and to come flying or running to eat the flesh, but who fear to enter a company of living people. At the coast, it is customary to play at the wake a Visayan game of cards called *traysetis*, but whether any function of divination is attached to the game, or whether it be a mere device to keep awake, is not known to me. A little jesting and fun relieve the strain. If anybody falls asleep he is not disturbed, but they punish him by scraping soot from the bottom of the clay pots and slyly rubbing it over the miscreant's face and legs. When he awakens in the morning he sees his blackened skin, and realizes to his deep mortification that they have made game of him.

A highly efficacious device for scaring Buso from the coffin is that of producing a crocodile design²⁹² on coffin or pall. In the mountains, it was formerly the custom when a datu died to carve the head and lid of his coffin into the shape of a crocodile's head with open jaws showing tongue and teeth. The head was a carving in the round that projected in front of the body of the coffin, the lid forming the upper jaw, so that to open the coffin it would be necessary to lift the upper jaw and thus open the mouth of the dreaded reptile.

In ordinary burials, a conventional pattern of lozenges and zig-zags made from strips of red or white cotton cloth is tacked on the black cloth that covers the sides and lid of the box, thus producing a highly schematic representation that is called *buaya*, or crocodile. The women tear off lengths of cloth and turn down the edges in exact folds, while the men attach the strips to the pall.

At the closing of the coffin, the chief mourner gives utterance

²⁹² See p. 42.

to a perfunctory wail. If a man is to be buried, the wife or daughter sits down on the floor at the precise moment when some male relative is picking up the lid of the coffin, and as he lowers it to the box she places her right forearm horizontally across her eyes in the customary attitude of grief, and begins to wail in that high-pitched, plaintive tone peculiar to Bagobo women and little girls. The wail seems on the border line between genuine grief and a cry meant as a feature of the occasion. While this wail goes on, an old woman, mother or grandmother, makes a ritual exhortation to the spirit of the dead, her eyes fixed steadily on the coffin, her glance following keenly every movement of the men and directed toward the exact place where a nail is being driven. Precisely with the placing of the last nail, the old woman ceases speaking, and the young woman's grief closes abruptly.

If the funeral takes place in the early morning, breakfast is served to family and friends immediately after the coffin is closed, but before anybody receives a portion of rice the first handful²⁹³ is taken out to put with the onong for the dead. Someone near of kin to the deceased wraps the boiled rice in a banana-leaf and puts it into the dead man's carrying-bag, before joining the rest to eat rice and to chew betel. At the close of the meal, they gather up the things that will be needed at the burial — petati²⁹⁴ to lay in the grave, and the food and other conveniences that the soul is to take along on its journey to Kilut.

In the mountains, a burial-box is hollowed out from a section of tree trunk or a log split lengthwise; but Bagobo families living near the coast have formed the habit of shaping out a coffin, after the manner of foreigners, but it is made barely large enough to squeeze the body into. Measurements taken by myself on the coffin of Obal, a fairly tall Bagobo whose body was enormously swollen by disease, gave an extreme length of 5 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; a maximum width at the head end of 1 foot 6 inches, sloping sharply to a width of 8 inches at the top of the lid; while the foot of the box had a maximum width of 11 inches, with a slope to $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches at top.

I was told that in former times the Bagobo made no coffin of

²⁹³ This custom was noticed by Father Mateo. "When anyone dies, they never bury him without placing for him his share of rice to be eaten on the journey." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 43, p. 237. 1906.

²⁹⁴ Professor Boas tells me that this is a Mexican word.

any sort, but simply spread a petati or two at the bottom of the grave to receive the body. A vestige of this old custom appears at the present time, when the same mats upon which the person died are carried by somebody near of kin, and laid in the grave before the body is lowered, so that they lie under the coffin. For chieftains and persons of rank, a burial-box has probably been used for a very long period.

If the body is to be carried any considerable distance for burial, the coffin is placed on a rough bier (*tiangan*), consisting of two long poles and two short cross-pieces, tied together with rattan. Male relatives bear the dead to the grave. At the funeral of Obal, three cousins carried the coffin, and Obal's daughter carried three forked sticks on which the bier would be placed at intervals on the road, when the bearers stopped for rest; she carried the petati, too.

While Jesuit influence has led those Bagobo who live near the coast to inter in one section of land set apart for a graveyard, the mountain Bagobo continue the ancient custom of burying their dead in the ground directly beneath the family house — a convenient place, on account of the Malay mode of house construction, by which the floor is lifted several feet above the ground. Many references in the writings of Spanish missionaries²⁹⁵ show that the old Filipino custom was to make individual burials under the house, or in the open field.

The grave (*kalian*) is measured, as custom requires, by the stature of the digger;²⁹⁶ that is to say, the top of the wall of the grave must be on a level with a point of the body somewhere between waist and breast. The grave runs north and south, and the body is placed with head to the north, so that it faces south.

At the moment of lowering the coffin into the grave, another

²⁹⁵ The Visayan of Cebu, according to the chronicler of the Legaspi expedition, 1564—1568, buried in coffins, with rich clothes, pottery and gold jewels, the common people in the ground, but chiefs in lofty houses. Cf. BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 139. 1903. Chirino describes Filipino customs of embalming with the juice of buyo, and burying in coffins under the house, or in the open field. Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 30. 1904. Plasencia says that the Tagal buried beside his house, and that the chiefs were buried beneath a little house, or beneath a porch specially constructed. Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 194. 1903.

²⁹⁶ Zoroastrian books prescribed the exact depth for a grave. "On that place they shall dig a grave, half a foot deep if the earth be hard, half the height of a man if it be soft." J. DARMESTER (tr.): "The Zend-Avesta." Sacred books of the East, vol. 4, p. 97, 1895.

ceremonial wail is heard. At the funeral of Obal, the mourner was his daughter Ungayan, his wife having died before him. It was she too who mourned when the lid was nailed down. When the coffin was lifted from the bier by Maliguna, Ogtud and Bungan, the three men cousins of Obal, Ungayan stooped down on the ground, and just as the coffin was placed in the grave she reached down and with one hand silently touched the head of the coffin. This she did twice or thrice. Then she rose and walked a few steps east of the grave, where she squatted on her feet, then turned her head partly away from the grave and placed her right arm horizontally across her eyes. One of the relatives dropped upon the coffin Obal's old kabir in which was deposited the rice that had been put aside at breakfast, with some coffee, a few areca nuts and buyo leaves, Obal's tobacco-tube (*kokong*), and two lime-tubes (*tagan*), all of which constituted the traveling-outfit (*onong*) for Obal's soul. Then the three cousins began to push earth into the grave. Simultaneously with the falling of the first clod, Ungayan took up her wail for the second time that day, crying and moaning as before, but for a longer period and in a more vehement manner.

While she mourned, her young husband, Ulian, made an invocation addressed to the gimokud of Obal, which was supposed to have been walking through the village since death, but whose departure for Kilut must now be hastened. The intention of the burial ritual seems rather for the benefit of the living than that of the dead, for it is recited with the hope that the gimokud will go down in peace to Kilut, without attempting to trouble the members of his family, or to draw them after him. They told me that Ulian said the words to keep Ungayan and himself and the others from getting sick. Ulian took up a slightly elevated position on the crooked trunk of a gnarled old balbalin tree, a part of which had curved in growth until it was almost parallel with the ground. Ulian looked steadily into the grave, gazing with a fixed stare at the coffin as it disappeared beneath the falling clods, as if his attention were wholly riveted upon the spirit which he was addressing in an urgent entreaty to depart.²⁹⁷ This formula was called *dasol*, and ran as follows.

²⁹⁷ The tradition that the soul lingers near the grave and funeral customs that express this belief are widespread in the Malay region. Martin says: "Besonders wichtig sind die Vorstellungen, die sich die Inlandstämme von dem Verhalten der Seele nach dem Tode machen. Am meisten verbreitet ist der Glaube, dass der Geist beim

"Do not envy us, Kawanān.²⁹⁸ We have got you. What is the matter? I see you grieving. You are going there to the One Country.²⁹⁹ Do not be sorry. Go there to the One Country. Do not speak, because you are going there. We are here above. We must eat now at our house because we are alive. You, you are there in the One Country. We are living. If we speak in Bagobo, you must answer in Bagobo. Feet, hands, eyes, nose, mouth, head, belly, forearms, back — you must turn away; you will go out from here. Show the sole of your foot, your palm. It was your short line of life that killed you. Do not come from the One Country. We bury you in the ground; we dig the walls of the grave. We will set pots on the stones, place dishes, put wood on the fire, cook food, dishing³⁰⁰ it with spoons. Let us walk far away. We are sleepy. You will be on your road for three nights. When we reach our home, we will rest because we are tired. Walking hurts my knees. My whole body hurts. My arm pains me from elbow to wrist. I am sleepy because I am tired from walking a long way. I hurt my foot on a sharp bamboo sugian³⁰¹ while I was getting betel-leaf and cutting bananas. I shall dig camotes to fill the burden baskets, because we are going home to our house; for we will cook them because I am hungry. All day I did not eat until the setting of the sun. We will spread the petati for sleep. Give me a kisi.³⁰² The mosquitoes are stinging me. Kindle a fire, because many small gnats³⁰³ are biting already. Bad mosquitoes sting me all over. Put away the dishes.

Tode den Körper verlässt und nach einem paradiesischen Lande gelangt, wo er in aller Ewigkeit verweilt. In den Einzelheiten dieser Legende bestehen aber ziemliche Differenzen, die wohl, zum Teil wenigstens, auf Vermischung mit ähnlichen, fremdartigen Vorstellungen beruhen. So glauben die Besisi, dass die Seele zunächst sich noch einige Zeit in der Nähe des Grabes aufhalte, und daraus erklären sich gewisse, bereits erwähnte Grabgebräuche. Auch die Sitte, den Ort, an welchem ein Mensch gestorben ist und begraben wurde, zu verlassen, dürfte mit jener Vorstellung zusammenhängen, da naturgemäss der umschwebende Geist den Hinterbliebenen Schaden tun könnte." Die Inlandstämme der malayischen Halbinsel, p. 950. 1905.

²⁹⁸ The good soul, or *gimokud takawanān*.

²⁹⁹ The land of the dead, called also the Great Country.

³⁰⁰ This reference is probably to the funeral feast.

³⁰¹ A trap of sharp bamboo points.

³⁰² A mantle of woven cotton which a Bagobo sometimes wraps round him at night.

³⁰³ A hint of the actual condition at the moment, for swarms of little gnats filled the air. In that tropical jungle, the bodies of the men, naked to the the waist, were covered with swarming and crawling things — vermin, black and yellow, long and shiny-looking.

We have finished eating. I will sweep the floor, chew betel, put tobacco in my mouth and shake out lime. The river has risen. We cannot cross. It is swollen."³⁰⁴

By the time that Ulian had finished the recitation of the dasol, the grave was entirely covered, and the frame forming the bier was laid on the grave, with the forked sticks placed on top. Ulian then stepped down from his place, and all the mourners went home.

A feast and a dance are often given after the funeral by families that can afford the expense.

Another custom is to leave the body in the house, while the family, after carefully closing the door and fastening the windows, moves away and builds a new house to live in. Sometimes the new house is very near to the old one which contains the body. I have seen in a lonely forest on the mountains two small huts but a few feet apart, one of which little houses was said to contain the body of a boy, while his family lived in the other. I was told that they lived there because they loved their little boy, and wanted to be near him. An additional motive may have been the hope of protecting the body of their dear child from the attacks of Buso, since the bad demon is traditionally afraid of living people.

An ancient custom of tree-burial is suggested by the story, "The Tuglibung and the Tuglay,"³⁰⁵ in which the hero laid the body of his little sister in the branches of a tree, "because the child was dead." Although in the myths thus far published this is a unique case, it is not unlikely that such a disposal of the body was common in old times. This probability is strengthened by the fact that tree-houses used to be used rather widely by the Bagobo and by the Bila-an people. The leaving of a corpse in the tree-house³⁰⁶ would then correspond to the present custom of shutting up a home with the body inside.

³⁰⁴ The text of the address to the departing spirit was given me by Ulian after the funeral. It seems to end abruptly, but such an ending is often characteristic of the Bagobo songs and stories as well as of speeches. The exhortation contains several references to the funeral feast, which gives the customary termination to the ceremony and perhaps offers additional consolation to the departing soul.

³⁰⁵ See *Jour. Am. Folk-lore*, vol. 26, p. 26. Jan.-Mar., 1913.

³⁰⁶ From Ouirante's account, the Igorot, at the time of their discovery by Spain, used to bury in caves, but they also made use of the trees for placing their dead. "Others they set in the trees, and they carry food for so many days after having left them." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 20, p. 275. 1904.

PART III. EVERY-DAY FORMS OF RELIGIOUS RESPONSE

INTERVIEWS WITH THE GODS, CALLED MANGANITO

The concept of *anito* is somewhat variable throughout the Islands, and hardly any two writers agree exactly as to the content of the word. Among the Tagalog, nature deities of the mountains, the plains and the sea, as well as the small images that impersonated them, were called *anito*; the spirits of dead ancestors, also, were placed among the *anito*.³⁰⁷ Rizal explains that, "It appears that the natives called *anito* a tutelary genius, either of the family or extraneous to it. Now, with their new religious ideas, the Tagals apply the term *anito* to any superstition, false worship, idol, etc."³⁰⁸ Mendoza wrote, in 1588, that in Luzon small images were called *manginitos*, and a great feast was held for them.³⁰⁹ Visayan tribes, according to Morga, applied the name *anito* to their idols of demons, and we find elsewhere that they used such images for conjuring away sickness.³¹⁰ Jenks says that the Igorot give the name of *anito* to all spirits of the dead.³¹¹

The material gathered by me from the Bagobo does not give the impression that the word *anito* is associated with demons or with ghosts of ancestors, unless it be secondarily. With the Bagobo, the *anito* are those gods that are in the habit of coming into direct communication with man by means of a medium, through whose lips they speak oracles, ask and answer questions and give advice. The deities who speak in this manner to man are those who are closely related to his interests, and who hold a friendly attitude

³⁰⁷ Cf. F. COLIN: "Native races and their customs." Blair and Robertson: *op cit.*, vol. 40, pp. 72—73. 1906.

³⁰⁸ BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 16, p. 131 footnote. 1904.

³⁰⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 146. 1903.

³¹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 131, and vol. 21, p. 207. 1905.

³¹¹ Cf. "The Bontoc Igorot." P. I. Department of the Interior. Ethnological Survey Publications, vol. 1, pp. 71, 196. 1905.

toward him, while some of them are addressed as anito even in the devotions at out-of-door shrines at times other than those of the regular seances. I have never heard of an utterance coming from a dead ancestor or from any other ghost at these night meetings, though at present I would not go so far as to state definitely that a ghost might not function as anito.

Another class of spirits that speak to the people on these occasions are the spirits of diseases, such as epidemics, malaria and other forms of disease which attack large numbers of people and are thought to travel from place to place. Sicknesses of individual Bagobo also are appealed to and give answers at the seances. These disease-spirits, often called *buso*, are the only personalities of the nature of demons that come to the night meetings for such dreaded fiends as *tigbanuá* never speak as anito. Furthermore, the highest *diwata* who are remote from man's interests do not appear to function as anito.

The words and songs uttered under the influence of the anito are called collectively *manganito*, a term which is applied also to the meeting itself. The occasions for calling *manganito* are various: the time of a religious festival; before a journey to a distant place; on putting up a new house; when sickness attacks a whole community or an individual, and in general when anything unusual occurs, like an earthquake,³¹² or when some new undertaking is in progress. During the nineteen days covering the preparation for the *Ginum* at *Talun* and its celebration, there were at least seven or eight anito meetings. These gatherings are to be distinguished sharply from a spiritualistic seance, since, as we have said, there seems to be no attempt to get into communication with the spirits of the dead.

In every village, there is usually one person who is said to "have anito," and in a large *rancheria*³¹³ there may be two or three individuals who are able to act as mediums. An old woman customarily takes this part, but sometimes a young man or an older man officiates as medium.

At *Talun*, the medium was *Singan*, one of *Oleng's* wives. She was a middle-aged woman; in physique, frail and anaemic; in manner, timid and shrinking. She gave the general impression of extreme

³¹² See p. 202.

³¹³ A name given by the Spaniards to the small hamlets of the pagan tribes.

mental susceptibility and of unstable equilibrium that would invite the slipping off into a trance or an ecstasy; yet, outside of the manganito, I never saw her show any sign of emotional excitement. Much of the time she kept by herself; she rarely spoke; for an hour or two before the meetings, one might see her crouching alone in some dusky corner where, in her mental isolation from the rest, she was dreaming and meditating.

Another person acts as leader of the manganito meetings, in the capacity of receiving directly the divine instructions and of seeing that they are followed out. She answers the anito's questions, and stimulates the medium when her utterances begin to lag. At Talun this official was always Olong's sister, Miyanda, a woman of dominating personality, with a sonorous voice and persuasively kind intonations. It was she who gave the order for the torches to be extinguished, as the room must be profoundly dark for the visitation of the anito. If a mere flicker of flame starts up from the embers of the hearth, somebody runs to put it out.

The time may be any hour of night, after the evening meal has been eaten, this last and most substantial meal of the day being served at about nine o'clock. The place may be any Bagobo home, but preferably the house of the datu or the Long House. All of the night meetings that I attended in Talun were held in the Long House.

On account of the deep darkness, the facial expression of Singan and her exact posture could not be observed; but she would either sit on the floor, or squat on her feet in the customary Malay manner. When the possession began to come upon her, she grew cold and shivered, whereupon she would give a shout, followed by a series of harsh velar sounds, such as, "Goh! güssön! ugh!" Gradually, then, she would swing into a slow chant or an intoning of words that she felt herself inspired to utter. Brokenly and with great difficulty the divine messages came at first, but soon a clearer tone, a more sustained utterance and a greater confidence became apparent in her delivery of the oracle. Between the songs, the priestess talked along, with intervals of gasping, of dry coughing and clearing of her throat. One means of emotional discharge to which she frequently gave vent was a violent expulsion of air through the lips, in sharp, labial surds — "Upǔ!" — and semi-vowels thrown out explosively — "Huwá!" When the utterances lagged, Miyanda was always ready with an encouraging word, "Una!" — a coaxing

ejaculation made use of by Bagobo, either to draw forth a tale from a story-teller, or to stimulate an oracle.

The first manganito at which I was present during my stay in Talun occurred on the night of August 1. Miyanda, as usual, was the leader, prompting, encouraging, suggesting or assenting to the messages of the gods. A favorite answer of hers was "*Katig*" (We know that; that's so) given in a tone of genial assent. The chanting of Singan was, for the most part, on two notes, one interval apart (DDCC), uttered with a uniform quantity, but occasionally this intoning was varied by a melodious tune on four notes.

When the two leaf-wrapped resin torches, wedged in the notched ends of crooked branches, had been extinguished, the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig was the first of the anito to speak through Singan's mouth. He said: "When the thunder-claps are heard, that is the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig calling out in loud voice; and when the rain falls the Malaki's little sister is crying, and her tears drop down in showers."

After this, the Malaki instructed Miyanda in a method of cure for her son-in-law, Malik, who had been attacked by the "Sickness that goes round the world." The remedy consisted in the offering of betel, and in the observance of a certain tabu. Miyanda was told to cut one areca-nut into two times nine pieces, and likewise to cut one betel leaf into two times nine pieces, and having laid the areca on the betel to place it in the way where people walk. Moreover, Malik was forbidden to enter any other house for three nights, and forbidden to eat any betel. After the third night, Malik was to cut two times eight sections of the twisted fiber called *tikus*, or else to carve a little wooden figure in form of a man and lay it in the path leading toward the trail to the coast. This method, the Malaki said, would cure Malik's sickness.

Up to this point, the priestess had conveyed the utterances of the god with quiet gravity, her speech or her song being interrupted only when there broke from her a gasp, a sob, a shout, or a chant on a higher key. Now, however, she began to give little shrill laughs — "He! he!" The anito of the "Sickness that goes round the world" had entered into the priestess, and was deriding the Bagobo. This anito is a female and she said: "I am the sickness of Malik; I am traveling round the world to make the people sick, and it is I that gives them chills and coughs." This speech was followed by a taunting laugh — "Hu! hu! hu!" and "Ha! ha!

ha!" — a harsh, mocking laugh, repeated several times in hoarse tones. The laughter ceased, and the priestess struggled through a hard coughing spell, after which was silence, while all the people in the Long House waited eagerly for the announcement of the next anito.

Presently Singan uttered a low-voiced shout, and chanted in tremulous tones, "Malaki t'Olu k'Waig." The Malaki said, addressing Miyanda, "The woman that brings sickness lives in the center of the earth, where there is a large, deep hole." Then Miyanda replied to the Anito, "You, Malaki, must keep us all the time from sickness."

Soon after this, another anito spoke as follows: "I am the spirit of the Señora, and I love (*ginawa*) the Bagobo."

At this, the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig took up the same theme and said, "Do not be afraid of that lady because of *ka lambungan* (difference in rank), for she is kind to us and we are friends of hers."

When the Malaki had left off speaking, another anito made himself heard. It was Abog, the big-bellied one who lives with his many dogs on a little island,³¹⁴ and he said: "You have no pig to eat, because when you hunted your dog did not hold and bite the pig. Now give me some arrows, and I, in return, will help you catch a pig; but if you do succeed in spearing a pig, do not sell any of the meat to any people to carry home.³¹⁵ Do not let them buy, unless they eat the pig-meat here in this house."

Singan's voice was failing, for she had been under the strain for some time and had grown very tired. Her chants were broken by labored breathing, by grunts, "Hm! hm! hm!" and by ejaculations that were almost moans. Almost incessantly now she had to be stimulated by encouraging little interpolations from Miyanda. The priestess struggled to bring out her words between coughing and choking — "Ohúb! ohúb!" — a pause, a groan; at last, slowly and faintly she enunciated the name "Malaki t'Olu k'Waig." Her voice died away, and she sank into the sleep of sheer exhaustion.

The second interview with the anito, in connection with the preparation for the Ginum at Talun, occurred on the night of August 6. After the torches had been extinguished, the priestess

³¹⁴ The small island of Samal, in the gulf of Davao, is Abog's reputed home.

³¹⁵ In reference to a ceremonial tabu which permits nothing used in connection with the Ginum to be carried out of the Long House until the close of the celebration.

began to exhibit the usual signs of possession, — gasping, groaning and laughing, — after which behavior she personated various deities by chanting and talking, as at the preceding visitation. The time covered from the first sign of emotional disturbance in the woman until the close of her oracles was very nearly two hours.

The Tolus ka Talegit spoke first, a female deity who understands weaving and all the work of the women, and who is the "All-knowing One of the medicine for the loom." She said, "The Señora came from a long way off. She has come to see the Bagobo people, and she wants to know all the Bagobo customs."

Next, the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig gave an utterance in regard to Malik, who, it came out, had broken his tabu, the oracle being addressed to Malik's mother-in-law, Miyanda. The Malaki said: "Malik does not respect me, because he has spoken to some man during the eight days that he was forbidden, at manganito, to speak to anybody. Now, I am not angry with him, but he must give me eight pieces of betel-leaf, or eight pieces of areca-nut." Then Malik made answer to the Malaki: "We have no betel, but I will give you, as an awas,³¹⁶ some little bells or a brass armlet or some brass wire."

The Malaki t'Olu k'Waig then spoke of the coming festival and asked Oleng, "In how many days will the Ginum be?" Then Oleng answered: "We will have the Ginum when the moon is in the west. Now tell me what sickness this is in my body." In reply, the Malaki said: "It is the woman who lives in the middle of the sky who makes you sick. The reason she brings you sickness is because you have left off the old Bagobo custom of killing a man before you set up the bamboos and performed the patanan."³¹⁷

At this Oleng exclaimed: "Yes, we used to do that way, but now things are different; we cannot now do the same way we did before." The Malaki answered insistently: "It was Bagobo custom to kill somebody before the Ginum, and then to get the young sprays of areca-palm and the *baris*, and to carry them into the house where the Ginum was celebrated. Then you would stand up the two bamboos in the house, and you would sing the war-song and chant the gindaya and perform the patanan over the bamboos."³¹⁸

³¹⁶ *Awas* is here used in its primary significance, as a gift to a god.

³¹⁷ Recitation of exploits by the old men, while they are holding the bamboo.

³¹⁸ See p. 162, footnote.

There was some further talk between Olang and the anito about the old customs and the present ones that I was not able to record.

After this, the All-knowing One of the Bamboos made his demands: "If you do not hasten the celebration of Ginum, you will soon be attacked by sickness, because I will send the sickness. I will send the sickness if you do not make patanan quickly, just as is the custom of the Bagobo every year when they have the Ginum." "But you must keep us from sickness," returned Olang; "we want you to take all the diseases to the home of the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig, so that he may kill them."

Next spoke the Tolus ka Balekát, who is god of the high altar and to whom much of the ceremonial of Ginum is addressed, saying: "In how many days will the Ginum be given? If you do not get ready quickly for the Ginum, the Tagaruso will come, or the Balinsugu."³¹⁹

Then, changing the topic, the Tolus made a statement touching the offerings due to himself, as follows: "The Señora came from a long distance, and she wants to buy all the Bagobo things so that she may have everything that the Bagobo manufacture. Now, I do not want to have the Bagobo things sold, for I wish the spirit of the objects to pass into my *pangolan*; ³²⁰ therefore hold back your possessions, and sell only a few things to the Señora, just so that she will not be offended." To this, Miyanda assented with a single word, "Sadunggo," (All right, certainly).

Then the anito of the "Disease that goes round the world" said: "What strange woman is here?" Miyanda replied: "She is a *bia* ³²¹ who lives in the root of the sky." Then the Disease asked: "Can I make the Bia sick?" "Oh no!" rejoined the old woman, "you cannot make her sick, because she is not of our blood."

The last of the anito who spoke that night was Abog, a god who controls success in the hunt. Malik put this question to Abog: "Will you give us a pig to-morrow, if Iluk goes to hunt?" "Yes," replied Abog, "provided you make me a gift of some arrows with good steel points."

On the night of August 8, Miyanda summoned the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig, as soon as the lights had been put out — perhaps between

³¹⁹ Demons that bring the spirit of unrest and tumult to a festival. See pp. 29, 36—37, 107.

³²⁰ A bracelet of solid shell, made from a cross-section.

³²¹ *Bia* means "lady." Cf. Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. 26, pp. 14, 30, 36, 1913.

ten and eleven o'clock. The priestess sang in sharp staccato style on two notes (C D C ♪ - ♪ short, long, short) in a manner totally different from her customary monotonous intoning. She poured forth her words fluently, needing little of the usual prompting and encouragement from Miyanda. The subject matter concerned myself and my efforts to become acquainted with the various processes of Bagobo handiwork — the twisting of leglets, the tying of patterns in cloth, the dyeing of hemp, and so forth. Frequently Miyanda would exclaim, "Katig kanun," (She knows that, she has learned that). The next morning Singan told me that all the Bagobo were very sorry that I was not going to stay with them; that Malaki t'Olu k'Waig favored the Americans; that when I went away they would sell their things to me; that if I would put upon the balekát some bells or a *balinütung*³²² or some white cloth, I would find it easy to buy the Bagobo things I might wish for. These friendly approaches followed a question of mine as to what she had said in the seance of the previous night. Fumbling her feet and smiling in a timid uncertain fashion, she asked me whether I loved the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig, and on my replying in the affirmative she looked pleased and repeated that I was to put on the balekát a few little bells or a *balinütung*.

Soon after we had lain down to sleep on the night of August 9, Singan began to cough and to gasp; and soon, with ejaculatory speeches and chants, she entered into her character of medium for a brief seance, covering perhaps twenty minutes.

First, the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig spoke as follows, referring to the girls who had been pounding rice until late that evening: "I hear many women pounding rice, and I am asking when the Ginum will be held. Now I tell you women that since you have begun the binayu³²³ you must keep it up, and pound rice all the time until the Ginum opens."

Next the Tolus ka Balekát gave a warning to Olung in the following words: "You must take care of your body because you are getting old, and by and by when you grow very weak, you will die quick." Replying, the old datu said: "I want you to keep me from sickness all the time, but tell me what kind of sickness will hurt me." The Tolus ka Balekát answered: "Your sickness comes from the root of the sky, from the horizon."

³²² A closed armet or leglet, cast in brass or agong-metal from a wax mold.

³²³ The pounding of rice in the mortar.

Following this oracle, a message came from a female deity of the women — the Tolus ka Talegit — who said: “Before long, the Tagaruso and the Tagamaling³²⁴ will come into your house; but in order to keep them off you must tell her that she will have to put a *linimut balinütung*³²⁵ on the hanging altar,³²⁶ because this is her first visit here.”

Singan ceased speaking and came out of her trance. A little later, when Oleng complained of feeling cold, she went to the hearth, stirred up the fire and gave him some food or drink. Then Oleng, Singan and Oleng's daughter, Maying, talked together in low tones for a few minutes, while gathered round the fire. After this short consultation, Maying went to the other young women, all of whom were now sound asleep, and spoke gently to each of them. With great difficulty she awakened them, one by one, and then went to the big mortar near the hearth and began to pound rice by herself. Presently, other women got up and went to help her. Through the rest of that night and all of the next day and through the following night, they pounded continuously, working by relays. The sound of the pestle in the mortar never ceased for thirty-six or forty hours. It was the eleventh of the month when they finished pounding; that is to say, three days before the beginning of Ginum. The anito had told them not to stop pounding until the opening of the festival, but it is possible that some further message curtailing the time may have come from the gods, since, on the night of the tenth, the old people³²⁷ slept at Oleng's house. The rest of us were sleeping in the Long House, and it is not possible to state whether on that night a manganito occurred or not.

On the night of the eleventh, there were a few brief communications from the divine beings. Bualan was told that his wife had given birth to a child since he had left home to come to Talun, and that the child was a boy.

³²⁴ See pp. 35—36, 38, 110.

³²⁵ Two general types of metal rings, whether worn on arms or legs, are carefully distinguished by the Bagobo: (a) *pankis*, or *balinütung gutang*, which is made of a section of heavy brass wire rounded by pressure into a circle that is not quite closed for the two ends are never soldered, a very narrow space being left between them; (b) *balinütung linimut*, a leglet or armlet much more highly valued than the other, for it is cast from a wax mold in brass or bell-metal and forms a complete circle. The “her,” I was told, referred to myself.

³²⁶ The *balekäl*.

³²⁷ That is, Oleng, Singan and Miyanda.

Oleng consulted the Tolus ka Balekát in regard to his own extreme feebleness and lack of appetite. "Why have I no hunger for my food?" asked the old man. "It is the *karokung*³²⁸ sickness," replied the god, "and it comes to you from that old woman who lives at the mouth of the river." Then Oleng begged the anito to take away his sickness and carry it to the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig, who would surely kill it.

On the sixteenth, about the middle of the night, the anito came again, on which occasion there were some chants and recitations of which I have no record.

On the Third Night of the Ginum, August 17, early in the evening, while we were all chatting and playing games, there came a call for the torches to be extinguished. The occurrence of the earthquake that afternoon with the consequent breaking off of the ceremonies was one of those happenings which made the summoning of anito very necessary. I am able to give only the substance of the interview.

There was discussion about the earthquake and its relation to the time of the ceremonies, the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig being the god consulted.

The Malaki said that Kaba ought to find a wife for his son, Tungkaling.

The Malaki stated, further, that a disease called *gimusu*³²⁹ was in the mountains and would undoubtedly reach Talun.

A female deity, the Tolus ka Balekayo (All-knowing One of the small bamboo), made known her wishes concerning the presence of foreigners at the Ginum. She remarked that she objected to having Americans come to the Bagobo festival; but several people in the room exclaimed, with one voice, that if they did not let the Señora come to the Ginum it would be bad for the Bagobo. "Well then," amended the anito, "the Señora must give a white chicken to Singan, and I will give one to the Señora because she underwent pama-lugu in the river this morning."

On the following night, August 18, there was a manganito meeting which had a particular interest for Salimán, a nephew of

³²⁸ Attacks, probably of a malarial nature, characterized by fever, chills, cough and other accompanying symptoms, are usually called by the Bagobo *karokung*: but the white woman with long black hair who lives in the river, and is held responsible for the sickness, is not ordinarily called an "old" person. See p. 226.

³²⁹ A serious skin disease. See p. 227.

Olong's, a young man gifted with unusual beauty, grace in dancing and charm of manner. When he arrived at Talun, he was just convalescing from a terrible illness, brought on by eating some poisonous substance that had been given him at Bansalan.³³⁰ He had presumed too far upon his social charms while visiting in the homes of the sturdy and self-willed mountain girls, and they had determined to punish him in their own way. As soon as Singan had slipped into her trance, the anito of Salimán's malady came and said to him: "This is a woman sickness. Do you know me? I am the Sickness that makes you so skinny. Your lip is pale and dry, and I caused that too, at the time when the women at Bansalan gave you medicine in your betel, so as to make you very sick." On hearing this, Salimán called on the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig saying: "You must take care of us, Malaki t'Olu k'Waig, and send the sickness to your own town. Do not let the diseases go out from there."

Then one of the anito gave instructions as to the proper remedies for Salimán, as follows: "You take *uli-uli* and other good weeds, rub them on your joints, and repeat at the same time these words, 'Go back, Sickness, to your own body.'" ³³¹

Then Miyanda put some question in regard to gifts for the bamboo prayer-stand, and one of the anito said in reply: "The Señora must give a string of beads to put in the tambara, and I, in return, will give her one balinütung, because she is the first American lady that ever came here. If she fails to put beads in the tambara, she will be attacked, after a while, by sickness."

CHARMS AND MAGICAL RITES

In the spiritual environment of the Bagobo, one seems aware of a somewhat exact apportionment of magical potentiality, rather than of a universal magical influence pervading the whole world. When some phenomenon out of the ordinary or one hard to explain is observed, it is called by one of several names, each of which implies what we would call magic; but each of these names has a particular meaning of its own that does not lend itself to the idea

³³⁰ A Bagobo village not far from Mati. It was reported at Mati that the Bansalan girls whom Salimán attempted to approach had put into his betel, when they prepared it for him, a "medicine" that would kill a man.

³³¹ The "body" of the sickness was the drug that the girls had given Salimán.

of an all-pervasive magical power; rather the person or the thing has its own individual potency. Furthermore, there is no general term, so far as I have observed, in use among the Bagobo that would correspond to the *kramat* of the Straits Settlement, or to *kamana* of Madagascar, or to *mana*³²² of Melanesia — each of which words usually has a connotation of some undefinable quality, or condition, or force transfused throughout nature.

A Bagobo calls a hero of romance who is wonder working and invulnerable *matolus*; a ceremony that is performed to produce magical effects is *alat*; a single object that acts as a potent charm is *alang*. Each of these terms is too highly particularized to be held as an equivalent of the words above cited from other peoples of not far-removed areas. Another term, *bawi*, which is in constant use among the Bagobo, has a wide range, for though regularly applied to a healing drug it is sometimes synonymous with *alang*, a charm; and, again, *bawi* means something that is an antidote for the breaking of a tabu. Invariably, however, *bawi* refers to a certain material object, or else to a ritual act. You can never say of a person, "He has *bawi*," as the Melanesians say, "He has *mana*." You can say that a person "has *anito*;" but *anito* in this sense is a word limited to a certain form of spiritual possession.

As for the words *alat* and *alang*, there is not a sharp line of demarcation between them, but, in general, *alat* is used to denote a magical method or a religious rite, while a charm-object is called *alang*. A potent medicine tied up in a rag is *alang*; a lighted torch is *alang*, while the ceremony of lustration for bride and groom is *alat*, and the rite of setting up the family shrine is also said to be *alat*. Yet the line separating these terms is not always so distinct as in the cases just quoted, for there is a special substance carried to charm away snakes to which the term *alat* is applied.

It is worthy of note that every sickness, every bit of ill luck, and (one might almost say) practically every transgression, carries with it a medicine that draws out the poison of the situation and puts things right again. There was once an old spear of a partie-

³²² It is true that Codrington's exposition of *mana* suggests a magic force personally wielded, rather than a universal force (as I have heard Dr. Goldenweiser happily epitomize the discussion); but among the Bagobo this conception would be associated only with the quality of being *matolus*, and this characteristic is limited to gods and remarkable men. It might be transmitted to a hero's sword, possibly, but not to stones or to snakes, like *mana* in Melanesia. Cf. *The Melanesians*, p. 191. 1891.

ular type that I wanted to buy from Datu Yting; but he informed me that he could not sell it because it had become an *ikut* and was already hung on the wall for the gods, and that it would make him very sick to let it go. Accordingly, I dropped the subject. Some time later the old man came to me and intimated that he might possibly sell me that spear; that there was a chance of his finding a *bawi* that would nullify the effect of the sacrilege, "for there is medicine for everything, Señora," he added, "medicine for everything."³³³

Magic, as a Bagobo apprehends it, is either a potency inherent in certain objects or in several elements properly combined, as a drug or a fetish; or it is the dynamic power of a ceremony whose effect is sure; or it is an indirect suggestion that sets in motion a train of mental images leading to a fixed response — it may be a manikin, a formula, a significant action, or any one of a hundred things which is chosen to give the initial suggestion for the train of associations that it is desired to produce. An instance of such indirect suggestion is the washing of chickens and goats as a charm to call the rain.

Following the natural clustering of charms and magical arts as handled by the Bagobo, I shall attempt to make a rough grouping under psychological motives, rather than with regard to human interests, such as war, courtship, etc. Obviously, such groups will overlap, and often a magical method may be considered as belonging, indifferently, to one or to another class according to the point of view; yet even a tentative classification is convenient when handling a large amount of miscellaneous magical material.

We may say, then, that charms and magical rites will work out the desired end in one or more of four ways:

- a). By actual defense magically placed;
- b). By substitution, or the psychological principle of association by resemblance (Frazer's "homoeopathic magic," in part);
- c). By association by contiguity (Frazer's "contagious magic," in part);
- d). By inherent virtue, including fetishes and much of the native *materia medica*.

³³³ Cf. the same idea in Indian magic. "Brahmans can accomplish all things in this world by means of ceremonies." Somadeva: *op. cit.*, p. 85.

Charms by Actual Defense

Here belong many protective charms, such as magic circles and similar devices, by means of which the individual using them is fenced about by a rampart that cannot be broken through by the demon, or penetrated by evil influences. The majority of these charms act as preventive medicines. In many cases, their efficacy is so closely associated with magic numbers, that if any other numbers than these were used, the mascot would straightway become a hoodoo. Even numbers are usually considered as the lucky ones, and odd numbers as unlucky, but nine³³⁴ is always a good number and thus an exception to the rule.

Many objects worn on the person are charms. Any bracelet or leglet that forms a closed circle may be magically used by Bagobo men and women, but especially valuable as protective charms are the armlets and leglets cast in metal from a wax mold and called by various names according to their several variations. A single one of such rings worn on arm or ankle is an amulet,³³⁵ for each is a closed circle. As for bracelets like *pankis*, each of which forms a circle not completely closed, an even number of these — forty, fifty, eighty — should be worn, if they are to bring luck to the wearer.

Closely associated with this idea is the custom of wearing certain amulets always on the same part of the body. Change the place and the charm is gone. If a bracelet, say, that is customarily worn on the left wrist is changed to the right wrist, the spell is broken, and the wearer will become sick.

A long girdle of hand-made brass links — the *sinkali*³³⁶ — is a potent charm if wound about the waist an even number of times,

³³⁴ Not only in magical association, but in ceremonial use, eight and nine are held by all Bagobo as sacred numbers. Skeat found among Peninsular Malays that seven was the valued number. *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

³³⁵ Father Gisbert writes as follows on this point. "When they visit a sick person, they have the custom of placing copper rings on their wrists or on their legs, in order that the soul which they call *limocud* may not leave." Blair and Robertson: *op. cit.*, vol. 43, p. 237. The idea here is rather that of using the magic circle to keep in something essential to life, than of keeping out harmful influences. There is apparently a misprint in the initial sound of *gimokud*, as Gisbert's own vocabulary gives *gimucod* as a synonym for *espíritu*. *Diccionario español-bagobo*, p. 64. 1892.

³³⁶ See also pp. 210—212.

or nine times, but unlucky if wound once, or three, or five times, or any odd number.

A tenuous and wiry legband called *tikus*, made by twisting the split sheath of certain plants round the stems of certain other plants, is worn by Bagobo men and women just below the knee. The effect is highly decorative, and a man will wear two or three hundred in a cluster, but a single *tikus* suffices as an amulet against the bite of poisonous vipers. In selling a set of these legbands, a Bagobo is pretty sure to keep one for himself as medicine.³³⁷

A strip of rattan decorated in patterns by a process of over-lacing with hemp before dyeing, forms a neck-band that is a charm against the sting of centipedes. This type of neck-band is worn more than almost any other, as it is also a magical defense against the attacks of *Buso*.

One's home may be safe-guarded from the demons if one walks around the house — presumably in dextral circuit — while holding in the hand a red pepper and a piece of lemon, for both of these fruits are believed to frighten any *buso*.

As has been stated in an earlier chapter, a rice-altar is put in the field at the time of sowing, and there is placed round the altar a little eight-wicketed fence of split bamboo. The fence is alat, and it forms a magical protection for the young rice so that no harm can come to the growing plants. In addition, this charmed circle keeps the family owning the field from being sick.

A charm on the principle of a barbed wire fence is the *digo*, a shallow, squarish basket that is used as a rice-winner. If a woman is tossing rice up and down for the wind to blow off the chaff, and she has reason to think that a *buso* is approaching, she

³³⁷ "Dass auch bei den Senoi, neben der Hüfte, der Hals und die Arm- und Fussgelenke als Schmuckträger verwendet werden, versteht sich wohl von selbst. Bei den Naturstämmen spielt auch hier das schon erwähnte 'akar batu' die wichtigste Rolle, indem es teils einfach um Hals und Gelenke gewunden wird, oder indem einige Mycelien zu einem etwas kunstvolleren Schmuck miteinander verflochten werden. . . Die einfachen Arm- und Beinbänder haben, so viel ich erfahren konnte, meist eine heilkräftige oder prophylaktische Bedeutung, oder ihr Träger hofft dadurch seine Muskeln zu kräftigen. Selten, und, wie es scheint, nur bei den nördlichen Stämmen, finden sich an solchen Bändern auch Blätter, Baststreifen, Gräser oder Wurzeln angeknüpft, von denen man wohl ebenfalls eine Heilwirkung erwartet." MARTIN: *op. cit.* p. 698—699. 1905.

"Allgemein verbreitet sind ferner Amulette in Form von Hals-, Arm-, und Beinbändern, teils einfache Akar batu-Schnüre, teils mit Knöchelchen, Zähnen und Haaren verschiedener Tiere behangene oder aus Kräuterbündeln bestehende Ketten, die besonderen magischen Zwecken dienen." *Ibid.*, p. 954.

has only to interpose this flat basket between herself and the demon. "Hold it in front of you when you hear the buso," said an old woman who brought me a digo,³³⁸ "and he will scratch it with his claws, and his claws will stick in it, and he will die."

A woman expecting to become a mother is liable to attack from a buso; hence to defend herself at night time she must put near her, before going to sleep, all the swords and knives³³⁹ that the house contains, for if this precaution be neglected the buso comes and, in some unknown way, he metamorphoses her child into a buso-child.

A legendary charm that is said to be resorted to by young virgins to protect their chastity is a cloth of fine tapestry which has the name of *tambayang*, a type of embroidery rare in these days but a well-known art in earlier times. In one of the Bagobo songs it is told that if a girl has spread the *tambayang* over herself, before going to sleep, no man is able to approach her.

The wake, or *damag*, in the house of death is effective in keeping buso from the house because of his fear of living men, and thus may be properly classed in this group of defensive charms.

Charms by Substitution

We have now to consider a group of charms which might be called charms by substitution, where the tendency is found to substitute one thing for another. Such magical devices follow the principle of association by resemblance, a small class, it would appear, from the actual number of charms listed here, but from a psychological point of view a group of some interest, since it includes all tricks for fooling Buso by images made in the likeness of man or of animal.

Little wooden manikins are laid down at Ginum and are told to draw into themselves the bad diseases that threaten to force their way into the bodies of the Bagobo.

To prevent or to cure measles, which is regarded as one of the

³³⁸ This winnower (*digo*) that was used by the old woman as an object lesson is now in the American Museum of Natural History.

³³⁹ Cf. the episode in an Indian saga, where the "lying-in chamber" was hung with various weapons. Cf. Somadeva: *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 189. For a Bagobo tale bearing on this charm, see Jour. Am. Folk-Lore, vol. 26, p. 46. 1913.

buso, children wear, attached to their necklaces or to strings round their necks, small figures, usually human figures, not more than one-half to three-fourths of an inch in length and two or three millimeters in thickness. The buso of the disease is expected to leave the body of the child and to pass into the little manikin, which thus becomes a substitute; eventually, the buso returns to the forest.

During the great festival, two large figures of wood are set up in thickets by the path to act as buso-scarers, as substitutes for living men whom the buso traditionally fear to encounter.

Another charm for scaring off evil beings by the substitution plan is the representation of a crocodile,³⁴⁰ a figure which women weave into their textiles, and which men paint on guitars and on bamboo boxes and carve on coffins. In place of the real animal, a mere figure of this greatly-dreaded reptile of the rivers, that for centuries has taken his toll of natives, is expected to fill the demons with fear.

We have some interesting cases of the performance of little ceremonies in order to render harmless a sale that is under tabu, and here again the principle of substitution is the center of attention. The rite is called *Iwan*, and whether the object parted with be a new article or an old object that is thought to belong to the gods, a brief ritual is performed. Two or three illustrations will show the nature of this little function.

At Datu Yting's house, his wife Oleng sold to me two strips of an extremely fine textile stiff from the loom, for it had not yet been treated to the process of softening and polishing. Oleng parted with the material rather unwillingly, at the solicitation of her husband who was hard pressed for cash. After receiving the money, she asked me to let her have the textile again. On my handing it to her, she stepped toward the wall, turned her back to us so that she faced the stationary bench of bamboo that ran along the wall, and performed the *Iwan*. Upon the folded textile in her arms, she laid one areca-nut and one piece of betel-leaf, and said, at the same moment, words to the effect that she was

³⁴⁰ The crocodile motive is widely used throughout Celebes, where it is carved on the timbers of the ceremonial house (*Lobo*) and on the coffin of a chief; it forms also one of the decorative designs on the swords of the *Toradja*. Cf. P. and F. SABASIN: *Reisen in Celebes*, vol. 1, pp. 218, 229, 268—270; vol. 2, p. 46. 1905.

selling her textile, but that she was providing a substitute for it which she was going to keep. A pace or two brought her to the other end of the bamboo seat, and there lay another textile, a perfect duplicate of the one just sold to me except that it had been softened, polished and made up into a skirt. Upon this garment, Oleng laid the same areca-nut and the same buyo-leaf that she had just before placed on my textile. Then she put my textile on the bench close to her own duplicate garment, so that the one touched the other. Next, she dipped the areca-nut, folded in its betel-leaf, into a cup of water and made with it an unbroken pass on the two textiles, beginning with the one just sold and stroking toward the one to be kept. She stroked in a direction away from herself, and with a sort of wiping motion in a line several inches long across the textiles. Twice she made the stroke, and, at the same time, repeated a magic formula to the effect that this act was to keep her from being taken sick. Finally, she returned to me the textile she had sold, and remarked: "Now, I shall not be sick from selling my *inabal*, but the other, I must always keep and never give it away."

The intention of the rite was apparently to draw the spiritual essence from the one object to the other; that is to say, to entice the gimokud of the fabric that was leaving her into another fabric which in all essentials resembled it, and which would be always retained by her, in order that no evil consequences might attach to the sale.

Another illustration of magic substitution is found in the ritual attending the sale of a special type of linked brass chain called sinkali. Little girls among the Bagobo wear, while very young, nothing but a small pubic shield, which suffices as clothing for the first four or five years of life or until the child is considered big enough to put on a little skirt. The pubic shield (*tambibing*) is in the form of a triangle and made of cocoanut-shell or, rarely, of brass. In two corners are holes through which passes a girdle of hemp or a brass chain (sinkali) just long enough to go round the waist. A mother, Siye, visiting at my house, consented to sell the shield worn by her little daughter, but the linked brass girdle attached she reluctantly gave up after much discussion with her friends and much persuasion from me. Relinquishing her plan of taking the child home before removing the shield, she drew the linked girdle down and off over the feet and asked for a little water. I brought

the water in a glass. Siye took off her own sinkali, which passed several times round her waist and had a large bunch of bells attached. It was made of brass links of the same pattern as the one worn by the little girl. The woman laid her own sinkali close to the child's sinkali, dipped her hand in the water and gently rubbed the two sinkali and the pubic shield, so that the water touched all three objects and stood on them in drops. Then she pressed the smaller sinkali into the child's hand, on whose little wrist hung a tiny bracelet of brass links like the girdle which was now in contact with it. The mother lifted the little hand clasping the chain to the child's lips, so that she took in her mouth and swallowed a very little of the water dripping from the chain. A few drops that remained in the child's hand her mother made her drink, carefully putting hand to lips as before. Then she gave me the pubic shield with its chain and put on her own girdle. My request that the ceremony be repeated was readily complied with, but the second time there were slight variations in the rite. Siye took off her girdle and laid it on the child's left wrist that had on it the sinkali-bracelet. She again dipped water from the glass with her hand and made passes over her own sinkali as she let the water drip on it, after which she put the child's hand on the chain, held hand and chain to lips and let a few drops be swallowed as before. Next she made passes with water over the child's sinkali, and put it to her lips. Finally, having given back to me my purchase, Siye again girded herself with her own sinkali.

The explanation given by the woman and by several neighbors who came in during the affair touched the various points of the ceremony from different aspects. They said it was very bad to sell the tambibing and sinkali; that if Siye had not applied water to them, the child would have become very sick; that rubbing sinkali against bracelet meant that the bracelet became a new sinkali to take the place of the one sold; that the little girl must drink the water to keep her from being sick, on account of the sinkali having touched the water; and, finally, that Siye's husband would get another wife, if she failed to take off her own sinkali and put it next the child's sinkali and to make the strokes with water.

On later occasions, other pubic shields were added to my collection, but each of these was worn by its little owner on a girdle of hemp, and the closest observation on my part failed to detect any ritual function attendant on the sale. One is led to infer that

a string or braid of hemp forming a mere temporary girdle to be replaced when worn or broken, never comes to have the intimate association with the human body that the chain of brass links acquires. That is to say, the sinkali may become an ikut, while a girdle of hemp, or of beaded cloth, may not become an ikut. Siye's child had worn the sinkali for about five years, or from birth.

The following conclusions may be drawn from the nature of the rite. The child's chain girdle was an *ikut*, and its sale was under tabu. By a magical device, the child's bracelet of brass links came to be regarded as a substitute for the girdle of brass links, so that the tabu was removed and the child freed from the curse of sickness.

The general belief that the sinkali-bracelet becomes, after the ceremony, an equivalent to the sinkali-girdle justifies my conclusion that what is actually attempted is the coaxing of the gimokud or spirit of the girdle into a bracelet of similar pattern, so that only the material part of the girdle is sold — the accidents, to borrow once more the same theological term — while the spiritual substance remains in the family to which the girdle has always belonged. The use of the mother's sinkali, in addition to that of the child, possibly serves the purpose of a double substitution ceremony.

On another occasion, my purchase of a linked brass chain from a young man who wore it round his waist to carry his short knife was achieved only after a magical rite, which consisted in making passes with water upon the brass chain, and on a bracelet of like design worn by the same man.

If no duplicate sinkali is in the possession of the owner, and a sale is desired, the sinkali must be cut in two. When Sebyan, Ido's daughter, made a trade with me, she divided her brass linked girdle in the middle, after her father had measured it exactly. One half she sold to me, and the other half she kept, explaining that the part of the girdle retained by her took the place of the whole sinkali, and kept her from being sick.

In concluding this section on charms which work by a principle of substitution, it should be stated that several elements in the native *materia medica*, mentioned under the caption "Disease and Healing,"³⁴¹ are of the nature of homeopathic cures, and are really examples of association by resemblance or substitution, such as the

³⁴¹ See pp. 223—235.

application of heated leaves to skin burning from the sting of bees, and the use of bile from serpents to cure snake-bite.

Some mountain Bagobo eat the flesh of monkeys to prevent sores, for they say, quoting the myth of "The Buso-monkey,"³⁴² that the monkey sometimes turns into a buso, and that sores are caused by a buso. This appears to be a Bagobo case of the aphorism that "like cures like."

Charms through Association by Contiguity

We have here a number of magical performances where the psychological association may be readily understood, and which suggest the principle of association by contiguity; that is to say, a clustering of elements that belong together is made, with the expectation that they will attract some other element which is commonly joined to them. Certain magical groupings regularly induce certain phenomena; make these groupings and the result is psychologically mandatory. Some charms that come under this category suggest Frazer's examples of "contagious magic."

In time of drought, the Bagobo call the rain by washing³⁴³ the chickens, the goats,³⁴⁴ the clay pots and the dishes, because, they say, chickens and goats and pots cannot wash themselves in the river, and if these animals and objects get wet it must be from a shower.

Another charm to call the rain is the following formula:

"Rain, rain on tagbak tree;³⁴⁵
 Make mud very wet;
 Kill the little chickens;
 Drops like *basikung*."

Here the association suggested is with rain so heavy as to be heard pattering sharply on the stiff leaves of the tagbak in drops like a round heavy fruit, big enough to kill a chick.

³⁴² See Jour. Am. Folk-Lore; vol. 26, pp. 46—48. 1913.

³⁴³ A charm for rain-making was told to Skeat by a Malay woman of Selangor, who said that "if a Malay woman puts upon her head an inverted earthenware pan . . . and then, setting it upon the ground, fills it with water and washes the cat in it until the latter is more than half drowned, heavy rain will certainly ensue." Malay magic, p. 108. 1900.

³⁴⁴ The Bagobo do not keep goats; the goat's hair used by them is obtained in barter from the Bila-an tribe. The inclusion of goats in this charm is perhaps traceable to some Bila-an tradition.

³⁴⁵ Cf. the Selangor charm to bring rain, "Though the stem of the Meranti tree rocks to and fro." W. W. SKEAT: *op. cit.*, p. 109.

Ulap is a form of black magic employed to send a man to sleep in order to rob him. It is said that the ingredients of this charm are very hard to find, and that only a courageous person can carry the enterprise through successfully. He must go at night to the grave of a little child that has been buried during the preceding twenty-four hours. He must dig up the baby, open its mouth, cut off the tip of its tongue, cut many of the hairs of the eye-lashes from each of its eye-lids, and then get away in safety before the Buso catches him. The charm is thus compounded: the tip of the tongue and the eyelashes are mixed with a certain resin (*doka*), and thrown in the flames of a fire kindled under the house of the man whom the conjurer intends to rob. The subject gets very sleepy as soon as the fire is lighted, and falls into a sort of trance. Then the one who is working the magic comes up the steps into the house, and asks the sleeping person, "Where is your food? Where are your nice things?" The other answers in his sleep every question, and his possessions may easily be taken from him. This charm more nearly approaches a form of hypnotic suggestion than any other magical device that has come to my notice. The association set up is clearly with three elements — the tongue, the eyes, and the helplessness of an infant — so as to induce a certain condition in the subject of the charm.

It is very difficult to see Buso, but the following charm may be used by a brave person. Chips of wood cut from a coffin are taken, on the night following the funeral, to the stump of the tree from which the log for the coffin was cut, and laid upon the stump. First there will be seen swarms of fireflies, shadows and parts of the body of the dead; afterwards Buso will appear, for he will be drawn by the smell of the chips of wood, which he associates with the dead body.³⁴⁶

An efficacious charm to drive away the mythical bird called *wakwak*³⁴⁷ is the use of a suggestive formula. The *wakwak* is a rapacious bird resembling a crow, but having four legs, two of which are covered with claws, and it flies over the country at night, hunting for living men as its prey. The magic spell is as follows: When you hear the sound of the bird's voice shrieking, "Wak-wak!

³⁴⁶ See Jour. Am. Folk-Lore, vol. 26, p. 42—43. 1913.

³⁴⁷ The *wakwak* is mentioned by Mr. Cole as a bird of ill omen among the Mandaya. The wild tribes of Davao district, Mindanao, p. 174. 1913.

wak-wak!" you must call to him: "I am not fat; I am skinny. I eat rotten wood. I eat *baguiang*." Then the wakwak cannot hurt you; but you must speak again, saying, "You go on to Bago; there are many fat men there." By means of this spell, such unpleasant suggestions are flung at the evil bird as to induce him to seek prey elsewhere. If the *baguiang* leaf is chewed, it is said to give itching lips and to leave a bad taste in the mouth.

Sore throat is cured by hanging round the neck a string which has attached to it four bits of wood cut from the trees most frequently haunted by Buso — the magbo, the benati, the barayung and the lawaan. The inflammation of the throat, being itself one of the buso, is attracted into one of the pieces of wood and eventually returns to the tree from which the wood was chipped.

A Bagobo man eats the liver of another man reputed for valor and worth, presumably in order that he may acquire those qualities which he associates with that organ. The liver of a fallen foe may be eaten, or the liver of a good Bagobo who is selected for human sacrifice. One boy told me that his grandfather had eaten the livers of as many as forty brave men.

A charm to discover lost property is to burn some beeswax with a few red peppers, and to note carefully which way the smoke goes. This will give the direction where one must go in search of the lost articles. It is the S'iring, that troublesome wood-demon, who hides one's things, and the smoke behaves in this manner because the S'iring is afraid of red peppers and of the wax made by bees. It would appear to be the mingling of the S'iring's fear with his knowledge of where the things are hidden that turns the smoke in a direction to reveal the secret.

A magical necklace to make a horse run fast consists of narrow strips of deer-skin, or of goat-skin, with the hair left on them, the strips being pierced and run on a cord. This is called very good medicine for the horse, for since both deer and goat are fleet of foot the train of associations would naturally set the horse to running.

A charm for tracking deer consists in a substance that is rubbed on the bit and called "medicine to catch the deer." I saw one fine old brass bit with cheek-pieces decorated in the casting which the owner refused to part with because it had acquired great value by reason of this medicine.

A charm for catching fish (*bawi ka sěda*) involves the response of the fish to suggestion. The fish-line is measured by fathoms

and may be nine, twenty, one hundred, or any number of fathoms in length, but if the catch is to be successful there must be an extra measure called *kalingi* added to the length. The *kalingi* is measured from the left shoulder to the tip of the right middle finger, or from the right shoulder to the tip of the left middle finger. This shoulder-measure makes the fish react to the bait, by impelling it do turn its head back "over its shoulder" to bite.

As another charm for catching fish, certain kinds of wax are stuck in small lumps on the hook. This is done, they say, merely to attract the fish, not to stupify it, and while the significance of wax in this connection has not been disclosed, its stickiness may have a drawing efficacy, since a similar substance is used as an attractive force in the following charm.

A lump of resin (*doka*) from the marina tree is used in the magical spell, "*anting-anting*," to draw the dead. The person performing the charm makes set passes before his face with the hand holding the resin, and the ghost thus summoned passes behind his seat, but nobody in the room can see the ghost except the old men and the person making *anting-anting*.

The magnet, of foreign introduction, made a deep impression on the Bagobo, who at once saw its possibilities as a tool for conjuring; and those old men who can get hold of a magnet sometimes use it in preference to *doka*, or as a substitute for *doka*, on account of its wonderful power of attraction.

There are a number of other charms where the suggestive significance is less apparent, and where we do not know just how the appeal to associative memory is made, such as the following:

Every woman who clings conservatively to tradition puts in her skirt a small patch, called *tapung*, of a different design from the body of the textile. To make room for this patch, the central strip is woven a trifle shorter than the other two strips. The patch is a charm against sickness. One of the Talun girls told me that she put in the patch because she was obliged to lengthen the middle strip in order to match the others; but, in reply to a question as to why she had not made it longer, she said that she had purposely woven it short in order to add the patch. Finally, she explained that the odd piece would keep her from being "very sick."

The following is a building charm which is enticing by its rich though vague suggestiveness. After the frame of a house is erected, one of the skirts (*panapisan*) of the owner's wife is sometimes

laid on the timbers of the roof, and kept there for a set length of time during the process of building.

Charms having Inherent Virtue

In the forms of magic thus far considered, associations are set up that act as stimuli or as inhibitions to the individual that the charm is meant to influence. In most cases, there is a more or less conscious play of attention on the part of the subject of the charm, in response to the suggestions put forth.

In the class of charms now to be discussed, the value lies in some hidden virtue, some mysterious efficacy, by which the desired result is produced directly, without any act of associative memory on the part of the subject of the medicine or of the witchcraft. Indeed, the person is ordinarily unconscious of being worked upon until he begins to feel sick, and then he may not know who or what has caused the trouble. On the other hand, the charm may serve a beneficial end, and may bring about a valued result by its own force, there being here, too, no need of calling out a train of associations in the mind of the person who is undergoing the magical influence.

In this connection, it should be noted that there are a few animals which are thought to have mysterious qualities, such as the flying lemur, the monkey, the crow,³⁴⁸ and to certain parts of their bodies a curative power or a magical virtue is assigned — the liver and the foot of the crow, the hair of the flying lemur. The armature of crabs, of tortoises, of lobsters appears in various magical associations. Monkeys (*lutung*) are regarded with wonder and with a vague feeling of unrest that finds expression in little symbolic acts or motions. Such expression was called forth one day after a number of Bagobo men had been watching, with eager, delighted faces, the antics of my pasteboard monkey climbing a string. They were turning to go, when one man, almost as an afterthought,

³⁴⁸ The crow was a sacred bird with the Tagal and with some other Filipino tribes. Cf. BLAIR and ROBERTSON, vol. 12, pp. 265—266. 1904. While it might be going too far to say that the Bagobo hold this bird as sacred, yet it is clearly regarded as possessing a peculiar magical value. The crow figures in mythical associations; Cf. Jour. Am. Folk-Lore, vol. 26, p. 62. 1913. The crow's liver, beak and foot are used as charms or as medicine. Handles of guitars are roughly carved in imitation of a crow's head.

picked up the toy and passed it once across his forehead. He handed it to the Bagobo next him, who also made a pass upon his brow; and he was followed by all the rest, though two or three men merely pressed the monkey on the eyebrow or above it. They said that they did this because it was lutung and that passing it over the forehead kept them from sickness and death. It is true that, as a matter of precaution, a Bagobo will often perform some little ceremony when he wishes to forestall any possible evil effect that an occurrence out of the ordinary may involve; but to the monkey, in particular, which appears prominently in myth, now as the prototype of man and again as metamorphosed into a buso, the Bagobo reacts emotionally.

Particular articles of food taken at special times produce definite magical results. A notable instance of this form of magic is found in the charm to produce sacral spots on the body of an expected child.

A small area of dark pigmentation was present in the region of the sacrum in several Bagobo babies that I examined. The women told me that all their babies had those dark-colored spots, that the name for them was *obud*, and that if any child should be born lacking the obud it would quickly die. Hence great care is taken by the mother to produce the sacral spots on her child by means of eating certain prescribed vegetable products — also called “*obud*” — while saying a magic formula. Early in pregnancy the woman must, on seven consecutive days, swallow some of the sweet sap of the palma brava and chew with betel-nut a fine rattan known as *nanga*. At the same time she repeats a metrical rendering of the list of saps and fruits that should be eaten before the birth of the child, closing each verse with the words, “Very good to eat,” “Very sweet to eat.” Among these articles of diet are the tuba, a toddy extracted from the inflorescence of the cocoanut palm, the stem of baris, the bulla, the fruits of the balisinan, lapisut, tual, kamusi, durián and lukka³⁴⁹. This medicine will infallibly cause the sacral spots to appear on the child, but if any expectant mother fails to eat obud and to say the right words she will surely die, and her baby also. Other articles of diet are thought to prevent the formation of the sacral spots, and after the mention of such articles the woman says, “Very bad to eat.”

³⁴⁹ Edible fruits. See index.

Many charms of this class are small objects that may be easily carried about, and the magical virtue of each charm is ordinarily limited to specific qualities assigned to it. The magical result achieved by such an object is not due to a spirit that either permanently inhabits it, or that temporarily enters into it. It is never worshiped or treated with reverence. It produces a given effect because of some mysterious potentiality that belongs to it. It may therefore properly be termed a fetish.

A number of magical usages of the type now under discussion are simply examples of the black art. *Gamut* is a resinous substance or gum extruded from certain trees, a lump of which may be carried about the person, tied in the girdle or put in the carrying-bag, when one wants to work witchcraft on some enemy. By and by the person will grow thin and soon become sick; white worms will appear coming out from his eyes and his head and his body; soon he will die. The simple carrying of the gamut with the intention of harming the foe appears to be sufficient to produce the result, without any magical manipulation of the resin.

Parayat is the name of another magical substance used in the black art. If one desires the death of a childless rich man, with a view to seizing his goods, one has only to carry this medicine, a performance which will cause the rich man to fall sick and die of the disease called *parayat*.

The above named charm may be used if a man does not want to accept a challenge to fight. If his foe wants to fight him, and he, refusing the combat, at the same time holds the *parayat*, he can make his foe sicken and die.

When a man is fighting, there are magical means of making his enemy helpless³⁵⁰ without striking a single blow with spear or sword. The old man, Butun, brought me an old war-shield that had belonged to his father. The peculiar value of the shield lay in the magical medicines that were fastened to the handle through which the left arm passes, on the reverse side. The first of these medicines is *pankayang*, a small piece of the skin of an eagle. If a man, holding a shield to which *pankayang* is attached, simply stands still and points his spear at his foe, instantly his foe will

³⁵⁰ A charm with such potential virtue is given the hero of a saga with the instruction: "By holding this jewel in your hand you can render ineffectual the best weapon of your enemy." Somadeva: *Kathá Sarit Ságara*, vol. 2, p. 161. 1884.

drop dead. The second medicine is *paliás*, a bit of the root of the tree called by that name. The root is kept in a small tube of bal-ekayo tied with a red rag, and the effect on the enemy is like that of the preceding.³⁵¹ The third medicine is *Mulug-mulug mata-din* (glaring eyes), magical leaves kept in the same tube with the preceding. This charm makes the eyes of him who carries it glare at the foe with a fixed, terrifying stare that puts the foe at the mercy of the other. Butun gave a dramatic rendering of the effect of all three charms.

A charm called *palümi* is held by women, and is operated to make a man thin and anaemic. They put the palümi into a cup of water, and then throw the water over the men who have incurred their displeasure. A girl will sometimes let it be known that she is working this witchcraft, and while she is sitting on the floor she will say to several boys who are trying to pass her, "You cannot pass." Then everybody in the house knows that she holds the palümi. If a boy succeeds in getting by the girl without having the water sprinkled on him, the charm is spoiled. Girls use the palümi as a means of repelling familiarity from those young men who presume to disregard the old, strict Bagobo customs regulating the etiquette that should prevail between the sexes. When a boy goes too far with a girl, she may retaliate by putting palümi into the betel she offers him, thus causing him a severe illness.

Kabibi is a love charm that is rather scarce, as only a few men and a few women are known to possess it. When a girl rejects a young man and he, in anger, determines to revenge himself for the slight, he puts kabibi into the girl's betel, or else lays kabibi on one of her footprints in the ground. She reacts to the

³⁵¹ Of this sort of magic among the Visayan, 1624, a Recollect document records: "They gloried in knowing charms and in working them, by consulting the devil — a means by which some made themselves feared by others, for they easily deprived them of life. In confirmation of this assertion, it happened, according to the recital of one of our ministers, that while he was preaching to a great assembly one Indian went to another, and breathed against him with the intent of killing him. The breath reached not the Indian's face, however, but an instrument that he was carrying, the cords of which leaped out violently, while the innocent man was left unharmed. The philosophy of such cases is that the murderer took in his mouth the poisonous herb given him by the devil, and had another antidotal herb for his own defense. Then, exhaling his breath in this manner, he deprived of life whomever he wished." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 21, pp. 211—212.

charm at once, and begins to cry for her lover. Her passion for him grows more vehement until she loses her mind, and goes into the woods where she weeps continually. The only remedy now is for the young man to give her another medicine, usually the liver of a crow, to set her right. After this performance, her lover may still want marry her, but in one case that came to my knowledge a youth after giving a girl, first kabibi, and then ugka (crow's liver) afterward married another girl. This same love charm may be used by a woman upon a man.

The coast Bagobo think that the mountain Bagobo put something into the betel to make their visitors spit blood, and they have a special charm tied in a small cloth to counteract the danger, merely by its presence in one's bag.

A magical virtue inherent in certain medicines operates to punish a supposed thief at the same time with the discovery of his guilt. This is the *bongat*,³⁵² a word which means trap. When a person misses something, — perhaps some of his store of rice, — he gets out a bamboo tube in which is kept secreted the magic *bongat*. He lays the bamboo joint in the same place from which the rice was stolen, and repeats this formula:

“Whoever took my rice,
Curse him with bulging eyes;^{352 a}
Make his body swell;
After that let him die.”

This charm makes the abdomen of the guilty one grow abnormally large; his eyes protrude from his head; his strength leaves him, and by and by he dies. They say that this way of detecting a thief is very simple, because it may easily be seen who gets big belly and bulging eyes.

In connection with the magical punishment of a thief, the test used to discover guilt is of interest; although the test or ordeal, with its appeal to the gods, belongs rather to the category of devotional performances than to magic arts.

³⁵² Father Gisbert speaks of the use of *bongat* as common both to Moro and to pagan tribes, and it is possible that this charm may have been borrowed from the Moro. “When the thief is discovered, he may be cured by putting powder from the other joint into the water and bathing his body with it.” BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 43, p. 239. 1906.

^{352 a} The same conception is to be found in the Atharva-Veda, in the lines, “Make the confessing sinner's eyes fall from his head, both right and left.” R. T. H. GRIFFITH (tr.): *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 19. 1895.

Ordeal or Test

If two men are suspected of theft, and each man, laying the blame on the other, asserts his own innocence, the test called *pasilumě* is resorted to. Both men are forced to swim in the river, while the people gather on the bank to watch. Just before the suspected men go into the water, the owner of the stolen property recites the following invocation.

“Behold, Diwata;
Like needles your teeth,
Like lunga-seeds³⁵³ your eyes.
Whoever stole my *tap-tap*,³⁵⁴
Send him cursed from the water.”

Then the guilty one comes out from the river, but the innocent man sinks to the bottom like a stone, and lies there all day. In the evening, it is said, he is taken out unhurt. If by any chance the thief should sink, he would be seized by the Gamo-Gamo people who haunt the rivers and be tormented by them. All the river-spirits of this class carry sharp iron punches, with which they prick and gash the guilty person, but they never touch the innocent. As long as the thief is in the water, he feels the torture; yet on emerging his body does not show the wounds.

His guilt now established beyond doubt, there remains for him but to make reparation as required. He must give whatever the owner of the stolen goods demands — agongs, spears, or what not. There is no set ratio between the amount of the theft and the compensation insisted on. If a *tap-tap* worth two pesos has been stolen, the owner may, if he please, demand five agongs (the equivalent of about one hundred pesos) in satisfaction for the wrong done to him. The supposed thief, if unable to pay or to borrow the agongs for payment, would in the normal course of events become the slave of his creditor.

Rizal tells us that, “The early Filipinos had a great horror of theft, and even the most anti-Filipino historian could not accuse them of being a thievish race. To day, however, they have lost their horror of that crime. One of the old Filipino methods of

³⁵³ A small, black, edible seed, about the size of a mustard-seed.

³⁵⁴ Agongs are beaten with a small wooden hammer called *tap-tap*, which has a head coated with rubber overlaid by cloth.

investigating theft was as follows: 'If the crime was proved, but not the criminal, if more than one was suspected . . . each suspect was first obliged to place a bundle of cloth, leaves, or whatever he wished on a pile, in which the thing stolen might be hidden. Upon the completion of this investigation if the stolen property was found in the pile, the suit ceased.'³⁵⁵ The Filipinos also practiced customs very similar to 'the judgments of God' of the middle ages, such as putting suspected persons, by pairs, under the water and adjudging guilty him who first emerged."³⁵⁶

DISEASE AND HEALING IN THEIR SUPERNATURAL ASPECTS

Ignorant of the nature of metabolic processes in the human body, and unwarned against the ravages of hostile bacteria, a Bagobo, in the frankly primitive attitude, accepts pain and sickness as due to the manipulations of the buso, or of his own left-hand soul, or else he suspects that he has broken some tabu. Some blunder of his own may, somehow, have brought on the illness: a failure to observe a ritual detail so that some ceremony is spoiled; the doing of some forbidden thing, such as eating a limokun pigeon, or uttering the name of his dead grandfather, or putting on the ceremonial red shirt while he is young. Just as frequently, however, a man is the innocent victim of a buso who gets inside of him, or of his evil soul that is playing truant from his body and shooting pains into him from some distant point.

We find, then, that sickness is due to one of the following causes: (a) The breaking of a tabu; (b) The attack of a buso; (c) The adventures of the left-hand soul, or gimokud tebang.

Diseases that Result from Breaking Tabu

The simple fact of falling sick because of the transgression of a

³⁵⁵ For magical usages in the Tagal tribes, *Cf.* J. DE PLASENCIA: "Customs of the Tagalogs." 1589. BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 7, pp. 192—194. *Cf.* also P. CHIRINO: "Relacion . . ." 1604. *Op. cit.*, vol. 13, p. 81. For Visayan magic, *cf.* M. de Loarca: "Relacion . . ." 1582. *Op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 163.

³⁵⁶ BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 16, pp. 128—129. In Minahassa, the judgment of God by the water-ordeal was formerly in use, by which test he who could stay longer under water was the innocent person. *Cf.* SARASIN: *Reisen in Celebes*, vol. 1, p. 44. 1905.

tribal custom or mandate is called *bogok*, but among the specific diseases resulting from breaking tabu — and breaking tabu is merely a phrase for disregard of old customs — are the following.

Kataluan is a serious skin infection from which a person suffers, it is said, if he sells a pair of old ear-plugs, or any other old object that has become an *ikut* and is ready to be offered to the gods. It appears that certain divinities are extremely jealous of their ancient rights, and resent the loss of any object that should come to the altar. It would seem, however, that this disease may be present even in a child, for there is a traditional "small boy" of the mythical romance who is covered with the sores called *kataluan*.

Parayat, or *parayan*, shows itself in a form of sickness of which the symptoms are pain in the eyes, in the wrists and at the elbow joints, extreme pallor and emaciation, and profound drowsiness or lethargic sleep. This sickness comes upon a woman who sells the cloth patterned by over-tying, called *binübbüd*, while it is still in the process of manufacture. *Parayat* may also be brought about by witchcraft.

Kangulag is a term commonly applied to a person who is weak-minded or foolish, but which is used specifically of a girl who is eager for the society of men, and is emotionally unbalanced. It is generally understood that she has fallen into this condition because she has sold a textile before it was finished and ready to be taken from the loom. Bagobo custom requires that no woven work be sold until fully complete.

Karatas is a mortal illness in which the body grows thinner and weaker until death comes, and which is the expected punishment for any young man who presumes to wear the closed shirt called *linombus*. This garment is woven of hemp dyed in a solid claret tint, and is reserved for old men and old women.

Saki' tankulu, or *tankulu* sickness, manifests itself in various symptoms not definitely stated, but it is sure to attack a man who ties round his head the chocolate colored kerchief called *tankulu* before he has earned this coveted distinction in the customary manner; that is to say, by killing somebody.

Kalawag, or yellow skin, is a disease that afflicts a person who mentions the name of his dead grandfather, or the name of any other of his deceased ancestors. The skin turns yellow, the body wastes away, and death results. A boy may get *kalawag* as a

penalty for another transgression, for the old people tell the children that if they should eat the omen bird (*limokun*) their skin would turn yellow, and they would "get skinny" and die.

Tulud is the disease to be looked for if the people taking part in a rice-sowing festival do not preserve the proper direction of movement laid down for the Bagobo by a traditional pattern, that is, toward the south. If the direction taken in planting be toward north, or east or west, the tulud sickness would come. Just what form the disease would take is not stated, but that it would cause the patient to grow very thin and die is vaguely surmised.

Sebullo or nausea, accompanied by excessive vomiting and ending in death, is a fearful penalty waiting for one who laughs at his reflection in the water, for this image is the manifestation of his left-hand soul.³⁵⁷ My informant said: "When you laugh at your *alung* in the river, you will die of sebullo, that makes all the food come out of your mouth when you eat."

Katapik is a disease that attacks a girl who attempts to embroider the scarf called *salugboy*³⁵⁸ after the ancient manner of doing needlework. A young girl may wear the scarf, but the privilege of embroidering it is reserved for old women.

Bogok is any sickness that comes to a girl who winds about her waist an odd number of times the girdle of brass links called *sinkali*. It has been noted that bogok is a general term for the class of diseases that result from breaking tabu.³⁵⁹

Diseases Caused by Buso

Undefined and hazy is the line of separation between Buso as a bringer of disease and the disease itself, which is commonly called a buso. Many buso walk the earth under the names of Diseases, and actually enter the body of the person who falls sick; other buso merely operate from a distance and cause suffering, just as does that potential buso, the left-hand soul. The following are a few of the sicknesses that are referred directly to the agency of evil personalities.

For *sarampian* or measles, the Bagobo have only the Spanish

³⁵⁷ See pp. 45, 58, 61.

³⁵⁸ See pp. 86—87, 128, 130.

³⁵⁹ See p. 224.

name because, they say, it was unknown before the coming of the Spaniard. It is very severe and often fatal among the wild tribes. A buso is said to enter the body of the child afflicted, and the treatment is to hang small charm figures on the neck of the patient, so that the buso may be attracted into the figures. One small boy told me that he must wear the "little man" for one year after his recovery from measles.

Timbalung is a form of chronic constipation from which the people suffer miserably, and which is attributed to a buso that has succeeded in getting inside of the human body. The cure consists in the ceremonial application of water to the joints of the body. This treatment is given by an old priest-doctor, who applies the water with a bunch of magical plants, continuing the treatment until excrement is voided and the demon at the same time ejected. "When Buso has come out from the intestines," they say, "the patient feels so light, and immediately gets better."

Giddiness is caused by a buso named *Tagasoro*, who in some ways invariably makes the person lose his sense of direction.

Karokung is a common sickness, of which the symptoms are fever, chills and a racking cough. It is to be traced to a white woman who lives in rivers and is said to be very beautiful. Her hair is long and dark; her feet black, or blue and black, while her legs, too, are black to a line half-way up to the knees. The rest of her body is white. She is very amorous, desiring to embrace every man she sees, and it is this propensity of hers that throws men into burning fever. When high fever is running, she is said to be putting the man into the fire, but directly afterwards she plunges into the river, and forthwith the patient begins to shiver. Nobody has ever seen the *Karokung* woman, but many people have dreamed about her, and thus her characteristics are completely established. When a Bagobo woman, however, has chills and fever, her symptoms are caused by a white man with long hair, who also lives in the river and behaves like the *Karokung* woman. In either case, the treatment consists in burning the deserted nest of a limokun or of some other bird, and allowing the patient to inhale the smoke. Another effective remedy is to smell the fumes that come from burning a few wisps of hair cut from the coat of the flying lemur, called *tungalung*; or one may simply lay before a god some little agricultural offering. These disease-bringing river inhabitants have none of the ear-marks of

the traditional mermaid, who finds her counterpart, at least on the morphological side, in the gamo-gamo people who have already been characterized.

Three other disease-bringers are women, one of whom lives in the center of the earth where there is an enormous hole; another resides at the rim of the sky, and still another in the middle of the sky.

Several illnesses — chills, cough, skin disease — are brought by a mythical individual called "Sickness that goes round the World" and said to travel down the mountain streams. The "Sickness that goes round the World" is often called by the name of *Gimusu* — a disease which produces sores. At the time of the Ginum at Talun, the gimusu was reported to be in the mountains, and on the way to Mati.³⁶⁰

Furthermore, there are mythical birds and beasts that live in the sky or roam over mountain and plain, and that have power to bring sickness. These are the so-called "bad animals," among them some that were mentioned in our discussion of the various forms of the buso.³⁶¹ Those specially noted as disease-bringers are Pungatu, Limbagu, the eight-eyed Riwa-riwa, the swine-like Abuy, the chick-like Tulung and the aforesaid Timbalung. There seems to be no essential relation between the type of sickness that any one of these buso brings, and the zoöomorphic form that the demon assumes. Almost any buso, indeed, is supposed to be able to "make the Bagobo very sick."

Diseases Caused by the Left-Hand Soul

When a Bagobo cannot recall having broken any tabu, and is unable to trace his sickness to any particular buso, he is likely to

³⁶⁰ The tree-hantu, and several other disease-bringers, mentioned by Dr. Martin in his discussion of the religion of the Mantra, correspond to the buso diseases of the Bagobo.

"... So sind vor allem die Krankheiten, von denen der Mantra befallen wird, in seinen augen Dämonen, die in den Menschen gefahren sind. Dementsprechend gibt es so viele Krankheitsdämonen, als der Eingeborene Krankheitsformen zu unterscheiden vermag. ... die Mantra glauben ... an einen Hantu-Kayu (d.h. Baum-Hantu), der in jeder art von Bäumen lebt und die Menschen krank macht. Einige Bäume sind der Bösartigkeit ihrer Dämonen wegen besonders gefürchtet..." RUDOLF MARTIN: Die Inlandstämme der malayischen Halbinsel, pp. 942—943. 1905.

³⁶¹ See pp. 31, 38—40.

blame his left-hand soul — his gimokud tebang — who is off on an adventure, and, by some form of sympathetic magic, is making the trouble. The left-hand soul, while absent from the body which he tenants, is able to cause suffering in any part of it that he pleases, simply by exploiting³⁶² a corresponding part of his own shadowy structure. When the head aches, the gimokud tebang is bunting his head against a tree or a rock, and as long as he keeps this up the pain continues. A sensation of nausea means that the tebang is drinking poison. Belly-ache comes when the left-hand soul jumps into the river; but the pain may be relieved by securing the bill of a crow, burning it to ashes, and swallowing the ashes mixed with plenty of water. Sore mouth troubles a Bagobo when his tebang is drinking boiling hot water. When the left-hand soul runs a fishhook into his neck, sore throat comes on, but it may be cured by tying in a rag a few hairs of the flying lemur, and wearing the rag attached to the necklace. One woman who was using this charm told me that she got it from a Kulaman. Sharp pain in the foot is experienced whenever the tebang strikes his foot against a sharp stone. The medicine is the ashes obtained by burning the foot of a crow. The ashes are to be rubbed five times on the suffering foot, and this must be done with a gentle, downward stroke. Some old women think that one single stroke is better. If the tebang chooses to climb in great forest trees and swing himself from branch to branch, he can make the arms lame and sore. When the whole body feels lame and bruised, the left-hand soul is jumping from a tall tree down upon sharp-pointed stakes of bamboo, stuck in the ground like a man-trap. Cold shivers throughout the body, with sharp pains, mean that the tebang is swimming in the deep sea.

I noted but one kind of pain that was not attributed to an occult cause, — that was *sugud*, or the sting of bees. Further investigation, however, may yet find the sting to be a demoniac element. The remedy suggests that “like cures like,” for it consists in laying

³⁶² The impression I received of the left-hand soul was that of a spirit which hurts the body maliciously, or sportively. Professor Boas has called my attention to the difference between this conception, and that commonly held by primitive man, namely, that the harm done by the soul is due to accidents that happen in its wanderings. It is possible that I misunderstood my informant, and that the implied distinction does not actually exist, though the spirit of the folklore would bear me out.

against the stung face banana leaves that have been heated over a flame.

Methods of Healing Sickness

Unshaken in his conviction that he must look to the supernatural for the source of bodily pain, the Bagobo proceeds, consistently, to wrestle with a throng of diseases just as he would strive against any other outbreak of hostile demons. The methods recognized as efficacious are of three sorts, any one of which may be used either by itself or in combination with the other two. A case of sickness or accident may be treated, or sometimes prevented: (a) By an act of devotion; (b) By magic; (c) By native *materia medica*.

By an Act of Devotion. A simple act of faith, a devotional gift laid upon an altar or on the ground, a prayer asking that some god will keep the body strong, or that a buso may be appeased by a little betel and go away — any one of these acts is relied on for help even more than magic, more than curative plants. Many a long ceremony with complex ritual may be resolved into one straining, pitiful cry for health and freedom from pain. The fundamental intention of many of the rites of Ginum is that of being kept from sickness and death, and touching appeals are put up in individual cases. At the preliminary awas the betel in leaf-dishes is offered to the Malaki, who, in turn, is asked to give the dishes to the tig-banuá, so that those demons may be induced to refrain from sending disease to the Bagobo. Again, the priestess implores the Malaki to keep the diseases shut up in the leaf-dishes until he comes to kill the diseases. The buso that are associated with departments of nature are propitiated by offerings, and are asked to keep the people in health. At the Pamalugu in the river, areca-nuts with betel-leaf are laid before the Malaki t'Olu k'Waig and before Tigyama, the protector, with prayers to be kept from the Sickness that goes round the World. While the water is being poured over the bodies of the candidates, appeals are made to Tigyama and to Pamulak Manobo, and to all the anito that they will remove sickness and feebleness from each person, and take the diseases to the Malaki to be strangled.³⁶³ Newly-married people are taught by the priest to set up a shrine in their house, and when

³⁶³ See pp. 100, 123.

they are sick, to give an areca-nut to Tigyama, and to ask him to take away the sickness.

It is customary, however, to supplement devotional exercises by other means of cure, particularly in those cases where the god is slow in giving help. In my journal kept at Talun, I find the following entry: "Have just given Malik quinine for *karokung* (malaria) — a disease caused by the 'White Lady who lives in the rivers.' The medicine recommended by the anito... does not seem to have done any good, and they have come to me for bawi."

By Magic. Much of the material belonging to this division of our subject has been discussed under the caption, "Charms and Magical Rites;" but the sort of healing which requires magic in combination with the use of native drugs will be considered in the following section.

By Native Materia Medica. While a few of the older women and men — that is to say, the priest-doctors — are highly skilled in the use of curative agents, they by no means hold a monopoly in the medical arts, for in every family the mother or grandmother has a store of remedies, and even young people treat themselves with varying success.

The list of native drugs that are supposed to have a curative effect is enormously large, including an uncountable number of names of trees, bushes, shrubs, rattans, climbing plants, whose yield of fruit or leaf or stem or bark or root, is eagerly gathered and carefully preserved by the Bagobo for their primitive practice of medicine. The consideration of many such vegetable products which have an actual curative value belongs rather to a work on material culture than to a monograph on religion. Our interest in the present connection does not extend to the probing into the actual effects of this or of that specific medicine; but we are concerned with the general methods of treatment, particularly where magic is instrumental in producing the desired result.

A very large number of curative elements consist of spells and drugs used in combination, and depending for their effect, in part upon the value of the pharmaceutical element, in part upon a prescribed ritual of word-charms, of magic passes, of set counts to be used with the drug or the lotion. For instance, in rubbing the body the stroke must take an upward direction with one curative agent, and downward with another; while certain other forms of treatment would be futile unless employed simultaneously with

areca-nuts and betel-leaf. Naturally, then, some of these healing remedies might just as properly be catalogued under the heading, "Charms having Inherent Virtue."

The overlapping of magic and medicine is a phenomenon that is impressed on anybody who talks with the natives on such subjects. One becomes distinctly aware of the lack of complete definition of such terms as *bawi* and *alang* — two words in constant use. There is certainly a tendency to use *alang* for what we call a charm or a talisman, and to give the name *bawi* to drugs and to external medicinal applications. This distinction, however, does not hold throughout, for certain charms against demons are quite as often named *bawi ka buso* as *alang ka buso*; while, contrariwise, a medicine to rub on the skin may be *alang*. One realizes, in listening to a Bagobo as he rapidly repeats a list of medicines, that he does not distinguish drugs from charm objects; he runs them all confusingly together. Any line, too, that we ourselves might attempt to draw between the healing by *materia medica* and the healing by spells would be a highly artificial line. "I used to be a leper," said one of my boys, "but I took an areca-nut, and stroked the sores on my skin, and after that I got well very quick." Even when a mode of treatment might be termed, from our own point of view, a "rational" mode, such as inhaling hot fumes for a cough, a touch of magic is usually required to make the treatment work.³⁶⁴ A fixed number of inhalations is required if relief is looked for; two wafts of smoke are to be repeated, say three times, for to repeat four or five times would be termed *madat*, that is, unlucky.

Among the chief modes of treatment are the following: stroking and rubbing; inhaling of medicinal fumes; drinking water containing the ashes of a burnt object; wearing a medicine attached to necklace or jacket. We may distinguish certain clearly-marked groups, in one of which the factor of fire plays a prominent part. (a) The method of burning; (b) The method of external use without burning; (c) The method of internal use without burning; (d) The method of wearing or of carrying the medicine on the person.

³⁶⁴ Similarly, the Indo-Iranians held that sickness should be cured by magical spells and by washing. "In fact, the medicine of spells was considered the most powerful of all, and although it did not oust the medicine of . . . drugs, yet it was more highly esteemed." J. DÄRMESTETER (tr.): "The Vendidad." Sacred books of the East, vol. 4, pp. lxxx, 108 *et cet.*

Method of Burning. A widely-used method of extracting the virtue of a medicinal element is that of burning or of charring. Here the Bagobo recognize two distinct methods of manipulation, which they set apart from each other by their definition of the two terms, *tiduk* and *gübo*. (a) To burn with flame is called *tiduk*; (b) To burn with smoke is called *gübo*.

By the method of *tiduk* the medicine is burned to ashes, and the ashes are either mixed, while hot, with water and swallowed, or are applied dry to the diseased part. The ashes of many kinds of non-succulent roots, and of various species of rattan, are used for sore throat, for cold on the chest and for stomach ache. The foot and the beak of the crow, when burned to ashes, are both highly esteemed as a cure for pain in the belly and for a number of other ailments.

A very common method of cure is by *gübo*, which includes all medicinal agents that can be readily charred, or from which smoke may be drawn. In the charring process, the curative object is held in the fire until it is blackened at one end and then the charred part is rubbed on the throat, or chest, or other suffering member. Sometimes this is done in silence, sometimes with word-charms. Favorite objects used for charring are pieces of tortoise-shell for bronchial colds; the shell of *tabun-tabun* nut for pain in the stomach and for intestinal disorders; and a great variety of woods, roots, barks and leaves, all of which are charred and stroked on the painful part of the body in a manner which, for each form of ache and pain, is prescribed with more or less definiteness. Galls produced by insects and forming excrescences on certain trees are highly esteemed as a means of cure for sore throat and sore chest. The healer holds the gall in a flame for twenty or thirty seconds, rubs off a bit of the charred part while it is still glowing, and applies it to the chest or the throat with a downward stroke that leaves a black mark about two inches long. She does this twice three times, while repeating the numbers, "*Usha, dua, tolug; usha, dua, tolug.*" (One, two, three; one, two, three). She must say no more, and may make but the six strokes.

The other form of treatment included under *gübo* is the use of smoke produced by burning vegetable gums, or the hair of the flying lemur, or deserted birds' nests³⁶⁵ (particularly the nest of

³⁶⁵ Skent notes the Malay practice of treating a fretful child by smoking it over a fire obtained from burning the nest of a weaver-bird. Cf. Malay magic, p. 338. 1900.

the limokun pigeon), or any other object from which fumes regarded as curative may be extracted. The patient, or some friend, puts his hand near the burning medicine, and wafts the smoke toward the nose or the sore chest or the aching head. It is not unlikely, though this inference is my own, that this treatment may be assumed to smoke out the disease-demon from the body, exactly as wild bees are smoked out from their tree-homes while the hunt for wax and honey is going on.

A similar method of treatment, though no actual smoke is present, is that made use of to cure pain all through the body (*tapan*). Numbers of tiny brown calyxes from a plant called *salē* are kept strung on a thread of hemp, and alternating with these calyxes are little flat, black, glossy seeds known as *teling*, also pierced and strung. From this flowerlike chain of brown and black, the patient takes one calyx and one seed and puts them into the flame of a candle or a torch. He then places his hand near the flame, and waves it twice toward his face, so that each time the flame will bend in his direction, after each of which moves he passes his hand over his face from forehead to chin. He is to repeat exactly three times the double wafting of the flame and the double stroking of the face, for to repeat four or five times is very unlucky.

Method of External Use without Burning. Another class of medicines include those that are never put into the fire, but are simply rubbed on the painful spot, or drawn lightly over the skin. Certain fruits and seed-pods are rubbed on the stomach; kamogna root is shaped into very small discs, mixed with betel, chewed and spit upon the abdomen, the head, or the chest; the fruit of esor is chewed with betel and rubbed with three upward strokes on a sore chest; vegetable gums furnish a panacea for pains in head, thorax, wrists and feet, provided they are rubbed on the part with a gentle downward stroke; from strings of seeds that hang from the necklace a few are cut off, mixed with betel, spit on the finger, and with the finger rubbed on an aching head; selected fruits and bits of wood have only to be touched to lame arms and legs, and many roots are used in like manner. Leprosy is said to yield to a few passes made with an areca-nut on the sores, the magical motions being manipulated in this, as in many other modes of healing, by the patient himself.

A panacea for any and every bodily pain was brought to me by Aglang. It was a vegetable gum tied up in a cotton girdle, the

girdle being knotted at intervals so as to present several closed pouches that held the gum. Brass rings encircled the girdle, and alternated with the pouches. The manner of treatment was to take the girdle in the hand, and with it to make passes on the body of the patient: three gentle, downward strokes on the neck, three down the length of the arm, and one from hip to foot. Possibly the disease is thus forced to pass out through the feet.

Method of Internal Use without Burning. Definite rules are laid down for the preparation of medicines to be taken internally, according to the class of medicine and the sickness. Certain kinds of seeds, grasses, roots and vegetable gums must be boiled in water, and the decoction drunk entire; while certain other kinds of roots, as well as many varieties of rattan, barks and twigs are to be scraped, or minced, dropped into water, sometimes hot and sometimes cold, and swallowed raw. Bile from serpents ³⁶⁶ — a good remedy for pain in the belly — is put into water and drunk without boiling. The liver of the crow will cure a great number of troubles, whether eaten cooked or raw. Cinnamon bark and certain roots are scraped fine, and eaten dry.

Method of Wearing or of Carrying Medicine on the Person. The last type of curative agents to be mentioned includes all those worn about the person or carried in one's bag or basket, the mere presence of the object seeming sufficient to secure the benefit. One of the most universally-used medicines of this class is the decorated neck-band of rattan that bears the name of *limba* and preserves the wearer from spitting blood, from centipede bite and from swollen breasts. Remedies for many illnesses are tied up in small rags and attached to the bead necklace or to some part of the clothing. Petals of ylang-ylang blossoms are strung for necklaces, and bits of fruit from the *búú*d tree are also strung and hung round the neck, to prevent pain or to cure it. Hanging from the belt or from the jacket of the Bagobo are often to be seen bunches of dry, but fragrant, leaves and flowers, and heavy tassels fashioned from many strings of seeds or of tiny discs of aromatic woods, all in readiness to smell in case of headache, or to dispel, by their mere presence, other aches and pains.

³⁶⁶ The Benua of the Peninsula have a cure for fever which consists in wearing hung on the neck the gall-bladder taken from a python. Cf. R. MARTIN: *Die Inlandstämme der malayischen Halbinsel*, p. 965. 1905.

It must not be forgotten, however, that in many cases a medicine is worn simply for convenience, so that it may be readily accessible when needed in haste for burning or for chewing, while one is on a tramp, or making a visit far from home. Some of the above-named remedies, while they may give relief by mere contact with the person, often are taken off and used like the other classes of medicine. The rattan neck-band, for instance, may be removed from the neck and a small portion of it burned off, in order to secure enough ashes to apply to a centipede sting. From the necklace or the tassel or the nosegay, little seeds of teling and of kuyo and of simarun, as well as calyxes of salë, are pulled off, one by one, just as they are needed either to hold in the fire or to swallow. There still remain, however, many curative objects that are worn as means of prevention, or merely smelled to relieve pain, like the above-mentioned fragrant bouquets.

TABU AS A FACTOR OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE

In every phase of activity, the Bagobo is bound up more or less tightly by an array of inhibitions that delay or completely check the prompt execution of his projects, by arousing in him fears, questionings and hesitation as to whether some tradition will be trampled upon, or some disease invited by this or that intended move. He explains his insistence upon any given tabu by drawing attention to a ceremonial restriction, or a social custom, or a known experience of a hurt that followed some transgression; but obviously present-day explanations give no clue to historical origin in any single case. This fact becomes the more evident on observing that the practice of the same tabu may be variously accounted for by different Bagobo. For example, one person refuses to eat the flesh of monkeys because once a monkey turned into a buso; while another says that to eat monkey would make him very sick because long ago, according to myth, monkeys had the form of man; and a third Bagobo explains his aversion by pointing out that a monkey has hands like the hands of man, and feet like the feet of man.

In any attempt to group into classes the different forms of tabu, this tendency of the natives to find more than one origin for a single custom emphasizes the highly artificial element that necessarily enters into every classification, for no item belongs in one fixed place alone. Yet the natural association of the tabus suggests

some such grouping as the following: (a) The ceremonial tabu, a tabu connected with objects sacred to the gods, or having a ceremonial significance; (b) The mythical tabu, a tabu whose coercive effect depends upon association with some tradition, myth, or supernatural mandate, including omens; (c) The class tabu, a tabu on privileges reserved for certain social classes; (d) The æsthetic tabu, a tabu which derives its force from the juxtaposition of incongruous mental images.

Ceremonial Tabu

The ceremonial tabus are connected particularly with ceremonies whose efficacy would be spoiled by the infringement of the tabu, of chief importance among which prohibitions are the following.

It is tabu to sell, or to give away, any article which has been placed upon an altar as an offering. In certain cases, such offerings must be left permanently upon the shrine; while in other cases the objects are returned to the owners at the conclusion of a ceremony, or after one night has passed while these gifts have been lying on the shrine. In any case, one must never part with an object thus offered to a god.

It is tabu to sell a weapon, or an ornament, which by reason of its age is called an *ikut*, a term used of certain classes of articles when they become old, and are hence ready to be put upon an altar. The following objects are called *ikut* after they have been worn or carried for a period of not less than two years and one month. The *pangidu*, a long-handled spear, of which there are some thirty or more types; the *kampilan*, a valuable one-edged sword that is carried in a decorative scabbard; the *sundong*, a long, two-edged sword of Moro manufacture, that is obtained by the Bagobo in trade; the *kalasag*, a war shield made of fine-grained wood and often elaborately carved; the *sinkali*, a chain girdle of fine brass links worn by wealthy Bagobo women; the *pankis*,³⁶⁷ a general term for several types of brass bracelet; the *pamarang*, ear-plugs worn by women and made of hard wood inlaid with very fine brass wire; the *gading*, large ivory ear-plugs worn by men. While exceptions may occur, the tendency is to limit the

³⁶⁷ The armlet cast from a wax mold and forming a complete circlet is preferably the *ikut*.

classes of objects called *ikut* to weapons, arms and ornaments of metal and of ivory. The interesting point is that the object in question automatically attains a ceremonial value just because it is old. "Cannot sell; it's old," is the nonchalant and final answer to a request for something that is *ikut*; for the *ikut* must go to the *tambara* or to the *balekát*, or to the *parabunnián*. Nevertheless, though the god of the field, or the god of the house shrine may claim the bracelet, or the ear-plug, or the shield, the Bagobo may still continue to wear the ornament, or to carry the arm or the weapon, for some time at least, before placing it upon a shrine. There seems to exist a sort of tacit understanding between himself and the divine being that, sooner or later, the precious possession shall pass over to the altar. The question as to whether or not an object has yet become an *ikut* may not rise into consciousness until an opportunity for sale presents itself. On one occasion, there was some hesitation about selling me a pair of ivory plugs because "the *gading* was old, and perhaps ready for *parabunnián*."

It is *tabu* to hold the festival of *Ginum* during the dark fortnight of the moon.

It is *tabu* to remove from the Long House any part of the ceremonial apparatus until the close of the celebration of *Ginum*. This *tabu* includes articles of food that are brought in for the feast, such as meat and salt, and the prohibition extends even to such small things as fragments of rattan and parts of torches. The night we were stringing *biáu* nuts on sections of rattan for the illumination, I asked to keep a bit of the rattan for a sample, but my request was promptly denied. They told me that it would be "very bad" to take it until after *Ginum*.

It is *tabu* to cut the end of a ceremonial bamboo that is raised at *Ginum*. It is better to leave it standing at a slant if it is too long to be put in an upright position.

In the old men's statement of exploits, it is *tabu* for any man to give the correct number of the victims he has slain. He must mention only one half the actual number, because if he should give the complete count the great bamboo would split from top to bottom while his hand clasps it.

It is *tabu* to continue the celebration of *Ginum* if an earthquake shock occurs, lest the death of the man who gives the festival follow, and the death of every member of his family as well.

It is *tabu* to move toward the north or the west or the east

while sowing rice at the annual festival of Marummas. The prescribed direction is from north to south, and to go in any other direction would cause a Bagobo to "die very quick" of a disease called *tulud*.

It is tabu to sow rice at any time except during the traditional rice-planting season, which covers a period of about three months — April, May and June.

It is tabu to break the spray of rice that is ceremonially placed on the altar for the harvest ritual.

It is tabu for a torch to burn at the night meetings called *Manganito*, at which scances not even a flicker of fire is permitted.

It is tabu for anybody in the house where there is a dead person to fall asleep during the death watch.

Mythical Tabu

The coercive effect of the mythical tabu depends upon its association with some tradition, myth, supernatural mandate or omen, as the following examples will illustrate.

It is tabu to continue a journey if an animal belonging to any member of the party dies on the road, or if any animal dies at a house where the party is stopping or waiting on the road.

It is forbidden to laugh at one's reflection in the water.

It is tabu to laugh at small animals. Whoever laughs at a mouse or a monkey or a lizard or a fly, or at any other little creature, will have his head turned round by the Thunder-god, so that he will face backward.

To kill a cat is tabu³⁶⁵ because, according to the myths, the cat on two or three occasions gave timely warning to the Bagobo when they were in danger.

The killing of a snake, though perhaps not carrying a direct prohibition, is regarded as unwise, in view of the attitude which the snake community might assume toward the offender. My

³⁶⁵ The Peninsular Malays consider it lucky to keep a cat in the house. Cf. W. W. SKEAT: *Malay Magic*, p. 190. A passage quoted by Skeat from Hugh Clifford's "In Court and Kampong" (p. 47) reveals a like superstition. "It is a common belief among Malays that if a cat be killed he who takes its life will in the next world be called upon to carry and pile logs of wood as big as cocoanut trees, to the number of the hairs on the beast's body. Therefore cats are not killed but if they become too daring in their raids on the hen-coop or the food rack, they are tied to a raft and sent floating down stream to perish miserably of hunger." *Ibid.*, p. 191.

mountain guide, Ayoba, on catching sight of a poisonous black viper on the trail, uttered a startled exclamation, then cut a stick, picked up the reptile carefully and tossed it into the jungle. They told me at Bungoyan's home that if the snake had been put to death all its relatives and its friends might have come to bite us.

There is a tabu on eating monkeys, on the ground that once a monkey turned into a buso. Another tradition quoted for the origin of the inhibition is that of the primitive peopling of the earth by monkeys that had the form of man. It is said, again, that after the earth was occupied by human beings, a few persons were metamorphosed into monkeys.

To mention the name of a deceased ancestor comes under the tabu called *luas*, a transgression to which severe penalties are attached. One often hears from the Bagobo remarks like the following: "I must not tell his name: he was my grandfather;" "I cannot speak my father's name, because he is dead." I am inclined to think that some Bagobo are afraid to mention the names of any dead persons, whether they are related to them or not. Once or twice I have heard it said that "a Bagobo does not speak the name of the dead; it is very bad to do so." It is probable that the mention of the name would be held as an equivalent to a summons to the ghost to appear, and the care with which ceremonial is performed to prevent the spirits in Kilut from so much as giving a thought to those on earth shows how great is the anxiety of the Bagobo to shut off the possibility of ghostly apparitions.³⁶⁹

Among mountain Bagobo, there is a tendency to avoid mentioning their own names that suggests the existence of a generally prevalent tabu at an earlier period. A chieftain educated strictly under the old Bagobo system, like Imbal of Tubison, if asked his name will motion to a companion to answer for him. There is an evident feeling that one's own name is a precious and personal thing, not to be tampered with by others.

Certain special circumstances appear to set in motion a name-tabu called *luas*; e. g. a man does not mention the name of a girl whom

³⁶⁹ Dr. Furness says of tabu on names in Borneo: "Among the Kayans and Kenyahs, as far as I know, the restriction on the utterance of names of relatives extends only to the fathers-in-law of a married couple, whose names must not be mentioned by either the husband or the wife. Again, it is most ill-omened for a son to mention his dead father's name; and, of course, neither man nor woman dare pronounce their own name; this a downright courting of all conceivable disasters and diseases." *Op. cit.* p. 17.

he has seduced; the names of two boys who are desperately at odds may be luas to each other.

It is tabu to mention the name of the god of fire, lest such mention act as a summons to Buso.

In building a house, it is tabu to place the floor at a level between the waist and the head of the builder. The floor must be either in the same horizontal plane with the waist of the builder, or else be raised to a height above his head. If the floor should be at the height, say, of the shoulder, the house would inevitably fall and crush the family.

In digging a grave, the depth must be such that the top of the walls be at a point about midway between the waist and the breast of the digger. It is tabu to dig a grave deeper or shallower than this measure.

Among mountain Bagobo, there is a rigid tabu against the sale of unfinished textiles or other handiwork that is still in process of manufacture by the women, such as carrying bags, embroidery, and over-laced work. To break this tabu will make the women too eager for the society of men. Of such an emotional disturbance, the dignified and self-controlled Bagobo woman is in deadly fear; and it was only after much discussion among the old people in regard to possible substitutes and medicines that I could secure an article in process of making.

Class Tabu

The class tabu defines the limits of privileges reserved for certain classes. This type of tabu may, perhaps, have become obligatory as a means of social control, or under the pressure of group interests. By this, I do not intend to give the impression that there has been any formal reservation of valued privileges for the old people, or for other classes of individuals distinguished for exploit or by their ancestry; but merely that in single cases, through some historic accident, such a tabu might easily have originated, and later have become fixed as a social obligation. In the nature of things, this class of tabus would be small, for the social system of the Bagobo is frankly democratic, and most good things are shared by all; yet here and there, though rarely, a young man who has performed no exploit, or a woman, on account of her sex, is at a disadvantage.

It is tabu for a youth who has never killed a man to eat the flesh of the limokun pigeon. The boys are taught that if they should dare to eat it they would feel very sick, that their skin would turn yellow, and that they would grow thin and die; but the man who has killed other men may safely eat this pigeon, for the reason that the limokun is the king of birds. There seems to be no feeling of hesitation about killing this bird on account of its sacred association with omens, but only as to making it common food. Limokun is set aside for those who have achieved renown, just as certain articles of dress are reserved for old people and for warriors.

The wearing of the head-cloth called *tankulu* is tabu to any man who has never killed another man, for the tankulu is a ceremonial badge, indicating that the wearer has given Mandarangan human blood to drink. This much-valued kerchief is made by women specialists, who employ a method of over-lacing cotton or hemp cloth before dyeing it. After coloring, the binding threads are removed and, wherever the dye has not penetrated, a decorative design in cream-color is left on a dark red background. The color varies from a claret tint to a dark chocolate shade in a progressive series, the lighter tints indicating that the wearer has killed but few men, the darker tints that he has killed many.

This beautifully decorated tankulu cloth, which gives the appearance of having been stamped with pattern blocks, is often made up into shirts, trousers and carrying-bags for the men, and into short waists and separate sleeves for the women. The use of this cloth is tabu, however, to all except those who have won the right to wear the tankulu kerchief and their near relatives. For example, a young man who has never taken life, but is nephew to a datu or other brave man, is often seen wearing the tankulu but a youth who has no distinguished relatives must earn his own exploit badge.

Another textile, the use of which is prohibited to young men and to young women, is *linombus*, a hemp fabric that is dyed a solid color in the rich claret dye extracted from the root of the sikarig tree, and made into closed, tight shirts for old men and women. It is said that in former times, before cotton cloth was imported at the coast, all Bagobo women, young and old, wore the linombus waist. At present, there is an attempt to preserve the ancient colors in the short waist of shop cotton, with its body of

bright scarlet and sleeves of dark blue, which is worn by young women and girls. The old women keep for themselves the firmly-woven hemp waist, with its long black sleeves and dark wine-colored body. Younger women save themselves time and trouble by securing cotton stuff that can be bought at the coast and quickly sewed together; but just when the tabu on the use of *linombus* by the young originated we do not know. That a custom which has passed out of use from unmistakably economic causes should now be prohibited under an ethical category is interesting to note. As for the young men, I heard no statement to the effect that they ever wore the closed *linombus*³⁷⁰ shirt. Their present short jacket, open in front and made of hemp woven in fine checks, may have been the historic garment. Only the sons and nephews of chieftains are permitted to wear the closed, claret-colored shirt of the old people, and for them it is frequently embroidered very beautifully and decorated with pearl discs. It is possible that the *linombus* shirt, like the kerchief of brave men, was formerly associated with rank and prowess, and that later it came to be reserved for old people only.

It is tabu for women to eat the sacrificial food which, under the name of *taroaman*,³⁷¹ is offered upon the altar at Ginum.

It is tabu for young women to embroider the wide closed scarf called *sinaya*, which is worn by mothers to support the baby as it rests upon the hip. This scarf passes over the right shoulder, across the chest, and under the left arm, and is covered with highly decorative figures embroidered with a special needlework that is now almost a lost art. Only aged women are permitted to do this embroidery, and now there are but few old women who understand the art.³⁷²

The ivory ear-plugs called *gading* seem once to have been tabu to married men. It is said that these splendid discs of ivory are distinctive of men who are *malaki*, or virgin, but the tabu is certainly not now strictly preserved.

It is tabu to men and women who are not unmarried and chaste (*malaki* and *daraga*) to wear the wide, solid shell bracelet called *pangolan*. I remember having seen but one married man wearing

³⁷⁰ In the Bila-an tribe, young men freely wear both jacket and trousers of *linombus* cloth.

³⁷¹ See pp. 79, 104, 138.

³⁷² See the illustration in *Amer. Mus. Jour.*, vol. 11, p. 166. May, 1911. This scarf is called also *salugboy*.

this armlet, and that was Antis, brother of Datu Ido. Possibly the tabu is lifted for relatives of chieftains.

Æsthetic Tabu

The æsthetic tabu derives its force from the juxtaposition of incongruous mental images, often associated with some real or fancied resemblance.

The few tabus to be found in existence among the Bagobo on eating the flesh of certain animals are in nowise traceable to any totemic origin; nor are they based on supposed hygienic grounds; nor is there any scruple against taking the life of an animal, as such; nor, except in the single case of the limokun, is there a religious sanction involved. Rather does the mention of eating this or that animal suggest a train of mental images that stimulates a feeling of distaste or repugnance. The tabued animal is said to be like some other animal which is never eaten; or it resembles man in some character; or the visual or the gustatory image is unpleasant simply because it is inhibited by Bagobo custom. This group of tabus is by no means so generally binding as those of the two preceding classes, and the Bagobo who fails to observe them is gently derided rather than censured. The only animal food that I have heard spoken of as likely to produce death is the flesh of the goat.

The civet cat is tabu, the only reason given being on the ground of custom.

The carabao, or water-buffalo, is tabu for food, possibly because the animal is utilized for dragging loads, and for riding bareback.

Mountain Bagobo of the truly conservative type refuse to eat beef. On my offering a share in a can of corned beef to some old women at Talun, who had very little food, they said that they could not eat it because the cow was "like the carabao."³⁷³

³⁷³ To the mountain Bagobo, cows are known only by an occasional glimpse at the very few herds kept by an occasional Spaniard at the coast. Rinderpest is so widespread a disease in the district of Davao that the attempt to introduce cows has met with little success. "The universal preference for the flesh of the Buffalo to that of the Ox in Malay countries is evidently a prejudice bequeathed to modern times by a period when cow-beef was as much an abomination to Malays as it is to the Hindus of India at the present day." W. W. SKELTON: *Op. cit.*, p. 189. As above noted, however, the Bagobo women objected to cow-flesh on the ground that it suggested eating buffalo-meat.

Goat's flesh is tabu, for "it would kill a Bagobo to eat it." I saw no goats under domestication with the Bagobo, but I was told that the Bila-an people kept goats. Whether this tabu has arisen through unfamiliarity with the animal, or because of the economic value of goat's hair for decorative purposes, or through some Bila-an tradition borrowed by the Bagobo cannot be determined until the Bila-an tribe is better known to us.

Reptiles, including snakes, monitor lizards and agama, are almost universally tabu among the Bagobo. Although some Bagobo will eat the flesh of the monitor lizard and of certain snakes, the æsthetic repugnance that leads to the prohibition is pretty general.

Nearly all Bagobo, young and old, show disgust and abhorrence at the mere suggestion of eating the flesh of monkeys. While the story-teller accounts for this widespread feeling by reference to some mythical or other episode where the monkey figured as a chief character, most Bagobo explain the tabu by pointing out the resemblance which an ape bears to a human being. From boys and girls, from old women and old men, one hears such remarks as the following, uttered with manifest signs of horror and shrinking. "The monkey has two feet like man's feet; he has two hands like man's hands; I could not eat the monkey." "A Tagakaola can eat monkey; a Bilia-an can eat monkey; a Kulaman can eat monkey." "Very few Bagobo can eat monkey, because monkey is like man." I have known two or three Bagobo boys who frankly admitted to eating monkey-meat, "because it is like deer," or "because it is like chicken," but these boys were ridiculed by the other young people present. Doubtless, under stress of famine, which so often comes when the rice crops fail, any tabu that limits the food supply runs a risk of being broken.

The Bagobo say that other tribes eat animals proscribed among themselves. The Tagakaola are said to eat civet cat and lizards, while the Bila-an and the Kulaman are accused of eating monkey. No doubt the tabu on certain classes of foods is subject to considerable local variation, but of course each tribe regards its own customs as more or less distinctive. One day there were ten or more Bila-an men at my house when we were talking of food tabus, and they all admitted readily that it was their custom to eat monkey-flesh.

OMENS AND DREAMS

Omens

Closely related to the entire subject of tabu is the belief in omens, signs and dream portents, some of which phenomena indicate a line of behavior to be followed out, while others foretell unavoidable disaster, or simply serve to announce an event that has already occurred. The greater number of omens noted by the Bagobo as significant are believed in pretty generally by other tribes in the Philippines, and are of a nature that requires no particular consideration. Many of the signs and portents that are here briefly listed together have already been mentioned in our previous discussion, in association with the various subjects which they concern. A number of conditions observable in natural phenomena are interpreted as omens.

When the western sky has a lurid or reddish aspect on a cloudy afternoon, it is a sign of misfortune for the world, and it especially foretells the appearance of the sickness called *panalii*. There is a saying among the Bagobo, "When the sky is red, trouble will come."

"Maluto langit, madat e banuá."

Red sky, bad is world.

It is said that at rare intervals the sun at noon seems to have the shape of an umbrella, and that this *timolud* sun is an omen of terrible import. It foretells the calamity of an incestuous union between a brother and sister in some family, followed by the death of the guilty individuals.

An eclipse of the moon is a sign that the mammoth bird Minokowa has swallowed her, and that the sun and all the people on the earth will be swallowed by the same bird, unless the Minokowa can be induced to open its mouth and disgorge the moon — a result which is regularly brought about by the shouting and screaming of men, and the beating of agongs.

The so-called spots on the moon are actually a white monkey sitting on a tree; but to distinguish the form of the monkey is a portent of death to him that sees it.

Crashing peals of thunder augur sickness and death, for the zoö-morphic thunder demon is emitting growls and roars, a sign that he will immediately drop down upon earth and devour somebody, unless spells be performed with lemons cut up in water.

A shower falling within a few days after the death of any Bagobo is to be interpreted as a sign that the dead person is weeping for a companion to follow him. Some one of his relatives or near friends, therefore, will be smitten with mortal illness, failing the performance of the proper spell to charm away the lingering spirit.

A dire portent is the occurrence of an earthquake during the celebration of Ginum, for it fortells the death of the host and of all his family.

A journey must be given up, or postponed, if an animal belonging to any one of the expedition dies on the road, for this is a sign that to go on would be dangerous.

The sound of an insect chirping in a house at night is a sign that somebody has just died, and this faint singing is the voice of the right-hand soul (*gimokud takawanan*) making the announcement of its departure from the earth.

The sound of a rotten tree crashing to the ground at night, when no man is near to fell it, is an augur of death, for it means that the evil ghost which was the left-hand soul (*tebang*) is striking his head against the trunk to show that he wants somebody to die and be his comrade as he prowls about at night.³⁷⁴

The limokun³⁷⁵ is recognized by the Bagobo as the omen bird, whose voice must be listened to carefully for indications of success or ill-luck. Opinions in regard to the precise manner of the

³⁷⁴ Father Gisbert records several omens that I did not happen to hear mentioned as significant phenomena. In a letter dated February 8, 1886, he says: "When the Bagobos have an evil presentiment, for which it is enough for them to see a snake in the house, or that the jar breaks in the fire, etc., they hasten to their *matanom*, in order to have him conjure the misfortune by means of his great wisdom. . . . Sneezeing is always a bad omen for them, and accordingly if anyone sneezes by chance when they are about to set out on a journey, the departure is deferred until next day." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 43, pp. 237—238. 1906.

³⁷⁵ The limokun (*Calophaps Indica*) is a species of turtle dove, or wood pigeon, having green and white plumage, with red feet and beak. It is a large and beautiful bird that Bagobo children love to catch and tame for a house pet, and this they do freely, notwithstanding its character as an omen bird. The boys snare it by laying a slip-noose on the red pepper plant, whose fruit the bird comes to eat. The string of the slip-noose is tied by its other end to the slender branch of a tree or bush, so as to work by a simple form of trigger release, the branch bending down and springing back when the bird steps into the noose. In about two nights, a boy told me, the limokun, imprisoned in a little cage of split bamboo, has grown fairly tame. The decoy note for limokun is made by whistling between the two thumbs held in contact, vertically and close to the lips, the four fingers of the right hand being clasped over those of the left, with a tiny crevice left for an air vent.

augury vary somewhat, though the postponing of a journey or the abandoning of the expedition is usually involved. A Bagobo told me that if the limokun were heard to whistle the journey must be abandoned for that day. Either a return home, or a mere wait on the road, will avert the threatened disaster. Certain other investigators³⁷⁶ have recorded that the advance or retreat of the party must be determined by the direction whence the limokun's voice comes — whether from the right hand or the left hand side of the path.³⁷⁷

Omens of life and of death, of wealth and of poverty, are read in the lines on the palm of the hand by Bagobos skilled in such matters.

Among my acquaintances were two young men and one old chief-tain who understood a little of palmistry. The long curved line that follows the direction of the attachment of the thumb is called the *lawa*, which, when it ends proximally in many fine roots, means that the person will have a long life. The well-defined line running across the hand below the fingers is the *kulili*, which, if strong and deeply-marked, signifies that the individual will grow rich and possess many things. The line running transversely between the *kulili* and the *lawa* is named the *tidalan*, but I am unable to state its meaning, as my note on this line is broken off. A faint line passing lengthwise over the middle of the palm, and crossing the *tidalan* and the *kulili*, is to be seen in the hands of some persons; this is the *bera kamati*, and its presence indicates that one is the last of the family, that all of the other members are dead. The short line near the wrist, running obliquely from

³⁷⁶ Father Gisbert wrote, in 1886, as follows concerning the limokun augur among the Bagobo: "The song of the limocon is for them the message from God. It is of good or evil augury according to circumstances. Accordingly, when the limocon sings every Bagobo stops and looks about him. If he sees, for instance, a fallen tree, the limocon advises him not to advance farther, for the fate of that tree awaits him, and he turns back. If he sees no particular thing which indicates or prognosticates any ill, he continues, for then the song of the limocon is good." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 43, p. 238. 1906.

³⁷⁷ Bishop Aduarte, writing in 1640 of the inhabitants of Nueva Segovia, probably refers to the limokun in this passage. "If they heard the singing of a certain bird which they regarded as a bad omen, they did not go on at all with what they had undertaken, even though they had traveled for many days, and even in the case of an entire army in war. They acted in the same manner if the bird came or flew toward their left hand, or if it turned its bill in such or such a direction." See his "Historia. . ." BLAIR and ROBERTSON, vol. 30, p. 287. 1905.

the lawa to the bera kamati, is called the *bangan*, and means that men will kill the sister of the possessor of the hand, or will kill his sister's husband. The *koris* is a short line branching upward from the *bangan*; but *koris* may be used also as a general term for the lines in the palm. The phrase *madat palad* signifies that your lines are unlucky, that you will have a short life, and that your wife, too, will soon die.³⁷⁸

Dreams

Dreams are of two distinct types, which may be called exploit dreams and warning dreams.

The exploit dream is characterized by adventures, hairbreadth escapes, strange encounters — all of which are actual exploits performed by the evil left-hand soul, which has escaped, temporarily, from the body in which it lives and is wandering about the earth.³⁷⁹

The vision, or warning dream, is one in which a person who is living under some stress of anxiety or suffering is visited by a heavenly messenger, who tells him what to do to obtain relief. Several myths illustrate this type of dream, such as the following.

³⁷⁸ Parallel beliefs in the value of signs and portents for the determination of behavior are found in many tribes throughout the Islands. For example, Aduarte says of the Filipino of Nueva Segovia, in 1640: "If the Indians left their houses, and happened to meet anyone who sneezed, they went back home again even though they had gone a day's journey, as if the sneeze had been something in the road. Sometimes they went on, and returned without delay from their destination. If the same thing happened when they began to work, they immediately desisted from their labor. . . . On the contrary, they were very much encouraged and very joyful when the augury was a good one; and although a thousand times the event was opposite to what the augury . . . had threatened or promised, they never lacked an excuse for remaining in that error. . ." "Historia. . ." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 30, pp. 287—288. 1905.

One of the pioneer Jesuit missionaries in Mindanao, Francisco Combés, says: "What they believe in thoroughly are omens, which are almost general in all the islands. There are many of them: of birds, like the limocoon; of insects, like the lizard [*sic.*]; of accidental occurrences, like sneezing; of happenings, like deaths and earthquakes; of observances, at times of sowing, and of reaping, and of the hunt — all of those have their observances which they fulfil in order to have luck in the work; for they believe that without these it will be unlucky and without any profit." "Historia de Mindanao, Joló, etc." 1667. BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 40, p. 134. 1906.

Cf. also, the following references as typical of many such to be found in the Indian sagas. "After he had set forth he saw an evil omen presenting itself in front of him." Somadeva: *Kathú sarit ságara*: tr. by C. H. TAWNEY, vol. 1, p. 283. 1880. "An evil omen presenting itself to people engaged in any undertaking, if not counteracted by delay and other methods, produces misfortune." *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 285.

³⁷⁹ See pp. 58—60.

During a legendary famine that afflicted the Mona, the traditional ancestors of the Bagobo, a little boy with white hair appears to the old man, Tuglay, in his sleep and warns him to stay no longer where there is so little food, but to go to the land of the water-sources.

A mother whose son has been bewildered by the wood demon, S'iring, and lured to his death, sees at night a dream-boy who stands beside her and bids her perform certain devotional rites that will procure the restoration of her son.³⁸⁰

An allied episode is that in the story, "The Sun and the Moon,"³⁸¹ when a white-haired boy tells the Sun, in a dream, that the Moon mother has hidden away her girl-baby in a box to save her from the cruelty of the Sun.³⁸²

³⁸⁰ Cf. Jour. Am. Folk-Lore; vol. 26, pp. 24—52. Jan.—Mar., 1913.

³⁸¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 17.

³⁸² For a discussion of magic, tabu and treatment of disease in certain Melanesian tribes, see Dr. C. G. SELIGMANN'S "The Melanesians of British New Guinea," pp. 136—140, 167—193. 1910.

The subject of divination, magic and omens among the Todas of Southern India is examined by Dr. W. H. R. RIVERS, in his "The Todas," pp. 249—273, 459—460.

See also Dr. A. C. HADDON'S Notes on the Omen Animals of Sarawak, in his "Head-Hunters, Black, White and Brown," pp. 381—393. 1901. Cf. Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits, vol. V, VI, 1904—1908, for an analysis of the magic and religion of the western and eastern islanders.

PART IV. PROBLEM OF SOURCES OF CEREMONIAL AND MYTH

It is only during the last half century that the Bagobo have come to the knowledge of the western world. We do not know how early they came into contact with the Chinese; but Dr. Laufer,³³³ who has made a careful investigation of those Chinese sources which contain accounts of the Philippines, mentions no Chinese record of the wild tribes of Mindanao.

When we turn to the Spanish writers, we find as early as 1521 descriptions of the Filipino and of the Moro peoples,³³⁴ and from the end of the sixteenth until the close of the nineteenth century the work of the priests progressed in Mindanao; yet for some time there is no mention of Bila-an or of Kulaman, of Tagakaola or of Bagobo. Although as early as 1546 Saint Francis Xavier³³⁵ preached in Mindanao; although missions were established on this island by the Jesuits in 1596,³³⁶ and by the Recollects in 1622;³³⁷ although in 1655 the number of christianized natives under the care of Jesuits and Recollects in Mindanao was reported³³⁸ to have reached 70,000, the mountain tribes of the southeast were not known to the missionaries until two centuries later. It was along the coast line from the northeast to the southwest, and in the immediately adjoining territory of the interior that their numerous churches and convents were established. One may search in vain the maps of the early cartographers for any place-names along the gulf of Davao. Even fairly detailed maps such as that by Sanson d'Abbeville,³³⁹

³³³ Cf. "The Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands." Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections (Quarterly issue), vol. 50, p. 248—284. 1907.

³³⁴ See BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 33—34; vol. 41, *et cetera*.

³³⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 27, pp. 300, 304. 1905.

³³⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 28, p. 340. 1905. See also vol. 41, p. 284. 1906.

³³⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 21, pp. 214—233 *et seq.*, 302 *et seq.* 1905. See also vol. 13, pp. 48, 86. 1904. See also vol. 28, pp. 340, 344. 1905. See also vol. 41, pp. 137—157.

³³⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 36, p. 57. 1906.

³³⁹ See *ibid.*, vol. 27, pp. 74—75. 1905.

dated 1654; of *Archivo general de India*,³⁹⁰ 1683; by Murillo Velarde,³⁹¹ 1749; by Nicol,³⁹² 1757, and that from the "Complete East India pilot"³⁹³ of 1794, indicate nothing in this region except the situation of Mount Apo. It was not until 1847—1848 that the conquest of Davao gulf was accomplished by the Spaniard Oyanguren, who by 1849 had the Moros of the entire coast of the gulf subdued, and was turning his attention to the interior.³⁹⁴

Our first descriptions, from Spanish sources, of the religious customs of the pagan tribes of the east and west sides of Davao gulf appear in that invaluable series of letters published under the title of "Cartas de los PP. de la Compañia de la Mision de Filipinas," in 9 volumes, Manila, 1877—1891. We do not know the precise date when the Jesuits began to work in the pueblos along the gulf, but it was some time during the third quarter of the last century. An undated letter from Padre Heras, Superior of the Mission, that precedes a letter of 1876 in the first volume of the *Cartas*,³⁹⁵ mentions the little village of Davao as having a good church and a school, and names several of the wild tribes, including the Bagobo, which would come within the jurisdiction of the mission. In 1877, Padre Moré and Padre Puntas were working in Davao and were making visitations at neighboring Bagobo rancherias.³⁹⁶ Padre Mateo Gisbert was there as early as 1880 and remained until his death in 1905, while Padre Juan Doyle came several years later than Gisbert.³⁹⁷ It is the letters of these four last-named missionaries, therefore, that are of particular ethnological interest in relation to the Bagobo and their neighbors.

When found by the Spanish fathers, the Bagobo were practising a religion, the essential elements of which had been well-developed for a considerable period. The genealogy of one of the head datu, Manip of Sibulan, had been carefully preserved by means of oral recitation, and it ran back for eleven generations to his famous

³⁹⁰ See *ibid.*, vol. 54, p. 51. 1909.

³⁹¹ See *ibid.*, vol. 48, frontispiece. 1907.

³⁹² See *ibid.*, vol. 48, p. 281. 1907.

³⁹³ See *ibid.*, vol. 41, frontispiece. 1907.

³⁹⁴ Cf. Quirico Moré: "Letter... Jan. 20, 1885." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 43, p. 194. 1906. Quotes Montero y Vidal: "Historia piratería," vol. 1, pp. 382—403.

³⁹⁵ Cf. *Cartas*, vol. 1, pp. 18—19. 1877.

³⁹⁶ Cf. *Cartas*, vol. 1, pp. 65, 81. 1877. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 47—50. 1879.

³⁹⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 104. 1880.

ancestor, Salingolop.³⁹⁸ According to Bagobo tradition, human sacrifices were offered to Mandarangan while Salingolop ruled, in the same manner that they are offered to-day. It will be seen, then, that no Spanish document can throw light, by contemporaneous record, on the nature or the form of the Bagobo ceremonial of two or three centuries ago; still less, on the processes by which it grew to its present condition of complexity. Any attempt, therefore, to trace the mythology and the ritual customs to their sources must analyze them on a comparative basis. Here, too, the lack of detailed ceremonial material from a large part of the Malay area permits only rather general comparisons; still, it is possible to arrive at some sort of answer to the question: "To what extent is the religion of the Bagobo identical with that of other peoples in the Malay country, and in how far is it unique?"

In such a discussion, two or three lines of cultural development on the religious side would suggest themselves; none of which, however, should be considered as excluding the others. (1) The ceremonial of the Bagobo may represent in some of its aspects an independent local development; (2) Some elements of the ceremonial may have been brought into the Philippines by one tribe, or have taken shape in some one locality, and thence, as from a cultural center, have been superimposed on other groups; (3) The fundamental ceremonial factors may be considered as the common heritage of the wild tribes and the Filipino, and as having undergone merely such local modifications in each group as slight variations in cultural conditions would give rise to.

Scanty as is the descriptive material that has thus far been

³⁹⁸ Manip was the father of Tongkaling, who is datu of Sibulan at the present time, and Salingolop appears to be the earliest ancestor known to this line. The genealogy referred to was recorded first by Father Mateo Gisbert, in a letter dated July 26, 1886; and a few years later it was given, without change, by Father Juan Doyle in a letter dated May 30, 1888. See *Cartas*, vol. 8, p. 205. 1889. Father Gisbert's letter, as translated by Blair and Robertson, runs as follows: "The Bagobos of Sibulan usually show their antiquity by the following genealogies. Mánip, the present datu, had for father Panguilan; Panguilan was the son of Taópan; Taópan, son of Maliadi; Maliadi, son of Banga; Banga, son of Lúmbay; Lúmbay, son of Basian; Basian, son of Bóas; Bóas, son of Bató; Bató, son of Salingolop. They say that of all their ancestors, Salingolop was the most powerful, and his name was always preserved among all his descendants. Before him there were already Bagobos with the same customs as those of today, that is, they were heathens and slaves of the great Mandarangan or Satan, to whom it appears that they always sacrificed human victims." *Op. cit.*, vol. 43, pp. 245-246. 1906.

gathered by observers of religious rites as celebrated by pagan tribes in the south, yet even in such records as we have, certain well-marked characteristics in ritual appear in the same setting in several different tribes. A number of the ritual elements that are found to be the common property of two or three or more mountain tribes of Mindanao will be mentioned briefly, not at all as a complete list, but rather as suggesting a line along which a full comparison might be extended.

We note, first, a close similarity in the essentials of sacrificial rites as practised by the Bagobo and other peoples of Mindanao. The offering of human victims seems, at present, to be peculiar to the Bagobo, the closely allied Guianga and the Tagakaola; but the manner of sacrificing animals in other tribes is in many points identical with the Bagobo paghuaga. The intention and the technique of the bloody sacrifice is much the same, whether the victim be a man, a hog or a cock. In the brief but trenchant description given by Pastells³⁹⁹ of this rite among the Mandaya, we learn that the sacrifice is performed at the signal of drums and agongs; the official sacrificers wear claret-colored shirts and ceremonial kerchiefs; the victim is tied to some structure of recognized form; a peculiar dance is performed about the victim before the attack; definite ritual words are repeated to Mansilatan or to Badlao — gods that answer to Mandarangan; the privilege of giving the first stab is awarded beforehand to a particular individual; a feast following the sacrifice is shared in by great numbers of people. The Buquidnon, similarly, offer sacrifices of swine and fowls,⁴⁰⁰ having old men as celebrants of the rites, with the accompaniment of songs, dancing and prayers. Besides the bloody sacrifice, the Mandaya, the Buquidnon and many other tribes, make agricultural offerings of arecanuts and buyo and various products of the soil.⁴⁰¹ Antiphonal songs relating the achievements of ancestral heroes are sung on festival occasions by the Buquidnon, as well as by the Bagobo. The shrines of the Buquidnon answer, structurally, to the Bagobo

³⁹⁹ "Carta . . . al R. P. Superior de la Mision, Catel, 8 de Junio de 1878." *Cartas de los PP. de la Compañia de Jesus de la Mision de Filipinas*, vol. 2, pp. 138—139, 144. 1879.

⁴⁰⁰ J. M. CLCTET: "Letter . . . Talisayan, May 11, 1889." BLAIR and ROBERTSON; *op. cit.*, vol. 43, p. 296. 1906.

⁴⁰¹ PABLO PASTELLS: *loc. cit.* *Cartas*, vol. 2, pp. 139—140. 1879. See also Clotet's letter (*ut supra*). BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 43, p. 296.

tambara;⁴⁰² the Bila-an have a rice-altar (parabunnián) in form of a little hut much like that of the Bagobo.⁴⁰³

Turning from the formal ceremonial to religious responses of a more informal nature, it appears that throughout the mountain tribes of Mindanao communication is set up with the gods through the medium of priestesses. The Mandaya meeting, in particular, as described by Pastells, corresponds in certain aspects to the manner of giving an oracle among the Bagobo — the emotional disturbance, the silence preceding the utterance, the behavior of the medium.⁴⁰⁴

Valiant men, who have slain other men and have therefore received the title of *bagani* (or *magani*), are everywhere entitled to the same privileges: the wearing of a closed shirt dyed in solid red, the ceremonial kerechief, and a costume graded (at least among the Bagobo, the Mandaya and the Manobo) by the number of persons the wearer has killed — from the kerechief to the full costume of *encarnado*.⁴⁰⁵ Among the Mandaya, the Manobo, the Bila-an, the Tagakaola and the Bagobo, and presumably in all of the neighboring tribes, these "brave men" hold a position of great importance, both from the ceremonial and the social point of view, and they exert a profound influence in the tribe.

Many of the popular beliefs⁴⁰⁶ found among the Bagobo are currently accepted throughout the entire island. The appeal to constellations to determine the proper time for burning over the ground and for sowing; the cause of an eclipse; the danger of continuing a journey when a slain animal is encountered on the road; the position of limokun as the omen bird and the interpretation of its cry; the sacredness of thicket growths; the haunting of the baliti and of various other trees associated with evil spirits — all these beliefs are held by many, if not all, of the tribes. Beliefs essen-

⁴⁰² J. M. CLOET: *loc. cit.*, p. 296.

⁴⁰³ See p. 93, footnote.

⁴⁰⁴ P. PASTELLS: *loc. cit.* Cartas, vol. 2, pp. 139, 140. 1879.

⁴⁰⁵ "Los *baganis* se distinguen en su vestido segun el número de sus asesinatos. De cinco à diez muertes, llevan en la cabeza pañuelo encarnado, de diez à veinte pañuelo y camisa colorada, de veinte en adelante pañuelo, camisa y pantalon encarnado." P. PASTELLS; *loc. cit.*, Cartas vol. 2, p. 144. 1879. *Cf.* also, SANTIAGO PUNTAS: Carta . . . Butuan, 19 Diciembre, 1880. Cartas, vol. 4, p. 37. 1881. *Cf.* also, F. COMBÉS: "Natives of the southern islands." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 40, p. 159. 1906.

⁴⁰⁶ *Cf.* Cartas, vol. 2, p. 141 *et seq.*

tially similar regarding death and burial are widely diffused throughout the northern, the eastern and the southeastern regions of Mindanao; such as the journey of the soul to another world, the importance of placing food for the soul to eat on the way,⁴⁰⁷ the burial of rich clothes⁴⁰⁸ and other possessions with the dead and, often, the desirability of forsaking a house in which there has been a death.

Names of demons, such as Busao, Tagamaling, Tigbanuá, appear in other tribes, but sometimes with traits other than those that characterize these evil personalities among the Bagobo. The *asuang*⁴⁰⁹ of the Mandaya is clearly borrowed from the group of Visayan situated on the Pacific coast. The Mandayan Busao, however, is not identical with the Bagobo Buso, for the former spirit is conceived to be a sort of intangible out-going from the good gods, Mansilatan and Badlao; it is believed that the bagani or brave men have the spirit of Busao given to them to make them strong and valiant.⁴⁰⁹ Thus the Mandayan Busao is functionally identical with the Bagobo Mandarangan, who enters into the heads of brave men and fills them with a desire to shed blood. Padre Pastells states that the Mandaya had a Tagamaling, a being of gigantic stature⁴¹⁰ (thus differing from the Tagamaling of Bagobo myth). Again, the name of Tagumbanua is mentioned as "a god of the fields"⁴¹¹ among the Bukidnon; but, here, it seems highly probable that this spirit may be found to be identical with the Bagobo demon, for the missionaries may have been misled by the composition of the word.

In general, however, I think that we ought to be very hesitant about rejecting the records of the Religious in regard to the characteristics of the supernatural beings. Their notes on demons have a peculiar value on account of the sympathetic attitude of the priests when the natives brought to them accounts of supernatural visitations. Believing, as many of their letters show, that the spirits called *busao*, *asuang*, and so forth, were actual apparitions of the real devil of theology, they listened to the weird stories of the people in a spirit that encouraged confidence.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. P. PASTELLS: *op. cit.* Cartas, vol. 2, p. 142. 1879.

⁴⁰⁸ Cf. P. PASTELLS: *ibid.* Cartas, vol. 2, p. 143. 1879.

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. P. PASTELLS: *ibid.*, Cartas, vol. 2, p. 138. 1879.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁴¹¹ J. M. CLOTET: *loc. cit.* BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 43, p. 294. "Banuá" means "the earth" in the sense of "the world," in Bagobo.

⁴¹² As the following passage and a number of others demonstrate, the missionaries

Certain of the religious beliefs that have been mentioned, such as the reverence for haunted trees, are widespread throughout the world and might easily have arisen independently in different Malay groups; but we find also such forms and customs as the sacrificial dance and the dress of the baganis that have a certain amount of complexity, and since they occur in neighboring groups they point, unmistakably, to contact and diffusion, for a completely independent growth of ritual phenomena so essentially alike is highly improbable. The chances for dissemination of religious culture from island to island, and within each single island, must have been good at all times, especially where Malay people are concerned, who are both sea-farers and land-trampers.

The hypothesis of one cultural center in Mindanao from which ritual practices have radiated is not an impossible one, although at present there is not sufficient evidence to determine which of the tribes has ever been in a position to impose its mythical prepossessions on the rest. To determine such a center of radiation, it would be necessary to have access to records of the full ceremonial and the stories of each tribe — records which are not available. What we do know is that there must have been a general interaction among all of the ceremonial groups, and that borrowing of myths and of ceremonial details has undoubtedly been going on for a very long time, especially among groups that intermarry and that hold toward one another relations that are fairly friendly — such groups as the Bila-an, the Tagakaola, the Guianga and the Bagobo — though we do not know just how recently such friendly intercourse has come about. We have, indeed, definite evidence from Spanish writers, as well as from the accounts

did not regard the stories of demons as mere fictions of the imagination. In the writings of Fray Casimiro Diaz, 1638—1640, we find an account of spiritual apparitions among the natives of Panay. "During the time when this apostolic minister Mentrída was preaching in the mountains of Ogton, there were visible apparitions of the devil, standing upon a rock and teaching superstitions and giving laws to a great number of Indians, who, deceived by him, followed him. Even at this day these hideous monsters are wont to appear to the Indians, some of whom remain in a demented condition for months from the mere sight of them; others go away with the demons, and are lost for a long time, and then will return in a terrified and fainting condition, few of them failing to die soon afterward. I would have much to tell and relate if I should stop to mention what has occurred with such monsters, who have been seen not only in the mountains of Ogton and Panay, but very frequently in the province of Taal." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 29, pp. 269—270. 1905. See also, ADUARTE: *Historia. Op. cit.*, vol. 30, pp. 178—180. 1905.

of the natives themselves, that an attitude of hostility between many of the pagan peoples has been very common, and that along with this hostility has flourished the practice of slave-taking and the other accompaniments of intertribal warfare. Nevertheless, there is always much communication even between hostile tribes, with innumerable opportunities for the transmission of folklore and myth, particularly through the wide distribution of slaves. Hostile or friendly, these mountain tribes of Mindanao must have borrowed much from one another. Yet, while the opportunities for the spreading of myth, either by direct grafting or through gradual dissemination, cannot be emphasized too strongly, there need not be excluded the hypothesis of a premigration development of the basal structure of that ceremonial which prevails throughout the mountains of Mindanao to-day; and the probability for such a common basis is the stronger in view of the similarity we find in groups separated by natural barriers difficult to cross. The question can be considered only in the light of ceremonial material from the other islands of the Philippines.

Turning from the wild tribes of the south to the now Christian races of the Visayas and of Luzon, we are at once confronted by the problem as to whether the pagan peoples of Mindanao form, in any sense, a cultural unit composed of similar ceremonial groups that show essential differences to the Filipino of three centuries ago. What material do we find among Tagal and Visayan tribes to favor a hypothesis for such a religious isolation? So far from discovering ceremonial evidence that would corroborate this view, a comparison of the rites and beliefs of the Bagobo, say, as typical pagans of the south, with the rites and beliefs of the early Filipino shows a close parallel at almost every point.

Here in the north and in the west there is much more available material than in the south, for the Spaniard came into immediate contact with the Tagal, the Pintados, the Bikol, the Ilokano and the other peoples that now compose the Christian population of the Islands; and, from the Relation of Pigafetta,⁴¹³ who was the chronicler of the Magellan voyage, in 1519—1522, down to the sketch by José Nuñez⁴¹⁴ of vestigial superstitions among the Filipino in 1905,

⁴¹³ "First voyage round the world... 1519—1522. *ms. ca.* 1525. BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 33; vol. 34, pp. 1—180. 1906.

⁴¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. 43, pp. 310—319. 1906.

records of great value on the religious customs of the natives have been made by missionaries, by explorers and by Spanish officials. Many of these observations, especially on ceremonial rites, are fragmentary; many, isolated as single sentences in the midst of an ecclesiastical document, or in a discursive narrative of a voyage; many are tainted by religious bias; the majority are impressionistic and non-critical, yet they are priceless records, as being contemporaneous accounts of religious practices now almost completely vanished, simply and truthfully taken down without any attempt to present evidence for a pre-conceived ethnological theory, and as having been secured before the Filipino had been contaminated by intercourse with higher cultures. In some cases, we are able to check the observations of one writer by frequently repeated statements of other writers in not distant localities — all of which records leave us with the distinct impression that the Tagal and the Visayan of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries worshiped and worked magic and sacrificed slaves in pretty much the same manner as the Bagobo do to-day.

The Tagal people used to set apart three days or four days annually, before the sowing,⁴¹⁵ for a solemn feast which, in ceremonial details as well as in fundamental character, closely resembled the Bagobo festival of Ginum. The large house of the chief was divided into definite compartments for the occasion,⁴¹⁶ and during the four days of the feast it became the temple or ceremonial house, whither the entire baranguy, or group of relatives and dependants of the chief, came together for worship and for feasting; percussion instruments of various sizes were brought in and played on at intervals throughout the four festival days; torches of special types were put at set places in various parts of the ceremonial house;⁴¹⁷ a sacrifice of a hog or of a cock was made, the animal being put to death after a peculiar dance had been executed around it,⁴¹⁸ and its flesh distributed to the people assembled;⁴¹⁹ the music of drums and bells accompanied the sacrifice;

⁴¹⁵ Cf. ADUARTE: "Historia, 1640." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 30, p. 287. 1905.

⁴¹⁶ Cf. PLASENCIA: "Relation of the worship of the Tagalogs, 1589." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 7, pp. 185—186. 1903.

⁴¹⁷ *Loc. cit.* pp. 185—186.

⁴¹⁸ Cf. CHIRINO: "Relacion . . . , 1601—1604." *Op. cit.*, vol. 12, p. 270. 1904.

⁴¹⁹ Cf. ZúñIGA: "The people of the Philippines," 1803. *Op. cit.*, vol. 43, p. 125. 1906.

liturgical songs that had been passed down from generation to generation, and that narrated the achievements and the fabulous genealogies of tribal heroes and of divinities, were sung or chanted; ⁴²⁰ offerings of material things ⁴²¹ had to be made by everybody who hoped to obtain the benefits of the sacrifice; priestesses acting under strong emotional stress gave oracles from gods who entered their bodies, though the term *manganito* was not confined to this phase alone of the religious functions for the entire celebration had the equivalent name *naganito*; ⁴²² a special ceremonial liquor, ⁴²³ fermented from sugar cane and well-aged, was reserved for the festival, and finally the religious activities were followed by a big feast and drinking that closed the celebration.

The Pintados (Visayan) held a somewhat similar festival when they began to till their fields, ⁴²⁴ and on special occasions, such as in sickness, before building and before going to war. At the Visayan festival, human victims seem to have been sacrificed ⁴²⁵ much more frequently than among the Tagal, though the killing of slaves for the service of the dead was common everywhere. The Recollect priests mention the Visayan custom of having antiphonal chanting ⁴²⁶ at their festivals, the alternation being between a number of men and a number of women.

Among the Filipino tribes in general, both men and women ⁴²⁷ officiated as priests, just as with the wild people now, and the altars at which the rites were performed could not have been very different from those which are found in use among the Bagobo and other pagan groups of the south. Offerings to the gods were laid in little houses, and these hut-shrines ⁴²⁸ were placed at the entrance

⁴²⁰ Cf. BOBADILLA: "Relation . . ." 1640. BLAIR and ROBERTSON: vol. 29, pp. 282—283. 1905. See also "Early Recollect Missions." *Op. cit.*, vol. 21, pp. 137—138. 1905.

⁴²¹ Cf. CHIRINO: "Relacion . . ." *Op. cit.*, vol. 12, p. 270.

⁴²² Cf. PLASENCIA: "Relation . . ." 1589. *Op. cit.*, vol. 7, p. 186.

⁴²³ Cf. ADUARTE: "Historia . . ." 1640. *Op. cit.*, vol. 30, pp. 186, 243. 1905.

⁴²⁴ Cf. M. DE LOARCA: "Relacion de las Yslas Filipinas," 1582. *Op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 165. 1903. See also, "Early Recollect Missions," 1624. *Op. cit.*, vol. 21, p. 203. 1905.

⁴²⁵ Cf. A. DE SAAVEDRA: "Voyage . . . 1527—1528." *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 42. 1903. See also, "Early Recollect Missions," 1624. *Op. cit.*, vol. 21, p. 203. 1905.

⁴²⁶ Cf. "Early Recollect Mission," 1624. *Op. cit.*, vol. 21, p. 203. 1905.

⁴²⁷ Cf. D. ADUARTE: "Historia . . ." 1640. *Op. cit.*, vol. 30, p. 243.

See also, "Legazpi expedition," 1564—1568. *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 139. 1903.

See also, "Early Recollect Missions," 1624. *Op. cit.*, vol. 21, p. 203. 1905.

⁴²⁸ Cf. P. CHIRINO: "Relacion . . ." 1601—1604. *Op. cit.*, vol. 12, p. 268. 1904. See also,

to the villages, or in retired places in the forest. The essential character of another kind of shrine was the white bowl or dish⁴²⁰ that must have been very widely used in ceremonial. Aduarte, the Bishop of Nueva Segovia, lays great stress on having destroyed a great amount of fine earthenware that had been consecrated to the uses of pagan worship, but was finally brought to the fathers by converted Tagal natives. In 1604—1605, Chirino speaks of the little plates that were used in making sacrifices at Tatai, near Manila. At the rites of the Visayan, white china may have been in use at least four hundred years ago, for Pigafetta, in his account of the Magellan voyage, 1519—1521, describes a funeral ceremony at Cebu where fragrant gums were burned in the dishes. "There are many porcelain jars containing fire about the room, and myrrh, storax, and bezoin, which make a strong odor through the house, are put on the fire."⁴³⁰

In Mindanao, the use of good crockery for sacred purposes by mountain tribes, whose own hand-made pottery is of the roughest sort, strikes the investigator as a remarkable phenomenon, especially when one notes how old and smoke begrimed the dishes are, and how different in shape from those which are now sold to natives in foreign shops at the coast. The earthenware in use at Bagobo altars is of a heavy quality, though always white; whereas Aduarte seems to have found fine porcelain used at Tagal shrines.⁴³¹ The Filipino tribes of the north were the first, presumably, to acquire such dishes from Chinese traders, who came often with merchandise to the Islands. Later, the use of china bowls and saucers as receptacles for offerings at shrines may have been either transmitted by the Filipino to more southern tribes, or introduced directly by the Chinese at the coast of Mindanao. Such dishes would quickly have supplanted for ceremonial use the rough black ware or the coconut-shell bowl.

We find records that betel was offered at Filipino shrines, though it is not stated whether the areca-nuts were placed in the white bowls. Manufactured products, as has been noted, were also ceremonially presented to the gods.

ibid., vol. 13, p. 72. 1904. See also D. ADUARTE: "Historia," 1640. *Op. cit.*, vol. 31, p. 155. 1905.

⁴²⁰ *Op. cit.*, vol. 30, pp. 186, 243. See also, P. CHIRINO: *loc. cit.*, p. 72.

⁴³⁰ *Op. cit.*, vol. 34, pp. 173—175.

⁴³¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. 30, p. 243.

As for the places at which the informal ceremonial was conducted, anything like a permanent temple seems to have been rare. Morga⁴³² and others state that every person organized his family worship in his own house. Little rooms especially dedicated to anito were found by Chirino,⁴³³ and records of oratories in caves were brought to light by Rizal.⁴³⁴

The term *anito* was in use among the Visayan as far back as the voyage of Saavedra, 1527—1528,⁴³⁵ and for how many centuries before that time, we do not know. We have already mentioned various interpretations of the word anito, as understood by the Tagal, the Visayan and the wild tribes. One interesting point in this connection is, that the care of the Bagobo to have all torches extinguished at manganito⁴³⁶ is echoed in a note by a Recollect Father, who says that the Visayan had a tabu against lighting fires when a priestess entered for official purposes.⁴³⁷

Turning from the ceremonial to popular beliefs and customs, we find the names of a number of demons that are identical with those feared by the mountain tribes. The Patianak⁴³⁸ represented either the spirit of an unborn child, or of a woman who had died in childbirth, and consequently was conjured at the time of a woman's trial. Wood-demons identical with the Bagobo Siring were believed to bewilder people in the woods and to leave them half dead.⁴³⁹ The Tigbalag, or Tigabalang,⁴⁴⁰ of the Filipino answers exactly to the Tigbanuá of the Bagobo. The asuang is not found among the Tagal, but even to-day is dreaded by the Visayan, Catholic though he be, and, as has been shown, the asuang⁴⁴¹ is almost identical with the Bagobo buso. Sacred thickets⁴⁴² and single

⁴³² Cf. "Sucesos," 1609. BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 16, p. 132. 1904.

⁴³³ Cf. "Relacion . . .," 1604. *Op. cit.*, vol. 12, p. 267. 1904.

⁴³⁴ Cf. Rizal's note to Morga's "Sucesos", *op. cit.*, vol. 16, p. 132.

⁴³⁵ Cf. "Voyage of Alvaro de Saavedra." *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 36—43. 1903.

⁴³⁶ See pp. 193, 202 of this paper.

⁴³⁷ Cf. "Early Recollect Missions," 1624. BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 21, p. 207. 1905.

⁴³⁸ Cf. J. M. DE ZÚÑIGA: "The people of the Philippines." 1803. *Op. cit.*, vol. 43, pp. 125—126. 1906. See also T. ORTIZ: "Superstitions and beliefs of the Filipinos," *ca.* 1731. *Ibid.*, vol. 43, p. 107. See also J. DE PLASENCIA: "Customs of the Tagalogs," 1589. *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 196. 1903.

⁴³⁹ Cf. D. ADUARTE: "Historia . . .," 1640. *Op. cit.*, vol. 30, p. 293. 1905.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. J. M. DE ZUNIGA, *loc. cit.*, p. 126.

⁴⁴¹ See pp. 40, 42—43 of this paper.

⁴⁴² Cf. P. CHIRINO: "Relacion de las Islas Filipinas." 1604. BLAIR and ROBERTSON:

trees were pointed out by all Filipino as objects appropriated by some divinity or by some demon, and the baliti held a unique place among other trees.

The omens regarded throughout Mindanao used to be of equal concern to the Tagal and Visayan: such as the cry of limokun,⁴⁴³ the chance meeting with a lizard or a snake;⁴⁴⁴ a sneeze at the beginning of an undertaking;⁴⁴⁵ the significance of an eclipse⁴⁴⁶ of the moon, and so on through a long line of folk traditions. The crow⁴⁴⁷ and certain other birds⁴⁴⁸ were regarded by the Tagal as sacred. The place where lost articles were concealed⁴⁴⁹ could be discovered by the bending of a flame in that direction. The constellations were referred to for setting dates.⁴⁵⁰ The ordeal was resorted to for proving guilt and innocence.⁴⁵¹ Vital parts of a slain man were eaten to secure qualities of strength and valor.⁴⁵² The use of magical spells,⁴⁵³ the black art, the carrying about the person of small objects with which to harm a foe, the counteracting

op. cit., vol. 13, p. 72. 1904. See also various references in "Early Recollect Missions," 1624. *Ibid.*, vol. 21. 1905. See also pp. 115—116 of this monograph.

⁴⁴³ Cf. D. ADUARTE: "Historia . . ." 1640. BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 30, p. 287. 1905. See also "Early Recollect Missions," 1624. *Ibid.*, vol. 21, p. 265. 1905.

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. J. DE MENDOZA: "History of the great Kingdom of China," 1586. *Op. cit.*, vol. 6, p. 147. 1903. See also, P. CHIRINO: "Relacion . . ." 1604. *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 267. 1904.

⁴⁴⁵ Cf. P. CHIRINO, *loc. cit.* See also M. DE LOARCA: "Relacion . . ." 1582. *Op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 165. See also D. ADUARTE: "Historia . . ." 1640. *Ibid.*, vol. 30, pp. 287—288. 1905.

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. T. ORTIZ: "Superstitions and beliefs of the Filipinos." *ca.* 1731. *Op. cit.*, vol. 43, p. 112. 1906.

⁴⁴⁷ Cf. P. CHIRINO: "Relacion . . ." 1604. *Op. cit.*, vol. 12, p. 265. 1904.

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. P. CHIRINO, *loc. cit.* See also "Early Recollect Missions," 1624. *Op. cit.*, vol. 21, p. 138. 1905.

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. T. ORTIZ: "Superstitions . . ." *ca.* 1731. *Op. cit.*, vol. 43, p. 109. 1906.

⁴⁵⁰ Cf. M. DE LOARCA: "Relacion . . ." 1582. *Op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 165.

⁴⁵¹ Cf. J. RIZAL (note to Morga's "Sucesos.") *Op. cit.*, vol. 16, p. 128. 1904.

⁴⁵² Cf. A. PIGAFETTA: "First voyage round the world, 1519—1522." *Op. cit.*, vol. 33, p. 243. 1906. See also, J. DE PLASENCIA: "Customs of the Tagalogs," 1589. *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 193. 1903.

⁴⁵³ Cf. the following and many other references. M. DE LOARCA: "Relacion . . ." 1589. *Op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 163. 1903.

L. DE PLASENCIA: "Customs of the Tagalogs," 1588—1591. *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 192. 1903.

P. CHIRINO: "Relacion . . ." 1604. *Ibid.*, vol. 13, p. 81. 1904.

"Early Recollect Missions," 1624. *Ibid.*, vol. 21, pp. 211, 314. 1905.

D. ADUARTE: "Historia . . ." 1640. *Ibid.*, vol. 30, pp. 179—180. 1905.

T. ORTIZ: "Superstitions and beliefs . . ." *ca.* 1731. *Ibid.*, vol. 43, pp. 109—110, 1906.

of one spell with another — these are recorded of the Filipino everywhere, and survive among the Tagal, at least, to-day; ⁴⁵⁴ but of course only the details of such magical arts would have any value in comparison, since magic is found the world over.

The accounts of Chirino, ⁴⁵⁵ of Loarca, ⁴⁵⁶ of Aduarte ⁴⁵⁷ and others, show that both Tagal and Visayan buried the dead in the ground, either under the house or in the open field; that clothing, food and valuables were buried with the dead for their use in the lower world and in the journey thither; that slaves were regularly slain at the death of chiefs and of other distinguished individuals, or, more commonly, the slave was buried alive with the body of his master. ⁴⁵⁸ The soul was thought to go down below to a good place, ⁴⁵⁹ where a desirable existence without either reward or punishment ⁴⁶⁰ could be expected. On memorial occasions, food in small bamboo boats was sent to the dead — apparently, in real miniature vessels that were actually let loose in the water. ⁴⁶¹

We have no record of the details of religious ceremonies at marriage among the early Filipino, but social regulations in regard to marriage seem to have agreed, in many respects, with those that exist among the Bagobo: such as the generally prevailing monogamy, except in case of chiefs; regulations in regard to dowry or marriage price; conditions attached to the division or the return of property in case of divorce, the crucial point being that the one who initiates the separation, or is found at fault, is at a great disadvantage in the property settlement. ⁴⁶² We are not here consid-

⁴⁵⁴ Cf. J. NUÑEZ: "Present beliefs and superstitions in Luzon." 1905. BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 43, pp. 310—319. 1906.

⁴⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, vol. 12, pp. 302—303. 1904.

⁴⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 135. 1903.

⁴⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, vol. 30, pp. 292—293. 1905.

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. D. ARTIEDA; "Relation of the western islands . . .," 1573. *Op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 199. 1903. See also, LEGASPI: *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 132. 1903. See also, J. M. DE ZÚÑIGA: "The people of the Philippines." 1803. *Ibid.*, vol. 43, pp. 126—127. 1906. See also, J. DE PLASENCIA: "Customs of the Tagalogs," 1589. *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 195. 1903. For other references, see p. 189 of this paper.

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. D. DE ARTIEDA, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁶⁰ Cf. J. M. DE ZÚÑIGA, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁶¹ Cf. "Early Recollect Missions," 1624. *Op. cit.*, vol. 21, p. 209. 1905.

⁴⁶² Cf. P. CHIRINO: "Relacion . . ." 1604. *Op. cit.*, vol. 12, pp. 293—296. 1904. "Early Recollect Missions," 1624. *Ibid.*, vol. 21, p. 211. 1905. A. DE MORGÁ: "Sucesos . . ." 1609. *Ibid.*, vol. 16, pp. 124—125. 1904. M. DE LOARCA: "Relacion . . ." 1582. *Ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 177—178. 1903. D. ADUARTE; "Historia . . ." 1640. *Ibid.*, vol. 30, p. 297. 1905.

ering social regulations, or ethical factors; but were such to be listed we should at once note that the blood-feud,⁴⁶³ the attitude of the community toward theft,⁴⁶⁴ customs of rinsing the mouth,⁴⁶⁵ of filing the teeth,⁴⁶⁶ and so forth, are common to the Filipino and the Bagobo, and many such customs might be checked up.

The Filipino, too, had the equivalent of the bagani, for the Tagal man of valor was set off by special marks of distinction, particularly in the wearing of the red kerchief called *potong*, the use of which was permitted to him only who had killed at least one man, special prowess, as well as chieftaincy, being indicated by the color of the cloth. Probably the word translated as "color" means shade or tint, a rendering that would bring this use into harmony with the prevailing custom in the south, where the number of men killed is indicated by the darker or lighter shade of the chocolate-colored tankulu.⁴⁶⁷

In certain directions, however, the Filipino had developed his religion along lines distinct from those followed by the Bagobo. Foremost in importance was the universal usage of making images⁴⁶⁸ of stone, wood, bone, gold, ivory and crocodile's teeth, and of setting up such images in shrines or in houses to serve as permanent idols which were afterward passed down by inheritance; whereas the Bagobo custom is to carve rough images from soft wood just as they are needed for each ceremonial occasion. Furthermore, these images do not parallel the idols of the Filipino, for those, as many documents show, were made in representation of the anito, and as such received homage, while the Bagobo figures have a purely magical function, and that a temporary one.

The custom of tattooing,⁴⁶⁹ which may have had a magico-reli-

⁴⁶³ Cf. "Early Recollect Missions." BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *loc. cit.*, p. 208—209.

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. D. ADUARTE: "Historia . . ." 1640. *Op. cit.*, vol. 32, p. 200. 1905.

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. P. CHIRINO: "Relacion . . ." 1604. *Op. cit.*, vol. 12, pp. 186—187. 1904.

⁴⁶⁶ Cf. P. CHIRINO, *loc. cit.*, p. 187.

⁴⁶⁷ Cf. J. RIZAL, note to Morga's "Sucesos." *Op. cit.*, vol. 16, p. 76. 1904. See also, D. ADUARTE: "Historia . . ." 1640. *Ibid.*, vol. 30, p. 296. 1905. See also, "Early Recollect Missions," 1624. *Ibid.*, vol. 21, p. 213. 1905.

⁴⁶⁸ Cf. the following passages.

A. FIGAFETTA: "First voyage . . . 1519—1522." *Op. cit.*, vol. 33, pp. 165, 167. 1906.

MENDOZA: "History of . . . China," 1583—1588. *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 146. 1903.

P. CHIRINO: "Relacion . . ." 1604. *Ibid.*, vol. 12, pp. 265—270; 272—275. 1904.

"Early Recollect Missions." 1624. *Ibid.*, vol. 21, pp. 314—315, *et cetera*. 1905.

⁴⁶⁹ Cf. P. CHIRINO, *loc. cit.* vol. 12, pp. 205—206. D. ADUARTE, *loc. cit.*, vol. 30, p. 292; A. MORGÁ, *loc. cit.*, vol. 16, p. 72; ARTIEDA, *loc. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 200.

gious significance in all cases, as we know it to have had in the painting of certain figures, was so widespread a custom among the Visayan that the Spaniards gave them the name of Pintados. In my work with the Bagobo, I saw only a few cases of tattooing, and they said that an Ubu (Ata) man, from a place in the far north, had done the work.

In many Filipino groups, there was a more distinctly devotional attitude toward the sun, the moon and the stars⁴⁷⁰ than we find among the Bagobo, so far as is indicated by the attention given to certain constellations, to which they look for the setting of times and seasons, and to which they give offerings at certain times. The Filipino is said to have paid worship to the sun, the moon and the stars, but the records are brief.

There seems, also, to have been a tendency toward some forms of ancestor worship among the early Filipino of a more distinct type than the mere placing of a few areca-nuts for the ghosts, with the intention of driving them away. It is possible that the stronger influence of the Chinese in the north may have been a factor in directing this tendency. It may be, however, that the impression gained by Spanish missionaries in regard to the extent of ancestor-worship throughout the Islands would have to be modified if all of the facts were at our disposal. One of the Recollect Fathers says of the inhabitants of the Visayas: "When they became sick, they invoked their ancestors to aid them, as we do the saints."⁴⁷¹ Now the custom of placing offerings at shrines in order to induce the dead to keep away from the living might easily lead astray an observer with a theological bent of mind.⁴⁷² In fact, the dividing line between ancestor-worship and magical spells intended to influence the dead is so hazy that perhaps it is hardly fair to name this custom as one peculiar to Filipino usage. A belief, perhaps unique,

⁴⁷⁰ Cf. MENDOZA, *loc. cit.*, vol. 6, p. 146; A. MORGÁ, *loc. cit.*, vol. 16, p. 131; Recollect Missions, *loc. cit.*, vol. 21, pp. 138, 202, 314.

⁴⁷¹ BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 21, p. 207. 1905.

⁴⁷² Warneck seems to use the term as the Spanish writers used it; for he finds ancestor-worship and soul-cults and fear of ghosts to be central elements in the religion of all Malay people. He says: "Die Religion der heidnischen Bewohner des Indischen Archipels zeigen im wesentlichen einen Typus. Mögen Zahl, Namen und Mythen der Götter differieren, bei allen malaiischen Völkern ist der Ahnen- und Geisterdienst, aufgebaut auf animistischen Seelenvorstellungen, der gleiche; in allen ist Seelenkult und Geisterfurcht, das Zentrale der Religion." JOH. WARNECK: *Die Religion der Batak*, p. 1, 1909.

was found by Aduarte among the Tagal, to the effect that their departed ancestors would come to life again, and that they would look to find the people faithful to old religious customs.⁴⁷³

While methods of treating the sick show a general similarity, one peculiar custom seems to be local to Nueva Segovia — that of killing a young child and bathing the sick person in its blood, or of anointing the patient with the blood of a bird in place of the infant's blood.⁴⁷⁴

The above points are noted as fairly representative of numerous religious customs and beliefs that doubtless could be cited as evidence of variation from that great body of tradition which probably dominated the entire archipelago in prehistoric times. In spite, however, of local differences and even of important peculiarities, there still remains the fact of the existence of a mass of ceremonial rites and magical usages common alike to Filipino and Bagobo, and perhaps to a great number of mountain tribes in the north and in the south. A range of ceremonies that reaches from central Luzon to southeastern Mindanao, through groups where transfusion of ideas would be an easy process, surely casts doubt upon any hypothesis of independent local development in single groups. The student is impelled to look for some common origin that may date back even to a pre-migration period, and to recognize, also, a development modified by a marked degree of dissemination within the Philippines of ritual forms and of religious practices. In this connection, Rizal's historical comments on the interrelations between the tribes in Spanish times are in point.

"This fundamental agreement of laws, and this general uniformity, prove that the mutual relations of the islands were widespread, and the bonds of friendship more frequent than were wars and quarrels. There may have existed a confederation, since we know from the first Spaniards that the chief of Manila was commander-in-chief of the sultan of Borneo. In addition, documents of the twelfth century that exist testify the same thing."⁴⁷⁵

In any attempt to trace the mythology and rites of these island tribes back to a common origin, we are at a profound disadvantage because of our great lack of native Filipino documents. Although

⁴⁷³ Cf. D. ADUARTE: "Historia..." 1640. BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 30, pp. 290, 292, 293. 1905.

⁴⁷⁴ Cf. D. ADUARTE: "Historia..." 1640. *Op. cit.*, vol. 32, pp. 42—43, 55. 1905.

⁴⁷⁵ BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 16, p. 121. 1904 (a note by Rizal to Morga's "Sucesos").

the Tagal and Visayan were possessed of an alphabet, and were accustomed to writing with a point of metal on palm-leaves and on the inner sheath of bamboo, they had preserved few, if any, written records of their mythology and ceremonial practices.⁴⁷⁶ It was largely by oral tradition that each generation became acquainted with ancestral myths, and under the tremendous pressure of the new religion let down on them by Spain these oral traditions were slowly smothered. Origin myths disappeared; folk-stories vanished, and tribal narratives that might have thrown light on the historical development of the ceremonial passed out of existence.⁴⁷⁷ In reference to this unfortunate situation, Rizal says: "The ancient traditions made Sumatra the original home of the Filipino Indians. These traditions, as well as the mythology and genealogies mentioned by the ancient historians, were entirely lost, thanks to the zeal of the Religious in rooting out every national pagan or idolatrous record."⁴⁷⁸

The material before us indicates that the religion of the pre-Spanish Filipino and that of the present day Bagobo have more points of essential agreement than of difference, and may point to a common origin. From the Bagobo, we get no help in seeking for the source of the ceremonial, for according to Bagobo tradition both their own tribe and the neighboring tribes were aboriginal to Mindanao. Here, again, a comparative study alone may throw light upon the problem. Throughout the present discussion, various types of religious behavior among the Bagobo have found their analogies in the peoples of the mainland on the other side of the south China sea, as shown by the accounts of Martin, Skeat and others. The geographical position of the Philippine Islands, as well as manifest resemblances in material culture between the Islands

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. E. G. BOURNE: Historical introduction to Blair and Robertson: The Philippine Islands, vol. 1, p. 44, and footnotes from Spanish and French documents. 1903.

⁴⁷⁷ Since writing this paragraph, there has come to hand Beyer's "Origin Myths among the Mountain People of the Philippines," in which he calls attention to the discovery of ancient Filipino manuscripts in a cave in Negros. He says: "Until recent years, it has been believed that all ancient records written in the syllabic alphabets which the Filipinos possessed at the time of the Spanish conquest had been lost. It is now known, however, that two of these alphabets are still in use, to a limited extent, by the wild peoples of Palawan and Mindoro; and ancient manuscripts written in the old Bisaya alphabet have lately been discovered in a cave in the island of Negros. Many of these Negros manuscripts are written myths, and translations of them are shortly to be published." Philippine Jour. Sci., vol. 8, p. 35. April, 1913.

⁴⁷⁸ An annotation by Rizal to A. Morga's "Sucesos." *Op. cit.*, vol. 16, p. 74. 1904.

and the peninsula of Malaysia, suggests a brief comparison of the religious elements in the two areas.

Certain constant factors in worship that appear pretty regularly in the religious system both of the Bagobo and of several peninsular tribes seem to indicate a relationship — that is to say, so far as those religious practices that are fixed below the veneer of Islam are concerned. In addition to the points that have already been noted in our treatment of Bagobo ceremonial and mythology, other similarities may now be considered.

Observances in sowing⁴⁷⁹ and in reaping⁴⁸⁰ and the magical spells employed to ensure the success of rice crops in Malacca, while forming a much more elaborate complex than the simple Bagobo ceremonies, carry the same spirit and offer a like plan in the general form. We may note, in particular, the following details: the necessity of planting rice in early morning⁴⁸¹ and at a set season of the year;⁴⁸² the platform altar erected in the rice-field for offerings,⁴⁸³ and the branches surrounding it for magical purposes; the gifts to the gods of textiles, rice, etc.,⁴⁸⁴ at harvest; the ceremonial use of yellow rice stained with saffron;⁴⁸⁵ rules regarding exactness in posture, movements⁴⁸⁶ and so forth. Of course, a Malay ceremonial in Malacca is so overlaid with Moham-medan ritual that the analogy is to be found rather in the whole animistic attitude toward rice culture than in identity of rites. Perhaps the sacrifice of blood that Filipino tribes offered shortly before the sowing, or at the time of tilling the fields, finds its counterpart in the peninsular custom of sacrificing a goat⁴⁸⁷ to the earth hantu at the rice sowing season.

The ceremony of purification by water, which plays such an important part in Bagobo ritual, is common among peninsular Malays, who have "annual bathing expeditions . . . which are supposed to purify the persons of the bathers and to protect them from evil."⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁷⁹ W. W. SKEAT: Malay magic, pp. 218—223, 228—235, 1900.

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 235—249.

⁴⁸¹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 218.

⁴⁸² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 219.

⁴⁸³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 231.

⁴⁸⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 237.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 243.

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 248 *et seq.*

⁴⁸⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 232, 233—234.

⁴⁸⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 81.

Like the Bagobo, they resort to lustration in cases of sickness; at weddings the ceremony of bathing the bride and the bridegroom is present, and the essential ceremonial object in purification is a medicine-brush made up of a wide variety of magic plants by means of which rice-paste is applied to the candidate,⁴⁸⁹ just as water is poured from the green sagmo bouquet in the Bagobo rite of Pamalugu at the river. At first sight, perhaps it might seem that lustration by water held no noteworthy place in Filipino rites, or some record of such custom would have been made by the missionaries; yet it is also true that purification ceremonies might not have come forcibly to the attention of the Fathers for the reason that ritual bathing, if it were like the same rite among wild people, would not have involved accessories of permanent value, such as religious zeal was hunting down for destruction. A bunch of magic twigs and leaves would hardly be brought to a priest, along with a white china dish.

That peculiar form of shrine called *tambara* that is used everywhere by the Bagobo, and apparently was a frequent type of altar among some of the Filipino groups in their pagan days, consists of a slender rod of bamboo split at the upper end to hold a dish for offerings. A shrine of essentially the same type was found by Sir W. Maxwell at several *kramats* in Perak, the shrines being formed by little stands made of bamboo rods, one end being "stuck in the ground and the other split into four or five, and then opened out and plaited with basket work so as to hold a little earth," on which incense is burned.⁴⁹⁰ From this account, it would appear that if the dish were ever an element of the shrine, it has now gone out of use. Small pieces of white cloth are used by the Perak Malays as votive offerings, just as white cotton textile is a favorite gift to Bagobo gods.

Regarding the nature of the soul, the Bagobo and the peninsular Malay, like primitive groups all over the world, fancy the soul of man to be a tenuous, unsubstantial image or phantom⁴⁹¹ that separates itself from the human body in sleep, in trance and finally at death, and that functions during these absences like the physical body. The Malay notion, however, of the soul as a *manikin*, or

⁴⁸⁹ W. W. SKEAT: Malay magic, pp. 77—80.

⁴⁹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 67.

⁴⁹¹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 47—50.

thumbling, is absent from Bagobo ideas, for they, on the contrary, identify the soul with the shadow cast by the body. Skeat says that the number of souls recognized by peninsular Malays is seven in each human body; while animal and material objects are supposed to have souls⁴⁹² — a belief common to all Malays. Like details in funeral customs may be noted: the arraying of the body in fine material;⁴⁹³ the observance of the wake; the measuring the depth of the grave on the body of the digger;⁴⁹⁴ the placing of the corpse with head toward the north;⁴⁹⁵ a burial exhortation addressed to the deceased, to which he is supposed to listen with close attention;⁴⁹⁶ the funeral feast following the burial.

Popular folklore regarding sacred trees that are set apart as the abode of hantu⁴⁹⁷ is practically the same in Malacca as through the Islands. Current beliefs concerning the nature of patianak (*matianak*);⁴⁹⁸ the vampire (*penanggalan*) that sucks the blood of children; the significance of omens drawn from earthquakes, from eclipses, from thunder, from lizards and snakes,⁴⁹⁹ from the cries of certain pigeons, of night-owls and of other birds that suggest traditional associations⁵⁰⁰ — these are but few of the great number of portents and popular traditions that differ little in the two areas that we are considering. We find also in Malaysia the use of the ordeal by water, from which the thief is forced to emerge in proof of his guilt.⁵⁰¹

Bagobo custom in the matter of boring the ears of children agrees with the peninsular Malays rather than with Sumatra, for the ears of Bagobo babies less than a year old are pierced. If it were ever a ceremony of adolescence, it is not now so regarded. Concerning this matter, Skeat says: "The ear-boring ceremony (*bertindek*) appears to have lost much of its ceremonial character in Selangor, where I was told that it is now usually performed when the child is quite small, i. e. as the earliest, when the child is some

⁴⁹² W. W. SKEAT: Malay magic, p. 52.

⁴⁹³ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 397—398.

⁴⁹⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 405.

⁴⁹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 401.

⁴⁹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 406—408.

⁴⁹⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 203—217.

⁴⁹⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 320, 325—327.

⁴⁹⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 532—535.

⁵⁰⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 354.

⁵⁰¹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 542—544.

five or seven months old, and when it is about a year old at the latest, whereas in Sumatra (according to Marsden) it is not performed until the child is eight or nine."⁵⁰² The filing of teeth in Malaysia is purely an adolescent ceremony, but the Bagobo boy under ten years old may often be seen with filed teeth. The discarding of ear-plugs by a girl at marriage is the custom in Malaysia, but it is not so in the Bagobo country, for I knew many married women who wore their ear-plugs.

Attention has been called, during the present discussion, to ceremonial and myth and religious customs throughout the East Indies — in Sumatra, in Nias, in Sarawak, in East Borneo, in Minahassa and elsewhere in Celebes — which correspond very closely with Bagobo ceremonial and myth and religious customs, or are even identical with them.⁵⁰³ In particular, the pagan tribes of Sarawak have a ceremonial of peculiar interest for the present question. Among the Berawan, slaves are killed at the death of a chief, and the sacrifice is made a group sacrifice, just as with the Bagobo, everyone present being allowed to give a spear-thrust to the unfortunate victim. Certain ceremonial details that characterize the Bagobo Ginum, and which are not mentioned in the accounts of Filipino rites, are noted by Furness of the proceedings at the return of a Kenyah and Kayan war expedition.⁵⁰⁴ Among these ritual details are the decorating of the ceremonial poles by shaving off the outer sheath into curled frills that extend down the entire length of the pole; the cooking of rice in bamboo joints by a steaming process, and the tabu on earthen pots for this ceremonial cooking; the substitution of the blood of a fowl for a newly-taken head; the placing of wooden effigies by the path near the festival house; the declaration of exploits by the warriors; the festival songs and the dances and feasting. All of these elements, and others that have previously been considered, give the impression of a celebration not at all unlike the Bagobo Ginum.

Were it possible to make a full comparative analysis of rites and myths that would be representative of the entire Malay area, it might be discovered that no single religious custom or belief is peculiar to the Bagobo. At present, there are many myths and a

⁵⁰² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 359.

⁵⁰³ See pp. 33, 37, 45, 47, 64, 75, 90, 94, 96, 107, 113—114, 160, 161 of this paper.

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. W. H. FURNESS: *The Home Life of Borneo Head-hunters*, pp. 90—92. 1902.

number of ceremonial elements characteristic of Bagobo tradition and Bagobo worship that have not as yet been reported from other Malay peoples.

Perhaps the most striking of these characteristic elements is the treatment of the sugar cane liquor at the agong ceremony, and also on the last night of Ginum, during the rites before the balekát. The old men stir the balabba with a green spray and dip out a few drops with a leaf spoon having a knotted handle. The officiating functionary offers the sacred liquor to the gods with these words: "Do you take the first draught, and we will drink the rest." The part which balabba plays in the ceremonial suggests the cult of the soma in Indian rites, and the Iranian cult of the sacred haoma. Many passages in the Vedas and in the Avestas contain allusions to ceremonies associated with the sacred liquor.⁵⁰⁵

Another feature of Bagobo worship that has a distinctly Indo-Iranian flavor is the use of a cluster of medicinal branches and leaves for the lavations at the river. Lines of frequent occurrence in the Vendidad refer to the bunches of sacred twigs bound up with a vegetal tie. This is the *Baresma*,⁵⁰⁶ which is one of the essential instruments in the purification of the body, at the offering of sacrifice and when reciting the prayers. This element of purification occurs also, as has been noted, in Peninsular rites; but there, too, it may have a non-Malay origin. Swettenham inclines to the opinion that seven hundred years ago the faith of Malaya was a form of Brahmanism, which had succeeded the original form of spirit worship.⁵⁰⁷

Other ceremonial elements which may, perhaps, hark back to an Aryan source are the attitude toward the creator of the world and of man;⁵⁰⁸ the importance of making the agricultural or blood-

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. J. DARMESTETER (tr.) "The Zend-Avesta: pt. 1, The Vendidad." The sacred books of the East, vol. 4, pp. 61, 74, 126, 169, 212, 289. 1895. Cf. also, P. PETERSON (ed.): Hymns from the Rigveda, pp. 26, 46, 57, 119. 1888.

⁵⁰⁶ Cf. J. DARMESTETER (tr.): *op. cit.*, p. 22. (Editor's note): "The Baresma (now called barsom) is a bundle of sacred twigs which the priest holds in his hand while reciting the prayers." Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 215. "The priest shall cut off a twig of Baresma . . . The faithful one, holding it in his left hand, shall keep his eyes upon it without ceasing, whilst he is offering up to the Ahura Mazda . . . the high and beautiful golden Haomas . . ." See also p. 150. "You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times . . . you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters . . ." See also pp. 214-215, 367 *et cetera*.

⁵⁰⁷ Cf. Malay sketches, p. 192. 1903.

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. J. DARMESTETER (tr.): *op. cit.*, p. lxiv.

less offering, as well as the bloody sacrifice;⁵⁰⁹ the virtue of the sacrifice for curing sickness and for securing material goods;⁵¹⁰ the cleansing and generative power of the waters;⁵¹¹ the celebration of a festival during the bright fortnight of the moon. These and other ritual aspects make one feel that the last word has not been said when all the single Malay characters in worship have been exactly compared and checked up.

Yet, after all, it is in hearing Bagobo songs recited and in listening to Bagobo romantic tales that one is conscious of a pre-vailling Hindu atmosphere. Without going too much into detail in the direction of the myths, since a careful analysis of episodes cannot be included within the limits of this discussion, there may be named a few constantly recurring elements: such as methods of magical manipulation; certain regularly appearing personalities; distinguishing marks of exalted individuals; the character of conventional incidents that are repeated so often as to form the woof of mythical situations — all these methods of literary treatment characterize Bagobo song and story as they characterized the Sagas of ancient India, though the respective settings are very different. As illustrations of this characterization, we might name, particularly, the stress laid on the distinction of chaste men and of virtuous women, from whose bodies rays of light emanate, and on whose heads are halos inseparable from them;⁵¹² the auspicious marks on the bodies of semi-divine heroes;⁵¹³ the essential coördination between rich apparel and a pure and lovely character;⁵¹⁴ the disappearance of thirst and of hunger on attainment of the divine nature;⁵¹⁵ the appearance of celestial women from trees in which are cities or palaces;⁵¹⁶ the growth to partial maturity at the moment of birth;⁵¹⁷ a magical covering of physical distance by flight through the air,⁵¹⁸ or in response to a mental suggestion; the summoning

⁵⁰⁹ Cf. J. DARMESTETER (tr.): *op. cit.*, p. lxii.

⁵¹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 87.

⁵¹¹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. lxxx, lxxxi, 87, 232. Cf. also, R. T. H. GRIFFITH (tr.): *The hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, vol. 1, pp. 37—38, 43—44.

⁵¹² Cf. SOMADEVA: *The Kathá sarit ságara*; tr. by C. H. TAWNEY, vol. 1, pp. 121, 166, 415, 418; vol. 2, p. 246. 1880—1884.

⁵¹³ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 25—26, 189; vol. 2, p. 141.

⁵¹⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 333; vol. 2, p. 159.

⁵¹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 36.

⁵¹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 121, 229, 574; vol. 2, p. 150.

⁵¹⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 119, 156.

⁵¹⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 142, 278, 327, 328, 344, 346, 457, 494.

of another by a mere thinking of him,⁵¹⁹ and the accomplishing of great exploits by a simple wish; the importance of auspicious omens at the beginning of an enterprise;⁵²⁰ metamorphosis into other shapes;⁵²¹ the slaying of hundreds by one having magical endowment⁵²² and magic weapons;⁵²³ the averting of evil spirits by conjuring the four cardinal points; the rôle of the bewildering charm possessed by forest deities;⁵²⁴ the behavior of the flesh-eating demons called *Rākshasa*; the characteristics of rapacious birds that have lances for teeth and that prey upon man, and of demons that lose all power on the approach of day, being dazed by the sunlight.⁵²⁵ One might extend such a list to great length.

This unmistakable Hindu tinge to Bagobo mythology seems to imply a rather intimate association with Indian myth at some time in Bagobo history, and suggests that the ancestors of the Bagobo received their mythical impressions through indirect transmission from Hindu religious teachers; and that, while clinging steadfastly to the simple spirit worship or demon worship that probably underlies all Malay religions, they came to borrow, to assimilate and to modify, until the complete fusion of Malay, Hindu and Buddhist elements gave a new religious complex that was not all Malay, and very far from being pure Indian in any phase.

Some of the elements just mentioned are obviously present, as well, in Filipino myth and tradition, and that we fail to find there such a deep impress of Indian influence as in Bagobo myth and tradition may be due, wholly, to the extremely fragmentary character of those vestiges of ancient religious practices which the Filipino now possesses, and to the scantiness of the mythology recorded by the missionaries. Diego de Bobadilla, writing in 1640, says: "All the religion of those Indians is founded on tradition, and on a custom introduced by the devil himself, who formerly spoke to them by the mouth of their idols and of their priests. That tradition is preserved by the songs that they learn by heart in their childhood,

⁵¹⁹ Cf. SOMADEVA: *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 421, 436, 567.

⁵²⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 127, 283, 285, 465, 490; vol. 2, pp. 160, 162.

⁵²¹ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 46, 179, 339, 525; vol. 2, p. 168.

⁵²² Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 84, 455, 456.

⁵²³ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 69, 503, 559; vol. 2, pp. 150, 164, 172, 527.

⁵²⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 337, 439; vol. 2, p. 150.

⁵²⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 47, 60, 70, 167, 210, 263, 265, 338, 363—364, 572; vol. 2, p. 164.

by hearing them sung in their sailing, in their work, in their amusements, and in their festivals, and, better yet, when they bewail their dead. In those barbarous songs, they recount the fabulous genealogies and deeds of their gods . . ." ⁵²⁶ A record to a like effect was made by a Recollect Father in Zambales, on the west coast of Luzon. "Besides that adoration which they give to the devil, they revered several false gods — one, in especial, called *bathala mey kapal*, whose false genealogies and fabulous deeds they celebrated in certain tunes and verses like hymns. Their whole religion was based on those songs, and they were passed on from generation to generation, and were sung in their feasts and most solemn assemblies." ⁵²⁷

The failure of the Filipino to preserve in written form their mythical epics and ceremonial recitations, coupled with the almost complete extermination of the songs and stories that had passed by word of mouth down through a great number of generations, ⁵²⁸ leaves us no means of drawing a comparison between the religious literature of the Tagal and that of the Bagobo. We do not know but that the vanished romantic myths of the Tagal, and of the Visayan too, were characterized by the same literary quality as the *ulit* and the *ogan* ⁵²⁹ that are sung or recited by the mountain Bagobo of to-day.

If the wild tribes and the Filipino received the fundamentals common to them all from the Indian archipelago, with which area they share so many cultural traits, both material and religious, some infiltration of Hindu elements into their rites and myths would naturally be looked for, in view of the long occupancy of the southern Malay islands by people from the mainland of India.

The more or less mythical chronology of the Javanese dates the introduction of the Hindu religion into Java as far back as 149 A.D., or even earlier, since the first Indian prince is reputed to have arrived at Java in the 75th year of our era. ⁵³⁰ Crawford regards these dates as presumably fabulous, and suggests the sixth century as the earliest period to which, with any high degree of proba-

⁵²⁶ BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 29, pp. 282—283. 1905.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 21, pp. 137—138. 1905.

⁵²⁸ See, however, footnote 477, on the Negros manuscript.

⁵²⁹ The *ulit* is an epic, or long mythical romance; while the *ogan* is a short song, often accompanied by the guitar.

⁵³⁰ Cf. T. S. RAFFLES: *History of Java*, vol. 2, p. 67. 1817.

bility, the introduction of Hinduism into Java can be referred.⁵³¹ He states, also, that western Sumatra was the first Malay insular region to be influenced by the religion of India.⁵³² Clifford has reached the conclusion that the Hindu settled both Java and Sumatra not later, probably, than the fourth century of our era.⁵³³

However traditional the period of first occupancy, and however uncertain the dates given by native historians and the dates of the inscriptions on the monuments, there must have been a gradual extension of Indian influence for a very long time, and an enormous opportunity for the dissemination of Hindu myth and of ceremonial elements, even so far as those remoter parts of Java and Sumatra that are said to have remained in "a state of complete savagery."⁵³⁴ For many ages, the dominant influence in the southern Malay islands was Hindu, for Mohammedanism was not established in the western part of the archipelago until 1320;⁵³⁵ while Java, where Hinduism had made the deepest impression, resisted the encroachments of Islam successfully until the fall of her last capital in 1478.⁵³⁶ The period of Hindu rule in the Malay islands could not have been less than six centuries, and probably covered a period of more than ten hundred years.⁵³⁷

A number of scholars have put forth the theory that the Philippines, as well as the more southern islands, were anciently peopled by an Aryan stock — an argument based on the physical type of the mountain tribes, and on the fact that numerous Sanserit words are found in various of the dialects of the Philippines. Another piece of evidence sometimes quoted to establish this hypothesis is a paper by the Chinese official, Chao Ju-Kua, who wrote, in the thirteenth century, of the finding of numerous copper statues of Buddha scattered in the forests of Luzon.⁵³⁸

⁵³¹ Cf. A descriptive dictionary of the Indian Islands and adjacent countries, p. 185. 1856.

⁵³² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 150.

⁵³³ Cf. Clifford's article, "Malays." Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11 ed., vol. 17, p. 475. 1911.

⁵³⁴ Cf. K. G. JAYNE: "The Malay archipelago." Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11 ed., vol. 17, p. 469. 1911.

⁵³⁵ Cf. J. CRAWFORD: History of the Indian archipelago, vol. 2, p. 221. 1820.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 85.

⁵³⁷ Raffles says that in the ninth century the records of the native historians begin to correspond in all essentials. Cf. History of Java, vol. 2, p. 64. 1817.

⁵³⁸ Cf. Chao Ju-Kua's "Description of the Philippines." (from his "Geography," ch. 40 ca. 1280.) BLAIR and ROBERTSON: *op. cit.*, vol. 34, p. 185. 1906.

This entire question, of course, is one that must be left to oriental scholars; but, whatever the final conclusion in regard to a hypothetical occupation of the Philippines by an Indonesian people, we are in no wise dependant upon this theory for an explanation of Indian elements in Bagobo myth, or for the presence of such elements in the religion of any other tribe in the Philippines. Even setting aside the possibility of premigration influences, there are records showing that a few centuries ago a much more intimate relation⁵³⁹ held between the Philippines and the East Indies than has been the case since the Spanish occupation. More than that, if these interrelations had been much less close, there would still have been abundant opportunity for the diffusion of religious tradition and story, from the most southern of the Spice islands to Mindanao, to the Visayas and to Luzon, so that we would surely look for a blending of Malay and Indian material in the customs and the ceremonies of these peoples of the Philippines.

Diffusion of myth and of ceremonial rites is a cultural phenomenon found occurring all over the world, throughout very extended areas, and, as Professor Boas has repeatedly pointed out, diffusion of any sort requires no large movements of peoples, but only such continuous transmission of cultural elements through the agency of individuals as may give opportunity for imitation, borrowing and permanent assimilation.

As for the Bagobo, whatever the time and manner of their emigration, they and the neighboring mountain tribes were in possession of Mindanao long before Islam dominated the southern coast, and the way was open for communication with the southern archipelago. Their Malay heritage may easily have been enriched by increments from Hindu Buddhism, during the long centuries that the great Indian empire flourished in Java, in Sumatra and the adjacent islands.

The entire problem is an intricate one, and must remain open until further research work in the Philippines and among the wild tribes of the southern Malay islands shall have secured such detailed records of ceremonial and such full collections of songs, stories and folklore as to make possible an intensive study of this entire area. A few general conclusions, however, may be drawn from the material that has been presented in the preceding pages.

The religious culture of the Bagobo is essentially like that of

⁵³⁹ See footnote 475.

the entire Malay region, and in ceremonial usages, magic rites and folklore there is to be observed a marked resemblance to the ceremonial usages, the magic rites and the folklore of other pagan tribes in the Philippines, in the interior of the Malay Peninsula and on the islands of the Indian archipelago.

The close correspondence of Bagobo ceremonies and popular beliefs to those of many other mountain tribes in the Philippines, and to those of the Filipino in the times of pre-Spanish culture, points toward a common origin in the fundamentals of religion, and also to a very wide diffusion of religio-cultural elements through a long period of time. Both the complex character of certain ceremonial factors, and a geographical situation that would lend itself to ease of diffusion, negative the hypothesis of parallel development, as well as that of convergence.⁵⁴⁰

Many Bagobo rites and myths answer, very closely, to corresponding rites and myths in Celebes, East Borneo, Sarawak, Sumatra and Nias. In particular, the higher ceremonial of the Bagobo, on its sacrificial side, finds its counterpart in the ceremonial of several tribes of Borneo.

There are still some peculiarities in ritual details and in a number of other forms of religious response among the Bagobo that, with our present knowledge, seem distinctive to this tribe and would indicate a considerable degree of local variation that has proceeded independently of the continuous transmission of cultural elements from without. Only after we become acquainted with the detailed ceremonial of the various groups concerned in our discussion, shall we be able to pick out what is peculiar to one group and what is common to all.

Several ceremonial factors offer a strong presumption of derivation from Hindu sources; while in the mythical romances or epics, that are recited by the Bagobo, there appears a literary quality suggestive of an appreciable Indo-Iranian infusion.

The influence of the Chinese seems to have been less apparent on the Bagobo than on the northern tribes, although the white dishes in use at shrines are referable to the Chinese.

Contact with the Moro has given mythical episodes, perhaps,

⁵⁴⁰ Cf. Dr. Goldenweiser's discussion of parallelism and convergence in his "The Principle of Limited Possibilities in the Development of Culture." *Jour. Am. Folk-Lore*; vol. 26, pp. 259—296, 1913.

which have been incorporated into Bagobo tales, while a few beliefs and magical practices may be referable to Moro influence; but, considering that this contact has lasted for three or four centuries and has had a decided effect on the material culture of the Bagobo, it is remarkable that there has been no weakening of the ancient faith, and no concession to Islam.⁵⁴¹

Spanish Catholicism had no effect at all upon the mountain Bagobo, and at the coast the ancient faith of the Bagobo has undergone but a superficial disturbance, while ceremonial observances have remained fairly intact.

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⁵⁴¹ Warneck found a like situation among the Batak of Sumatra. He says: "Im Gegensatz zu vielen Völkern der hinterindischen Inselwelt haben sie ihre politische und religiöse Selbständigkeit gegenüber dem von allen Seiten auf jene Völker eindringenden Mohammedanismus zu bewahren gewusst." *Die Religion der Batak*, p. 1. Leipzig, 1909.

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⁵⁴² Bagobo words used in this paper are accented on the penultimate unless an accent mark is placed on some other syllable. The stress is usually very slight. The vowels have in general their continental sounds (*a* as in *ah*, etc.), but *u* before a final *m* (*ginum*) is regularly short, as in English *numb*, and unaccented *a* before final *n* is almost lost. When marked short, *ä*, *ë*, *ï*, *ö*, *ü* are broadly equivalent to the same short vowels in English. As for the diphthongs, *ai* is sounded as in *aisle*; *ei* as in *eight*, *au* like *ow* in *now*. Initial *Y* in proper names (*Yting*) is like *I* spoken rapidly and with little stress, or slurred over; medial *y* is like English *y*, but is kept well back in the throat. All final vowels are sounded. In regard to consonantal phonetic values, the surds *t*, *p* and *k*, and the sonants *d*, *b* and *g* are given much as in English, but *k* and *b* are uttered rather explosively. Velars, while stressed and explosive, are not sounded very low down in the pharynx. An initial velar seems often to be cut off by stopping the breath. *M* and *n* follow the usual nasal type. The combination *ng* is like *ng* in *wing*; under no circumstances is it sounded like *ng* in *single*, unless a second *g* is added, as in the exclamation "Oh manggo!" ("Yes, indeed"). *L* is given from the tip of the tongue, and with stress. *R* tends to be trilled. *S* is as in the initial of *sill*. *H* is soft, as in *bower*. No attempt is made in this outline to indicate by exact symbols the finer shades of Bagobo phonetics.

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- Bagobo term for pet, 19-20.



FIG. 1. — Group of mountain Bagobo in festival costume. In the foreground are Datu Auga of Bago (left) and Datu Tongkaling of Sibulan. The women (left to right) are Otik, Sipa, Ubing, Ingan and Sagomayan.

FIG. 2. — Typical Bagobo house with walls and thatch of nipa palm.



FIGURE 2

- Women, Sacred food tabued to, 79, 242.
See also Old women.
- Wood, Tigbanua of the, 107, 110.
- Wood, Bits of, as medicine. 215, 232, 233.
- Word charms, 209-210, 213, 214-215, 218, 222, 232. See also Ritual words.
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- Zamboanga, 4.
- Zamorphic demons, 29, 31, 38-40, 227.
- Zuñiga, Joaquin Martinez de, see Martinez de Zuñiga, Joaquin, O. S. A.

PLATE I

GROUP OF BAGOBO PEOPLE AND TYPICAL BAGOBO HOUSE

- FIG. 1. — Group of mountain Bagobo in festival costume. In the foreground are Datu Auga of Bago (left) and Datu Tonkaling of Sibulan. The women (left to right) are Otik, Sipi, Uding, Ingan and Sagomayan.
- FIG. 2. — Typical Bagobo house with walls and thatch of nipa palm.



FIGURE 1



FIGURE 2



PLATE II

DATU TONGKALING OF SIBULAN HOLDING SPEAR AND WARSHIELD

PLATE II

DATE TOGRAING OF SIBU'Z HOLDING SPEAR AND WASHHED





PLATE III

FIGURE 1

CEREMONIAL KERCHIEF AND CARRYING BAG OF THE BAGOBO

FIG. 1.— Ceremonial *tankulu* which may be worn only by those Bagobo men who have killed other men.

FIG. 2.— Man's carrying bag (*kabir*) worn on the back to hold medicine-case, lime tube, betel box and other necessities.

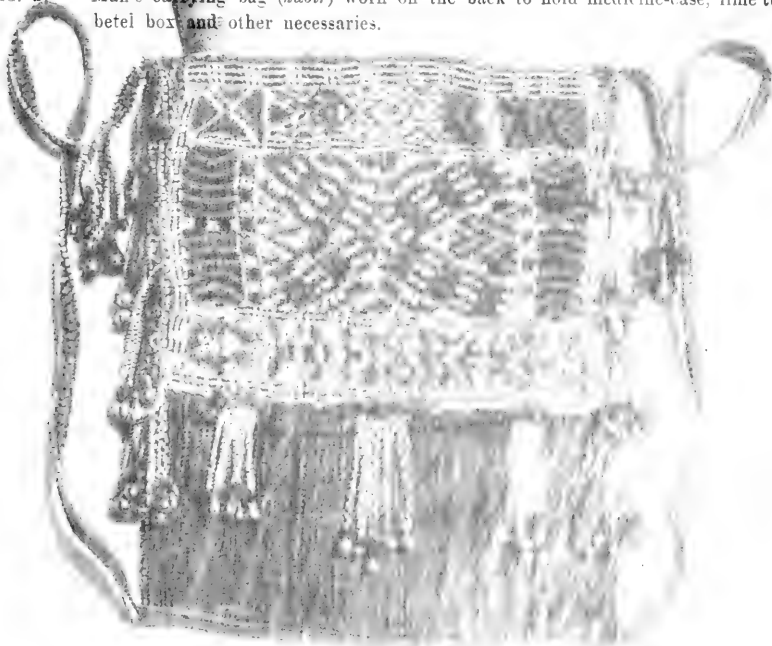


FIGURE 2

PLATE III

CEREMONIAL KENCHIEP AND CARRYING BAG OF THE BAGOBO

- Fig. 1. — Ceremonial *kengkwa* which may be worn only by those Bagoobo men who have killed other men.
- Fig. 2. — Man's carrying bag (*kengkwa*) worn on the back to hold medicine-case, lime tube, betel box and other necessaries.



FIGURE 1



FIGURE 2



PLATE IV

BAGOBO MEDICINE CASE, AND WOMAN'S BASKET

FIG. 1. — Old man's medicine case of woven rattan, with telescope lid, for holding charms, native drugs, flint, stones and tinder.

FIG. 2. — Specimens of the Bagobo woman's basket which is hung on the left shoulder and contains areca-nuts, medicine, a little knife, beads and materials for embroidery.



FIGURE 2

PLATE IV

BAGOBO MEDICINE CASE AND WOMAN'S BASKET

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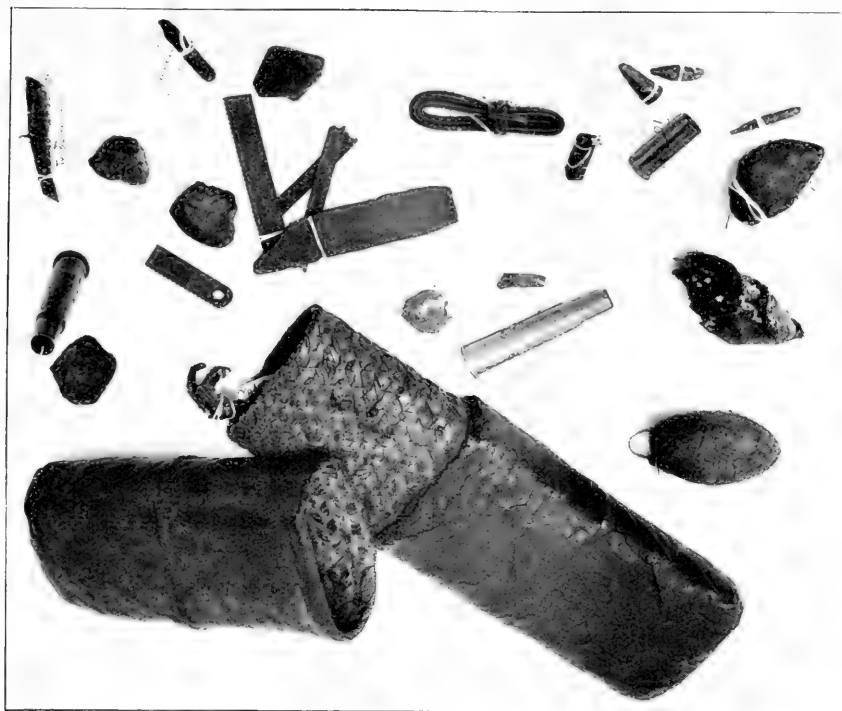


FIGURE 1



FIGURE 2

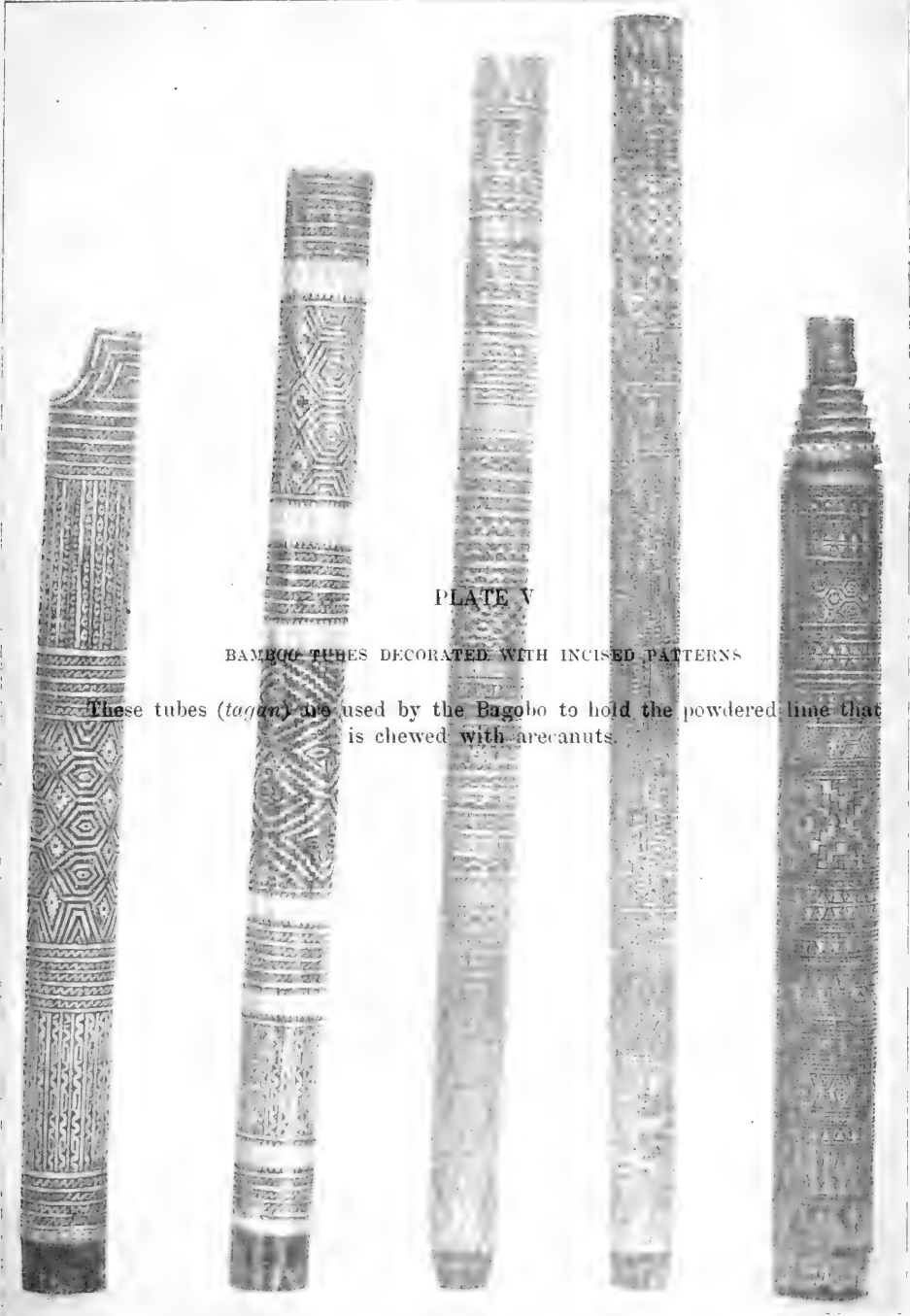


PLATE V

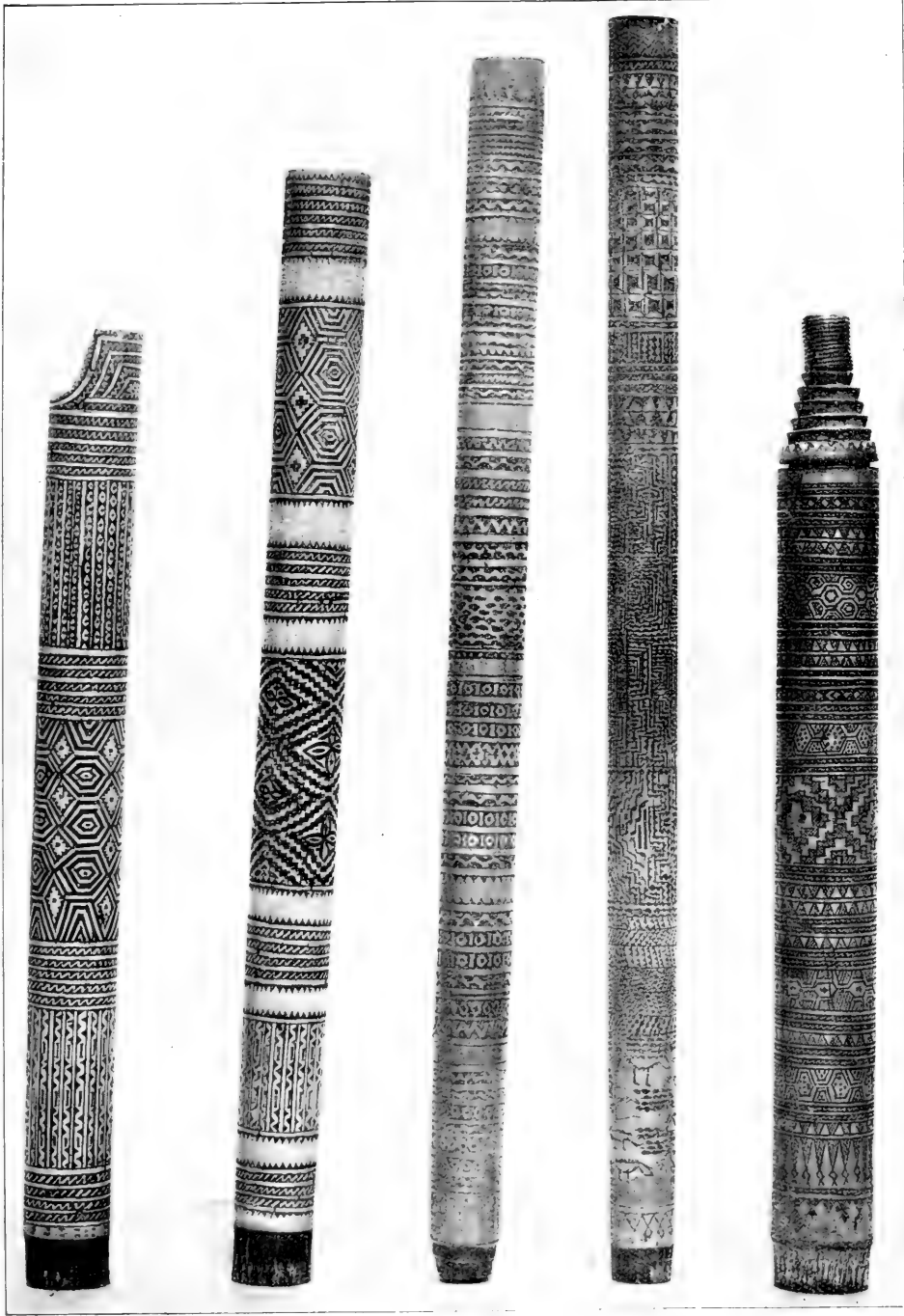
BAMBOO TUBES DECORATED WITH INCISED PATTERNS

These tubes (*tagan*) are used by the Bagobo to hold the powdered lime that is chewed with arecanuts.

PLATE V

BAMBOO TUBES DECORATED WITH INCISED PATTERNS

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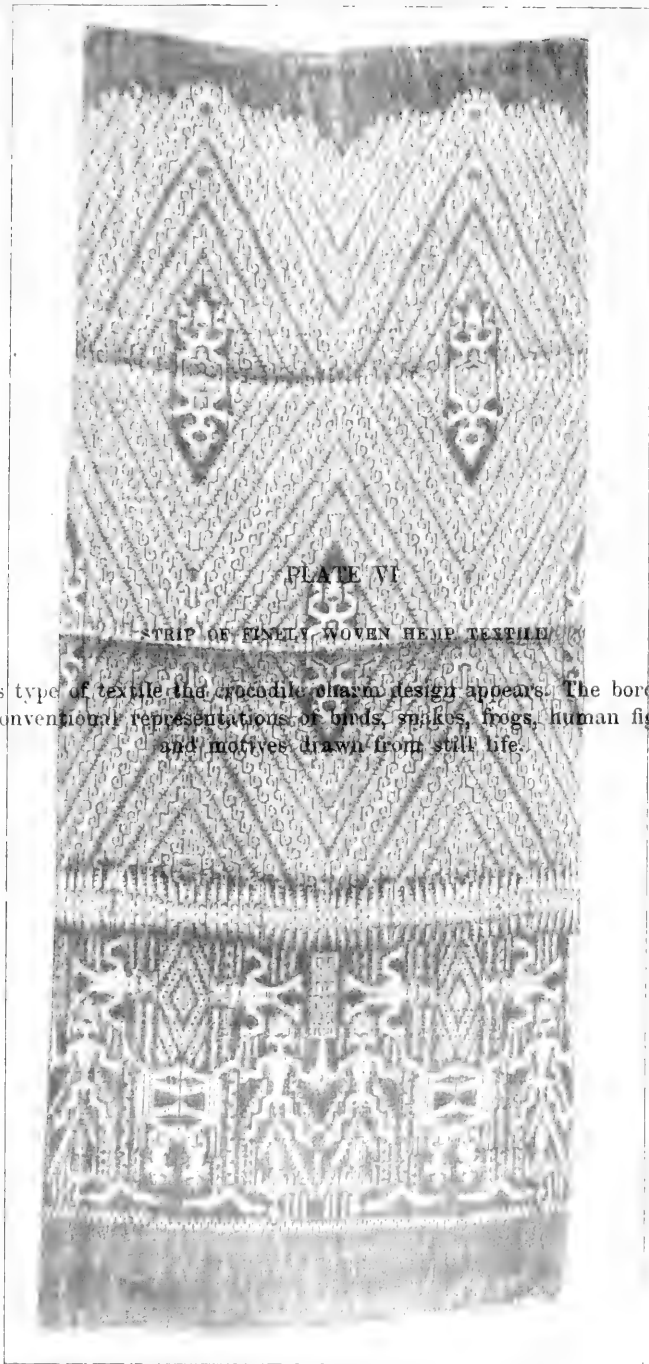


PLATE VI

STRIP OF FINELY WOVEN HEMP TEXTILE

In this type of textile the crocodile ornament design appears. The border shows conventional representations of birds, snakes, frogs, human figures and motives drawn from still life.

PLATE VI

STRIP OF FINELY WOVEN HEMP TEXTILE

In this type of textile the crocodile charm design appears. The border shows conventional representations of birds, snakes, frogs, human figures and motives drawn from still life.

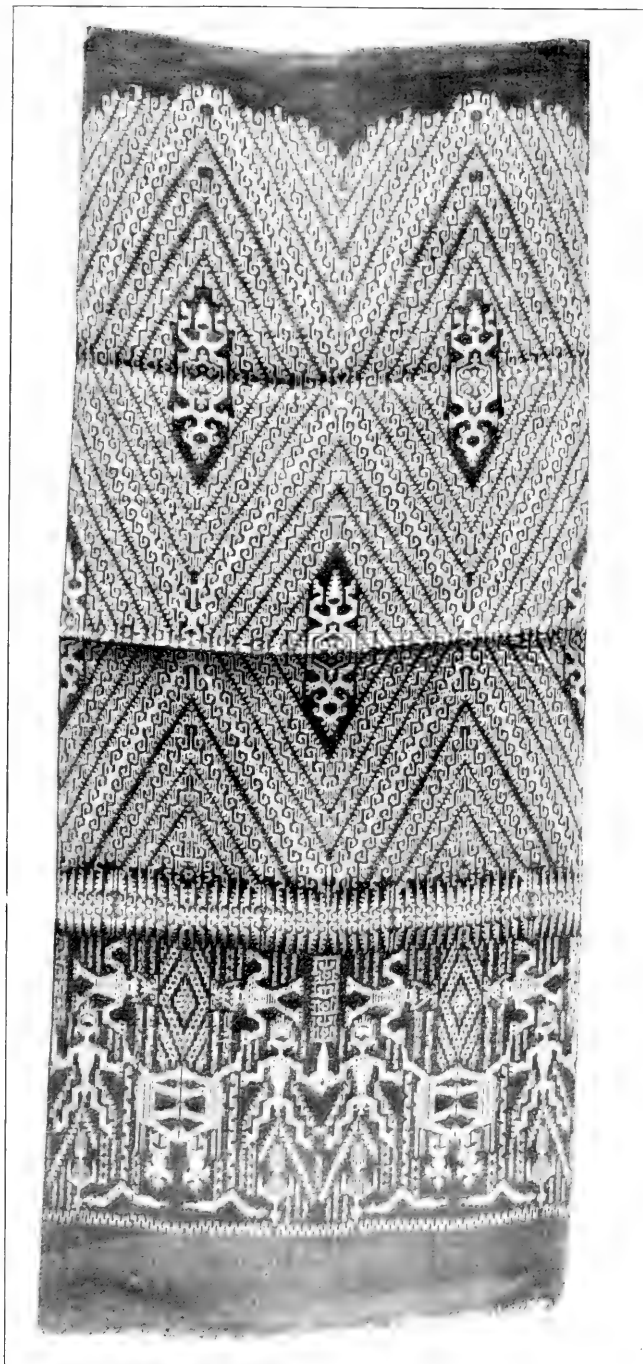




PLATE VII
CEREMONIAL SHIRT

Ceremonial claret-colored hemp shirt worn by old Bagobo men and women. The decoration is of mother-of-pearl shell discs, with a border of embroidery done by a Bita-an or a Tagakaola woman.

PLATE VII

CEREMONIAL SHIRT

Ceremonial claret-colored hemp shirt worn by old Bagobo men and women. The decoration is of mother-of-pearl shell discs, with a border of embroidery done by a Bilaan or a Tagakaola woman.



PLATE VIII

FESTIVAL JACKET WORN BY THE BAGORO

Young man's festival jacket of hemp beaded in the "eagle's wing" design.



PLATE VIII

FESTIVAL JACKET WORN BY THE BZGONO

Young man's festival jacket of hemp beaded in the "eagle's wing" design.



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ANNALS OF THE NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Vol. XXV, pp. 309—416.

Editor, R. W. TOWER

TEPECANO, A PIMAN LANGUAGE OF
WESTERN MEXICO

BY

J. ALDEN MASON



NEW YORK
PUBLISHED BY THE ACADEMY
1917

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TEPECANO, A PIMAN LANGUAGE OF WESTERN MEXICO¹

BY J. ALDEN MASON

(Presented by title before the Academy; 27 March, 1916)

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¹ Manuscript received by the Editor, 28 November, 1915.

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INTRODUCTION

The Tepecano Indians compose one of the smaller native groups indigenous to the mountains of the Sierra Madre Occidental of western Mexico. To-day they are confined to the unimportant village of Azqueltán and the adjacent fields. These lie in the *barranca* or cañon of the Bolaños River in the northern part of the Mexican state of Jalisco, near the well known mine of Bolaños and adjoining the country of the Huicholes which lies to the west. Here the remnants of this formerly more extensive tribe dwelt in comparative isolation until about 1904 when the rapid growth of neighboring settlements caused a sudden breaking down of their isolation.

To-day the remaining representatives of the group differ little from their neighbors. For the most part they own their rocky and infertile hillsides on which they grow corn in *coamiles* without the use of ploughs. Houses of adobe are frequent but those of the aboriginal thatch-roof type are more common. The medium of communication to-day is exclusively Spanish and only the old or middle-aged retain fluency in the aboriginal tongue. The older religion exists only in the memory of the conservative, much mixed with Christian ideas, but akin to the other native religions of this region, particularly to that of the Cora.

The earliest references to the Tepecano are found in the Franciscan Relations reported by Orozco y Berra.² According to these, the earliest settlements made in the neighborhood of Azqueltán were in the territory of the Teules-Chichimecos who spoke Tepecano. Other languages of this group are given as Cazcan and Tecuexe. Orozco y Berra accordingly allots territory on his map to Tepecano, Colotlán, Teul-Chichimec-Cazcan and Coca-Tecuexe. All of these he reports as extinct tongues, showing to what insignificance the group had sunk by 1864. Tepecano and Colotlán specifically, and the others by inference, he considers as dialects of Cora.

Nothing further was heard of the Tepecanos until the visits of

² MANUEL OROZCO y BERRA: "Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de México," pp. 49, 279, 282; México, 1864.

Lumholtz³ and Hrdlička⁴ in 1898—1902. The former did not visit Azqueltán but met several members of the tribe. He speaks of the language as a branch or dialect of Nahuatl. Hrdlička, however, paid several visits to the pueblo and correctly classes the language as a branch of the Tepehuane group. Other recent contributions to the literature on the Tepecano are by Dr. Nicolás León⁵ and Thomas and Swanton.⁶

The Tepecanos were among the natives known to the Spanish by the comprehensive term *chichimecos*. The question of the identity of these legendary people has been discussed by Thomas and Swanton⁶ and by Hrdlička.⁴ It is certain that the Tepecanos formerly occupied a more extensive area and probably populated the famous city of Teul. With the now extinct kindred languages immediately to the south, Tepecano probably formed the southernmost language of the Pima group, which distinction it certainly possesses as present. There can likewise be no doubt that they are practically, at least from a linguistic standpoint, an isolated group of Tepehuane. The latter name is universally applied to them at present, though patriarchs admit to the former name 'Tepecano.'⁷ A casual inspection of Tepehuane vocabularies and grammar⁸ offers proof of the remarkably close resemblance between the languages. Moreover, a similar observation proves the statement of early missionaries⁹ that the Tepehuane language differs little from the Pima, both upper and lower. In fact, the 'Tepecano and the Pima of Arizona, the southern-

³ CARL LUMHOLTZ: *Unknown México*. New York, 1902. (Edición Española, Nueva York, 1904.)

⁴ ALEŠ HRDLIČKA: "The Chichimecs and their Ancient Culture, with Notes on the Tepecanos and the Ruin of La Quemada, Mexico". *American Anthropologist* (n. s.), Vol. 5, No. 3, 1903.

⁵ NICOLÁS LEÓN: *Familias Lingüísticas de México*. México, 1902.

⁶ CYRUS THOMAS and JOHN R. SWANTON: "Indian Languages of Mexico and Central America". *Bulletin* 44, *Bur. Am. Eth.*, Washington, 1911.

⁷ During my first visit to Azqueltán the name Tepecano was denied by all informants. On my second trip I was informed quite unexpectedly by an old patriarch that the true name of the tribe was "tepekan". I must therefore retract certain statements made on p. 345 of the *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Americanists*, London, 1912.

⁸ The only Tepehuane grammar known to science is that of Benito Rinaldini: *Gramática, Diccionario y Catecismo*; México, 1743. Francisco Pimentel gives a digest in his *Cuadro Descriptivo y Comparativo de las Lenguas Indígenas de México*; México, 1862, 1874. A copy of the original, which is of extreme rarity, is in the Ayre Collection of the Newberry Library in Chicago.

⁹ OROZCO Y BERRA: *op. cit.*, p. 37.

most and the northernmost members of the group, appear to be more closely related than the Tepecano and Huichol, adjacent tongues.

The material for the present sketch was secured in Azqueltán during a stay of five months in the winters of 1911—1912 and 1912—1913 while I was Fellow from the University of Pennsylvania to the International School of Mexican Anthropology. While the study of the language was the principal object of the expedition, yet the greater portion of the linguistic data consists of a number of native prayers in text which it is hoped to publish soon as part of a study of the religion. A few mythological texts were taken and these are appended to this sketch for purposes of illustration.

PHONOLOGY

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Tepecano language gives quite a pleasant acoustic effect to the ear accustomed to English. Fortis and velar sounds are missing, as is marked aspiration; affricatives are rare and consonantal combinations simple. Glottal stops are frequent but not abrupt. The sounds are clear-cut and generally easily distinguishable. Quantity, both vocalic and consonantal, is marked, so that the acoustic effect received approaches that of a telegraph instrument, a low-toned flow with constant hesitations. Stress accent is probably negligible and pitch accent is scarcely noticeable in continued speech.

VOCALIC SYSTEM

The normal vowels of Tepecano appear to be *a*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *ö*. *a* is probably the most frequent vowel. *e* is occasionally but very rarely heard and appears to be of secondary derivation, frequently by assimilation from the diphthong *ia*, as *avian* or *avem*.¹⁰ *i* and *o* need

¹⁰ The vowel *e* is missing also in Lower Pima (BUCKINGHAM SMITH: "Grammar of the Pima or Névome". Shea's Lib. Am. Ling., New York, 1862; digest in Pimentel, *op. cit.*) and Papago (JUAN DOLORES: "Papago Verb Stems", Univ. Cal. Pub. Am. Arch. Eth., vol. 10, no. 5. Berkeley, 1913). It is probably lacking also in the other members of this linguistic sub-group, *viz.*, Upper Pima and Northern and Southern Tepehuane. While given in Russell's phonetic table for the Upper Pima (FRANK RUSSELL: "The Pima Indians". XXVI Ann. Rep. Bur. Am. Eth. Washington, 1908) a rapid inspection of pages of text fails to reveal a single example of *e*; it is almost equally rare in Humboldt's vocabularies from the Tepehuane (*op. cit.*). Rinaldini (*op. cit.*) uses *e* considerably in his Tepehuane grammar but there must be a natural suspicion that the sound is lacking

no comment; *u* and *ö* are produced without rounding of the lips. *ö* approaches *i* and *ü* in quality and the latter were occasionally written as variants of *ö*.¹¹

The diphthongs *ai*, *oi*, *üi*, *ui* and *ia* are the most frequent; others often found are *au*, *aö*, *iö* and *ua*.

Vocalic Quality

It is probable that but one quality of vowel is found in Tepecano, an intermediate between fully close and fully open, as heard, for instance in English. *a* was heard exclusively as open; *i* was occasionally distinguished as open and close but was never heard so open as in English *sin* nor so close as in English *seen*. *o* is quite open in quality, approaching *aw* of English *law*. *u* is very open but is often heard as approaching close *o* and has sometimes been confused with the latter.¹² But one set of vocalic symbols have therefore been used in writing Tepecano, the ordinary roman characters.

Vowels slurred over or produced with less than usual strength, *e. g.*, when it is not certain whether a consonantal combination obtains or whether a vowel intervenes, are indicated by raised characters. This does not imply that they are voiceless.

i u
ö o
a

Accent

Accent is of doubtful function in Tepecano.¹³ Stress accent was generally recorded and is here retained but as the same word was frequently accented differently on different occasions, much doubt of its value must ensue. Some words were heard with equal stress on all syllables, some with equal stress on alternate syllables, and some with main and secondary stress accent. The stress has most frequently been marked on the antepenult. Such accent is indicated by an acute accent mark following the vowel.

here also as he confuses it with *a* and *i*. All other languages of the Piman group appear to possess normal *e* which doubtless relates to *ö* of the Tepecano sub-group.

¹¹ Kroeber uses *ü* in Papago in place of Tepecano *ö* (Dolores, *op. cit.*).

¹² Rinaldini tends to confuse *o* and *u* in Tepehuane likewise (*op. cit.*).

¹³ Accent is weak and unimportant in Papago also (Dolores, *op. cit.*).

In many cases a rise in tone was also observed on certain syllables. This appears on the whole to be more regular and standard than stress accent. Thus a postposition suffixed to a noun generally carries a higher accent than the nominal stem; the verb stem when in final position, particularly when in the preterit form, frequently has a raised pitch, and certain verbal particles appear to carry the pitch. The vowel before a glottal stop, particularly with certain classes of nominal plurals, likewise often receives a higher tone. This is indicated by an acute accent mark over the vowel.¹⁴

CONSONANTAL SYSTEM

The consonantal system of Tepecano is primarily simple, consisting of the nasals *m* and *n*, the trill *r*, the spirants *v*, *s*, *c* and *h*, the sonant stops *b*, *d* and *g*, the surd stops *p*, *t*, *k* and the glottal stop *ʔ*. These simple sounds are further modified according to position.¹⁵

The semi-vowels *y* and *w* are abnormal and of secondary development. The former is often heard instead of an *i* diphthong, as *ya'puckar*, *ia'puckar*, sweat-cloth; *ka'cyor*, *ka'cio'*, fox. The latter is often heard for an *u* diphthong, as *siw'mar*, *suw'mar*, deer, or for an initial *vu* as *wi'vas*, *vui'vas*, face.

The bilabial nasal *m* and the linguo-dental nasal *n* are purely sonant in initial or intervocalic position, but when in final position the latter part of the occlusion becomes clearly surd. This voicelessness is most marked in the case of final *m*, less so with final *n*. To a lesser extent the same phenomenon is observed when a nasal comes into contact with a surd stop or spirant. When evident enough to be noted, surd quality is indicated by *ɹ* and *ɳ*, though it is never more than a mixed quality, partially unvoiced rather than clearly surd. The palatal nasal *ɲ* has occasionally been observed, always before a palatal stop, but it is not invariable in this position and seems to be a secondary development.

r is a weak untrilled or weakly trilled linguo-alveolar. When of a long quantity the trill is naturally more evident, but is never strong. Like the nasals it appears to be normally sonant but in final position is at least intermediately surd and is to some extent

¹⁴ Both vocalic length and pitch accent were reported by my informant to be more marked among the Southern Tepehuane than with the Tepecano.

¹⁵ Sounds vary as sonant and surd according to position in Papago (Dolores, *op. cit.*).

so in medial combination with a surd. As in the case of nasals, surd *r* is indicated by *x*. *r* approaches *l* rather than *d*. It is never found in initial position where it appears to be replaced by *l*. This liquid has a broader occlusion than English *l* and the position is probably more dorsal or cerebral, giving a harsher quality. It is the rarest sound in the language, found only initially in one or two instances. Here it probably develops from *r*, as *ar'*, small; *l'icpök*, baby.¹⁶

Spirant *v* is of weak bilabial occlusion, being occasionally heard as *w*.¹⁷ It is probably normally sonant and is heard so initially and in intervocalic position. In final position, and to a lesser extent when in contact with certain surds, it develops a distinctly surd character which is then expressed by the symbol *r*, though it is never so surd as Spanish bilabial *f*. Occasionally, particularly in final position, it was heard as voiceless *w*, *v*.

The spirants *s* and *c* are probably both primary, though subject to dissimilation. Both are invariably surd. *s* is pronounced approximately as in English while *c* is softer than English *sh*. Both are limited to certain phonetic positions.

At first both *h* and *x* were written and have been retained, but they are probably variants of one sound. *h* was written most frequently, *x* principally before *i* and *ö*. Whether the sound is a

¹⁶ An intermediate surd-sonant *l* is found in Papago (Dolores, *op. cit.*). Russell (*op. cit.*) writes an *l* for Upper Pima. This is replaced by *r* in lower Pima (Smith, *op. cit.*). In Tepehuane, according to Rinaldini (*op. cit.*) *r* and *l* are interchangeable but the latter in better favor. Lumboltz and Hrdlička (*op. cit.*) write both *r* and *l* in Northern and Southern Tepehuane and Tepecano and the former does the same in Tarahumare, Tubar and Huichol. K. T. PREUSS: ("Die Religion der Cora Indianer", Leipzig, 1912.) uses both *r* and *l* in Cora; José de Ortega ("Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Cora", México, 1732; Tepic, 1888; digest in Pimentel, *op. cit.*) writes only *r*. Hrdlička (*op. cit.*) furthermore distinguishes an *r* in Tepecano, and Smith (*op. cit.*) distinguishes an *rh* in Lower Pima. These are probably surd variations of normal *r*. Regarding the extra group Sonoran languages, Opato (NATAL LOMBARDO: "Gramática y Diccionario", México, 1702; digest in Pimentel, *op. cit.*) and Heve (BUCKINGHAM SMITH: "A Grammatical Sketch of the Heve Language", Shea's Lib. Am. Ling. New York, 1861; digest in Pimentel, *op. cit.*) use only *r*, the former distinguishing also *rh*. Cahita ("Gramática y Vocabulario", México, 1737; reprint, E. Buelnar, México, 1890; digest in Pimentel, *op. cit.*) and Tarahumare (P. MIGUEL TELLECHEA, Compendio Gramatical, México, 1826; digest in Pimentel, *op. cit.*) use both *r* and *l* though in the latter case *r* is said to be more correct. Tepecano *r* is generally identical with Papago *l* (Dolores, *op. cit.*).

¹⁷ *v* and *w* are difficult to distinguish in Papago also (Dolores, *op. cit.*). Here *v* is commonly used before *a* and *i*; *w* before *o*, *u* and *ü*.

weak palatal spirant or a glottal constriction is not certain, probably the former. It is purely surd, is never found in final position and tends to disappear in combination.

Two series of stops in three positions are normal to Tepecano. These are, bilabial sonant and surd, approximating English *b* and *p*; linguo-interdental sonant and surd, approximating Spanish *d* and *t* and linguo-palatal sonant and surd, approximating English *g* and *k*.

The sonant stops are represented by *b*, *d* and *g*. Initial *b* is weakly occluded and thus often confused with initial *v*.¹⁸ As initial, intervocalic or as the second member of a consonantal combination they are purely sonant. In final position the sonancy becomes very weak and short, the latter part of the occlusion and the release being entirely surd or unvoiced. The effect received is little more than a bare sonant occlusion with silent release. The same intermediate quality is heard to a lesser extent when a sonant stop becomes the first member of a consonantal combination. To such an extent is the sonant stop unvoiced in this connection that during the greater part of the field work it was written, particularly when in final position, as surd, and generally not differentiated from the surd stop in like position. This must be taken into consideration in the use of native text where it has often been impossible to establish the exact character of the final stop in any given case. Such intermediate character of the sonant stop is denoted by the symbols, *B*, *D*, *G*.¹⁹

Surd stops entirely lack aspiration when initial, intervocalic or

¹⁸ The same phenomenon is characteristic of the Spanish spoken by the lower classes of México. In Lower Pima (Smith, *op. cit.*) *v* and *b* are confused. In Opatá (Lombardo, *op. cit.*) and Cahita (Tellechea, *op. cit.*) the difference is said to be as in good Castilian.

¹⁹ Kroeber (Dolores, *op. cit.*) writes in Papago but one set of stops varying in quality according to position. Nevertheless, he notes (p. 243) that a difference undoubtedly obtains. Initial sonant and surd stops appear to be only slightly differentiated in Papago but Dolores has unwittingly distinguished between sonant and surd final stops by regularly preceding the latter by aspirate *h*, leaving the sonant stop represented by the bare surd sign. Russell gives only *d* as purely sonant in Upper Pima, *g* (inverted) and *td* as intermediate, but all three positions as surd and aspirate, — four classes, doubtless an unwarranted distinction. Lower Pima distinguishes sonant and surd stops as does Rinaldini in Tepehuane, though he tends to confuse them. Lumholtz writes both in Northern and Southern Tepehuane and Tepecano and Hrdlička does the same for the latter two. Among the other Piman languages the surds are uniformly noted, but the sonants variably. Opatá and Heve are written with the sonant stops *b*, *d*, *g*; in Cahita and Cora *b* is the only sonant stop noted; (Lumholtz writes *d*, *g* also). Sonant stops are entirely omitted in writing Huichol. Tellechea writes *b* and *g* but no *d* in Tarahumare, Lumholtz

when the second member of a consonantal combination. This lack of aspiration gives to the ear accustomed to English an intermediate surd-sonant effect, not very different from that of the sonant stop when truly intermediate in character. When final or the first member of a consonantal combination, the surd quality is more evident and in the former case a slight aspirate release is occasionally heard. In the latter case there is generally no release, the surd blending with the ensuing sound. Here it has frequently been written incorrectly as of doubled length.

The glottal stop, ' , is frequent but not harsh or abrupt and has been occasionally written in place of a mere cessation of voice. Frequently it is synchronous with a stop, forming what is known as a glottalized stop. In such cases the glottal stop has generally been written before the stop thus glottalized, less frequently after it.

The affricative *tc* is very rarely met, *ts* practically never. Neither occur in final position.

Consonantal Table

		Stops			Spirants		Trill-Liquid		Nasals	
	Sonant	Inter- mediate	Surd	Sonant	Surd	Sonant	Surd	Sonant	Surd	
Bilabial	b	(B)	p	v, (w)	(v, w)			m	(M)	
Dental	d	(D)	t					n	(N)	
Alveolar				(y)	^{s, c} (ts, tc)	r, (l)	(r)			
Palatal	g	(G)	k		(x)			(ŋ)		
Glottal			'		h					

Characters in parentheses are of secondary derivation or of doubtful nature.

only *b*; the former admits that *p* and *b*, *k* and *g* are confused. In Lumbholtz's Tubar vocabulary neither *g* nor *p* are found.

The evidence is almost incontrovertible that the sonant stops possessed by the Pima-Papago-Tepehuane-Tepecano group have developed from original Uto-Aztekan spirants, *b* from *kw*, *d* from *y* and *g* from *w*. (Cf. EDWARD SAPIR: *American Anthropologist*, (n s.), Vol. 17, p. 306). The original spirants appear to remain in the other Sonoran languages.

QUANTITY

Both vocalic and consonantal quantity are marked in Tepecano and an effort has been made to distinguish such. Practically all consonants, as well as all vowels, are susceptible of lengthening. In the case of stops this tends to further increase the acoustic confusion of series. Marked duration is indicated by a postscript raised or inverted period, as *a'*, *t'*. It must be confessed that in the actual recording of quantities much confusion occurred and little agreement regarding quantity has been attained; no individual case therefore should be accepted as a criterion. In a few cases a markedly short quantity was also observed but this was seldom recorded.

PHONETIC PROCESSES

GROUPING OF SOUNDS

The typical Tepecano word consists of an orderly alternation of consonant and vowel. Any vowel may stand initial or final in a word. Any consonant except *r* may be initial and any one except *h* final. *l* may stand initially only. No more than one consonant may stand initial or final, even the generally excepted affricative *tc* being of rare or doubtful occurrence initially and missing in final position. Medially, complexes of three or more consonants are never permitted, the rare affricative *tc* being considered a simple sound, as *píptcaq*, hawks. But medial combinations of two consonants are very frequent and in fact are favored whenever permitted by other phonetic laws.

All possible combinations of consonant and vowel are permitted with the exception of certain ones involving the spirants *s* and *c*. The latter may stand before only the vowel *i* initially, while *s* never precedes *i* either initially or medially.²⁰ All other possible combinations of both *s* and *c* with vowels have been found, though certain ones appear far more frequently with one of the spirants than with the other. For instance, *co* and *cö* are rare medially, *os* and *ös* rare finally. Thus there will be in certain cases an interchange of these two spirants, as:

²⁰ A like distinction is made in Papago (Dolores, *op. cit.*) between *s* and *c*, but here, curiously, it is *s* that occurs before *i* and *ü*, *c* before *a*, *o* and *u*. Rinaldini (*op. cit.*)

avi'cko's	he is asleep	aniamko'cim	I am not sleepy
ni'igō'gsō	I am swimming	anieiegō'cim	I want to swim

There appears to be an intimate relationship between the glottal stop and the trill *r*. Frequently, particularly with reduplicated stems, a glottal stop is apparently changed to an *r*.

civo'b	plume		ci'vordab	(3d. sing. poss.)
gō'	great	(sing.)	gō'gōr	(plu.)
da(*)	be seated	(sing.)	dadar	(plu.)
hohi'	desire	(pres.)	hohir	(pret.)
baig	be able	(pres.)	baigr	(pret.)

There is frequently an effort made to keep morphological elements separate and to prevent their blending. Thus there will often be a pause, a perceptible hesitation, between two such elements, sometimes between two vowels, at other times between a consonant and vowel, which has sometimes been wrongly indicated by a glottal stop. It is best denoted by a period on the line, .. As already stated, this device is adopted for the principal purpose of separating morphological elements and preventing confusion among them.

Practically all dual consonantal combinations are permitted medially. Examples of the majority of possible combinations have been found and there is no indication that any of the others are forbidden, unless it may be *h* as the first member of a combination.

SYNCOPE

The most frequent cause of consonantal combination is syncope. This is a very active process in Tepehuano. While the rules have not been worked out in detail, it may be suggested that a short medial vowel will generally disappear to permit the combination of the adjacent consonants, provided, of course, that this will not entail an initial or final consonantal cluster. This process appears in strongest force in the case of reduplicated stems, where an apparently possible but unconsummated consonantal combination is *ipse facto* good evidence of the length of the intervening vowel.

ta'tpōc	fleas	(stem ta'pōc)
múmu'var	flies	(stem mú'var)
a'niku'knát	I am marrying	(stem kúnat')
antimsa'sa'kit	I made you weep	(stem sa'k)

distinguishes *s* and *c* in Tepehuano, writing the latter *sc* and using it almost exclusively before *i*. In the grammar of the Lower Pima (Smith, *op. cit.*) there seems to be no such distinction made. Likewise Russell (*op. cit.*) terms *c* (*sh*) a rare sound in Upper Pima.

METATHESIS

Another functional process in Tepecano, though of less importance than syncope, is metathesis. This seems to obtain in certain cases of favored combinations of consonants, thus

avi'cmúmku	he is dying	(for avi'cmúmuk)
miamina'mköin	they do not pay me	(for miamina'mökib)
ni'igö'Gsö	I am swimming	(for ni'igö'göc)

ASSIMILATION AND DISSIMILATION

Consonantal assimilation and dissimilation is not of great importance in Tepecano though examples are found. Thus *r* will naturally be heard as *b* after *m*. For instance,

anümbansín	I am letting you down	(for aniumvansan)
a'tiamiambö'p'auða	We will not equal you	(atiamiamvö'p'auvða)

MORPHOLOGY

WORD STEMS

PHONETIC CHARACTERISTICS

In contradistinction to the majority of Sonoran languages,²¹ Tepecano closes a great number of its words with final consonants. In this, as in many other respects, it appears to resemble Southern Tepehuane but to be somewhat different from Northern Tepehuane²². A comparison of the vocabularies demonstrates that Tepecano in most cases, and Southern Tepehuane in a slightly smaller number of cases have lost the final vowel of the stem or suffix which is retained in Northern Tepehuane, while in a minority of cases the final vowel has been retained, the forms of the three

²¹ In Tarahumare (Tellechea, *op. cit.*; Lumholtz, *op. cit.*) every word closes in a vowel; in Cahita (Buelnar, *op. cit.*; Peñafiel, mss. vocabulary, México), Opata (Lombardo, *op. cit.*; Peñafiel, mss.), Upper Pima (Russell, *op. cit.*), Lower Pima (Smith, *op. cit.*), Northern Tepehuane (Rinaldini, *op. cit.*; Lumholtz, *op. cit.*), Cora (Ortega, *op. cit.*; Preuss, *op. cit.*; Lumholtz, *op. cit.*; Peñafiel, mss.) and Huichol (Pimentel, *op. cit.*; Lumholtz, *op. cit.*; Peñafiel, mss.) the great majority of words end in a vowel and only a restricted number of consonants are permitted in this position. In the Heve (Smith, *op. cit.*), Tubar (Lumholtz, *op. cit.*) and Papago languages (Dolores, *op. cit.*; Peñafiel, mss.) the number of final consonants is large.

²² HRDLÍČKA, *op. cit.*; Lumholtz, *op. cit.*; RINALDINI, *op. cit.*

languages being apparently identical. The rules for such retention or disappearance can be worked out only by a comparative study of kindred languages, but it may be tentatively suggested that an original short final vowel was dropped in Tepecano while an original long final vowel was shortened, both forms being retained in Northern Tepehuane as originally.

No vocalic timbre seems to replace the lost final vowel in Tepecano, but that its influence has not entirely gone is proven by the fact that, at least in the case of nominal stems, the original stem vowel reappears in more extended forms.

Northern Tepehuane		Tepecano	Tepecano Extended	
Stem ^{2,3}		Stem	Form	
ogga	father	o'g	ó'gan	his father
novi	hand	nov	no'vid	his hand
gatto	bow	gat	ga'tud	his bow
junu	corn	hun	ihu'nug	my corn
but	dadda arrive many	dada		arrive (plu.)

The final stem vowel *i* appears, for some unexplained reason, to be more tenacious than the other vowels. Certain stems will thus appear normally without, but at other times with stereotyped final vowel.

vainum	money	invainmi'	my money
ta'pöc	flea	ictuta'pei	full of fleas
gó'goc	dogs	itgo'gei	our dogs
a'tvag	altar	a'tvagi	
vö'p'göv	lightning	vö'p'gövi	
ma'svag	moon-?	ma'svagi	
tót'vag	clouds	tót'tvagi	
to'nor	sun	to'nori	

The latter group of words are used with ceremonial context which may possibly explain the persistence of the final stem vowel, through religious conservatism.

In the case of verbal stems no certain instances of the reappearance of the lost final vowel have been noted.

NOUN AND VERB STEMS

Noun and verb stems are generally dissimilar in Tepecano but

^{2,3} RINALDINI, *op. cit.*

when similar they are distinguished by their syntactical elements rather than by etymological ones. Thus

ōc	corn-field	anitu'ō'e	I am sowing corn
ni'o'k	speech	amicupnio'k	they also speak
ha'k	toasted corn	anituhak	I am toasting corn

THE NOUN

As with most Sonoran languages, the noun plays a rôle secondary to the verb in native syntax. The latter expresses the main idea of the sentence while the other parts of speech, including the noun, serve to qualify and amplify the meaning given. The Tepecano noun usually stands independently in the sentence and is seldom incorporated in the verbal complex. In either case it consists of a stem which may be qualified by the suffixation of a few etymological elements and may either stand alone or be further modified in meaning by the addition of syntactical elements.

NOMINAL STEM COMPOSITION

Composition of stems is not a typical process of Tepecano but is occasionally found. Some examples are

bīn-vak	adobe house, "dirt-house"	
a't-vak	back of house, "buttocks-house"	<i>culatas de jacal</i>
tō'n-vo	beard, "mouth-hair"	
hō'-vo	eyebrow(?), "?-hair"	

Similar etymologies may be suggested for many other words, as

tō-vag	sky, "blue-house"
hu'n-vak	sugar cane, "corn-house"
hun-ta'ha'k	ears of corn
vó-sō'g	rat, "hair-wolf"

Similarly, many words referring to water begin with the syllable *va*, a very common Sonoran root denoting water. These are probably petrified examples of former stem composition.

vai'dakar	water-jar	va'to'p	fish
váko'n	heron	vát'o'	weir, <i>tupeste</i>
vák'a	water-gourd	váp'ak	reed
va''utag	drizzle, dew	va'mōr	lake

ETYMOLOGICAL SUFFIXES

A small number of etymological elements are found and other nominal terminations are sufficiently frequent to suggest the possibility that they may be nominal suffixes, even though the stem be never found without them. The most certain of the etymological elements follow.

1. *-kar, (-kar), instrumental.*

This element when suffixed to verbal stems denotes the object or instrument by means of which the act is performed.²⁴

at	buttocks	átockar	seat
		atvá'ckar	trousers
ia'puc	put upon	ia'puckar	sweat-cloth
ma'hin	shoot	ma'hinkar	rifle, gun
nōi'	dance	nōi'k'ar	dance ground, <i>patio</i>
sóm	sew	sómkar	needle
hak	toast corn	hákar	griddle, <i>comal</i>
vai'g	fetch water	vai'dakar	water-jar, <i>cantaro</i>
dōn	smoke	dō'kar	pipe
		nōi'kar	knife
		vo'ckakar	broom
		bai'kar	sack, <i>costal</i> ²⁵

One of the most common etymological suffixes is *-kam*. This appears to give a sort of abstractive meaning difficult to formulate to the stem; it is used generally with a ceremonial significance.²⁶

2. *-kam, abstractive.*

i'korag	filth	ici'krak'am	sins, turpitude, filth
o'gipas	south	o'gipaskam	southern habitant spirit
ór	within	órkam	interior, belonging within
u'c	stick	u'ciakam	authority, chief
u'v	woman	u'vikam	the "Green Woman"
muk	die (sing.)	mu'k'am	Death, Goddess of Death
cidu'	hoard	cidu'kam	fetish, idol
hō'pid	be cold	hō'pinkam	cold, wind, chilliness
hō'mad	create	hō'mabkam	human being, person
hu'r'nip	west	hu'r'nipkam	western habitant spirit
ha'duk		ha'dukam	pertaining to the rain

²⁴ Lower Pima *-carha* (Smith, *op. cit.*).

²⁵ The term *Dō'm'kar mi'tcu'* was given me as the Southern Tepehuane word for *tortilla*; the suffix is evidently identical.

²⁶ Lower Pima *-cama* (Smith, *op. cit.*).

vo'í	road	vo'poikam	ways, rules, laws
vi'ngi		vingikam	pertaining to the rain
ba'barip	north	ba'baripkam	northern habitant spirit
da'dí(k)	healthen	da'dík'am	health, happiness
da, da'dar	sit	da'kam, da'darkam	sitter, persons seated
ta(?)	white	ta'ha'rikam	whitish, pertaining to white
ton	be hot	icto'nkam	heat, plague, sickness
tuk	black	ictutu'kam	darkness, obscurity
gō', gō'gōR	great	gō'kam, gō'gō'rkam	greatness, leaders
kiō	reside	kiō'kam	habitant spirit, <i>viviente</i>
ko'	die (plu.)	ko'k'am	the dead, disembodied spirits
ko'o'k	be sick	ko'okam	the sick, a sick person
		oít'kam	horned serpent, <i>chan</i>
		soi'k'am	pets, deer
		cixa'indukam	pertaining to ceremonies
		ha'kam	mankind, people
		tak'u'kam	piece, fraction, bit

Another quite common etymological suffix seems to have a similar abstractive significance, though here also the exact connotation is difficult to determine.

3. *-da, -dara, -darakam, (contracted da'kam) abstractive.*

i'korag	sins	i'k'rada	filth, dirtiness
ō'ka	shadow	ō'ka'ra	shade, shadow
u'v	woman	u'vda	younger sister (?)
maim	be drunk	mai'mda	drunken, one intoxicated
him	go	hi'mda	ways, laws, fasting
ba'i	ripen	ba'ida	fruit
kiō	reside	ki'da	village, <i>pueblo</i>
ha'gic(id)	pardon	há'gicdara	pardon, forgiveness
gō'guk'	remain (plu.)	gō'gu'cdara	aid, succor, fortune
ko'k	be sick	ko'kdara	sickness, plague
		hoi''gurdara	sadness, misery
ko'k	be sick	icko'k'dakam	sickness, pain
ōr(id)	feel	ō'radakam	intent, wish, thought
hō'mad	create	hō'madakam	form, shape, kind
		oidakam	universe, world
		da'da'kam	ripe ears of corn, <i>elotes</i>

A suffix *-tám*²⁷ signifies "place of", "place where are".

4. *-tám, place of.*

to'nar	small ant	to'tona'tám	Azqueltán, ant-place
vápak	reed	va'paktám	Totatiche, reed-place

²⁷ Philologically and morphologically akin to Nahuatl *-tlan*.

vi'hok	<i>mezquite</i>	vi'hoktám	Mezquitic, mezquite-place
nau'v	<i>nopal</i>	na'vtám	Nostic, nopal-place
na'kuar	<i>guache</i>	na'nakuartám	place full of guaches
na'skō'r	scorpion	na'skō'r-tám	Colotlán, scorpion-place
ho'vin	<i>zapote</i>	ho'pit-ám	place full of zapotes
ki'	dwelt	ki-tám	house, dwelling

Another locative suffix of less definite significance is *-ip*.

5. *-(i)p, locative.*

o'g	father	o'g'ip	to the south
hu'r	set (sun)	hu'r'nip	west
ba'bari	grandfather	ba'barip	north
tuk	dark	tu'kip	night
go'k	two	go'kip	to both sides
dōr	from	dōrap	outside

Some of the apparently etymological suffixes may be in reality examples of stem composition. One of such doubtful instances is

6. *-korak.*

gō'	great	gō''korak	ancestral spirits (?)
ka'i	hear	kai''korak	master, lord, ruler
		i''korak	sins, filth, turpitude

These three words are used in a ceremonial-religious sense.

7. *-or, natural phenomena.*

ton	be hot, heat	tō'no'r	sun
mōk	distant, far	mō'ko'r	distant
		ma'ko'r	other side of river
		ci'ko'r	horizon
		gi'ho'r	rainbow

8. *-im.*

vi'sar	bear	vi'sarim	greatgrandparent
sámar	<i>palo mulato</i>	sa'marim	greatgrandparent (?)
ō'e(id)	rob, steal	icō'evim	robber

The stem *ari* (adjectival "small", nominal "child") is often used in combination as a diminutive or familiar, particularly with terms of relationship, the union being complete.

9. *-ari, diminutive, familiar.*

o'g	father	o'gari	godfather
na'ná	mamma	na'nari	godmother
ta'tá	papa	ta'ri	uncle

Probably also

ba'bari	grandfather
hu'ri	grandmother

		ka'kari	grandmother
Possibly		tea-li	greatgrandmother
		kö'sö-ri	small dog
		ka'ö-ri	ankle bone
		to'ganda-ri	deer (ceremonial word)
ta	white	ta'ha-rikam	whiteness

Other possible etymological suffixes or noun combinations are: —

10. -as.

vui	eye	vwi'vas	countenance, face
xixi	intestines	hi'vas	groin, <i>barriguita chiquita</i>
ó'gip	southward	ó'gipas	south
tön	mouth	tö'k-as	neck (?)

11. -u'c.

cic	elder brother	ci'u'c	morning star (elder brother of mankind)
kiö	reside	ki'u'c	brother-in-law

A nominal termination -g, (-k) is equivalent to the English termination -y, forming an adjective.²⁸

12. -g, (-k), *adjectival*.

sai'	hay, <i>zacate</i>	ictusai'g	covered with hay
hi'ko-m	mist, haze	ichi'kmak	hazy, cloudy
ho'dá-i	stone	ictuho'dig	stony
va'u't	drizzle, dew	icva'utak	drizzly
su'di'	water	ictusu'dig	watery, covered with water
uc	tree	ictu.u'cig	wooded, overgrown
dadi	health	nagamida'dik	which healthens

Certain nominal terminations occur with a frequency sufficient to intimate that they may be etymological.

13. -it, (-id), *animate* (?).

ma'vin	puma, lion	oít-kam	horned serpent, <i>chan</i>
ho'vid	<i>zapote</i>		
kurupít	<i>huítucoche</i>	hö'pit-kam	coldness (ichö'p)
tcuvwi't	small bird	sámit	tortilla (samta)

14. -r, (perhaps *animate*).²⁹

mar	child	sa'sna-r	<i>rosa morada</i>
múvar	fly	gi'da-wár	<i>sascuines</i>

²⁸ Lower Pima -ga, "be many"; -magui, "be full of". (Smith, *op. cit.*).

²⁹ A nominal suffix -ri (-li, -ni) is frequent in many Sonoran tongues, the suffix being probably cognate to Nahuatl -lli (-tl, -li). This Tepecano termination -r may be the same, the final vowel dropped as frequently.

ku'u'r	Cora	va'p'kor	<i>frijolillo</i>
swímar	deer	kó'k'or	<i>chile</i>
var	parrot	híkur	<i>peyote</i>
vi'sar	bear	gi'sur	<i>pithaya</i>
to'nár	small ant		
kwímar	pig	ó'or	blood
sui'p'ir	chicken	su'sur	testicles
píp'ir	turkey	xur	heart
só'k'or	shells	tu'p'ur	hips
na'skō'r	scorpion		
va'ísō'r	raccoon	i'pur	skirt
mur	turtle	ka'nsur	cloth
vi'sur	Huichol	i'ak'tur	<i>bastón</i>
dur	black ant	ka'va'r	<i>chimal</i>
dú'dur	jaguar, tiger	var	basket
tu'kur	owl	ma't'or	<i>metate</i>
tō'kur	<i>techalote</i>	hōvō'r	wind
		va'mō'r	lake
u'par	<i>huizache</i>	ci'ar	east
na'kuar	<i>huache</i>	hú'dar	<i>Cerro del Angel</i>
sámar	<i>palo mulato</i>	kikiar	<i>Cerro de Colotlán</i>

MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES

Nouns undergo few modifications for syntactical relations. Normally they stand invariable in the sentence. Gender and case are, as in most other American languages type, not designated, and the sole modifications of the nominal stem are for number, possession and the postpositional relations.

Plural

The plural is well developed in Tepecano, practically all nouns being susceptible of change for number. As typically in the Sonoran languages, the plural is normally formed by reduplication of the initial elements of the stem.

Stems commencing with a vowel reduplicate this vowel with a slight glottal stop separating the reduplicated vowels.

Singular		Plural
a'tockar	seat	a'atockar
i'ak'tur	<i>bastón</i>	i'iaaktur
o'b	foreigner	o'o'b
ōc	corn-field	ō'ō'c
up'	skunk	u'up'

Stems commencing in a consonant reduplicate the consonant with following vowel.

Singular		Plural
maí	<i>mescal</i>	ma'maí
nov	hand	no'nov
su'G	<i>sensonte</i>	su'suG
ci:c	elder brother	ci'ciu'G
hog	hide	ho'hog
bauv	bean	ba'bauv
pi'nic	watermelon	pi'pi'nic
dur:r	ant	dúdur:r
tiu'p'	church	ti'tiu'p'
ga''duk	<i>sabino</i>	gaga''duk
ko'trup	<i>toloache</i>	ko'ko'trup

The rules of syncope and consonantal combination appear in full force here.

mi'su'	cat	mi'msu'
na'kwar	<i>guache</i>	na'nkwar
sámar	<i>palo mulato</i>	sa'smar
cívorig	whirlwind	ci'evorig
pitca'G	<i>aguililla</i>	pipteag
ta'pöc	flea	ta'tpöc
gi'dai	<i>vamuchile</i>	gidai
ka'cio'	fox	ka'keio'

Initial *b* and *v* are difficult to distinguish. But those stems uniformly written with an initial *b* reduplicate to *b*, as *baí*, "tail", *bábai*, while those whose initial sound was heard generally as *v*, though occasionally also as *b*, reduplicate to *v* but change the initial *v* of the stem, now in medial position, to *p*.

va'sa	box	vápsa
vát'o'	weir, <i>tapezte</i>	vápat'o'
váko'n	heron	vápkon
vis	bee	vípis
vo'ei	grandparent	vo'po'ei
vo'k	belly	vo'p'ok

The presence of a glottal stop in the stem appears to cause aberrant changes in the plural form. An intervocalic glottal stop appears to cause a disappearance of the final vowel.

sá'a	blanket	sa'sa'
ha''a	jar, <i>olla</i>	ha'ha'

In at least one instance, a final glottal stop disappears with previous vowel in the reduplicated plural form.

mó'	head	mó·M
mó'bar	hat (head-basket)	mó'm·bar

In another case an intervocalic glottal stop disappears in the reduplicated plural form.

ku'u·r	Cora	ku'k·u·r
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An intervocalic *h* in the stem generally disappears in reduplication or combination, and the general tendency is toward a phonetic simplification in the plural and all extended forms.

vi'hok	<i>mezquite</i>	vi'piok
tôh·v	cave	tôtov
gi'h·r	rainbow	gi'gi·r

A second type of plural formation is found with dissyllabic stems where the change, which is evidently a form of reduplication, occurs within the stem itself. Thus an intervocalic *v* is often changed to *p*.

ma'vid	puma	ma'pid
tó'vva	hen	tó'pva
tu'vur	hip	tú'pur
ho'vin	<i>zapote</i>	ho'pid
húva	star	hu'pa
höv·r	wind	xöp·r
hávu	<i>jiara</i>	há'pu
va'vai	cliff	va'pai
vo'vo.it	aunt	vópo.it

Similarly with other stops.

í·pur	skirt	í'p·ur
kó·on	crow	kók·on
hi'ku·r	<i>peyote</i>	hík·ur
hó'dai	stone	hód·ai
ia'puekar	sweat-cloth	i'apuekar
ta'tak	nerve	tá'tak
gó'goc	dog	gók·oc
i'mai	squash	i'mai
ö'tiauv	<i>guizache saborosa</i>	ö'tiauv
u'nmam	stranger	u'nmam
du'dur	jaguar, tiger	dú'dur
á·rmup	ant	á'r·mup
a'sak	net	a'sak
u'cia	<i>bastón</i>	u'cia
i'bai	<i>tuna</i>	íbai

While it is a delicate task to analyse correctly the phonetic characteristics of these plurals, and some of the above are probably not accurately expressed, yet the general process of secondary plural formation seems to be, first that a medial stop is lengthened or a glottal stop introduced, and second that all vocalic lengths of the ultima are shortened and the pitch raised on the penult.

A few instances occur where the plural seems to be irregular, containing apparently extraneous elements. Some examples are

su'ruí	quail	síbrui
ha'du'n	kinsman	ba'ha'edun
ci'c	elder brother	ci'ciu'g
ku'rupit	<i>huitacochi</i>	ku'krupit

A few instances of reduplication of a secondary syllable are found, this being *prima facie* evidence of composition or prefixation in these cases.

atvá'cka'r	trousers	atva'pa'cka'r
cidu'kam	fetish	cidu'dkam
bamar'óg	father-in-law	bamaro'og

Many nouns appear to be not susceptible of internal changes to indicate the plural. In these cases number is expressed by the use of the adverb *muí*, "many".³⁰

mui' ga.a'á'n	many papers
mui' o'ó	many bones
mui' gamai'	many <i>mescales</i>
mui' gana'na'ktuá'	many squirrels
mui' gava'hag	many brooms

The proclitic *ga-* here found is probably related to the demonstrative *höga*, "that", which is also occasionally found in this connection.³¹ Here it has the force of an article and is most frequently found prefixed to nouns in the objective relation as a sign of the accusative.

Pronominal Possession.

Possession is expressed by the affixation of pronominal elements, differing for number and person, to the object possessed. These

³⁰ The natural impulse is to refer this adverb to the Spanish adverb *muí*, "very", but the word is proven by comparison with other Sonoran languages to be indigenous.

³¹ Or *höga* may be an extended form of *ga*.

possessive pronominal elements are practically identical with the objective pronominal elements and related to the personal independent forms. They are:

	Singular	Plural
1 st person	in-	it-
2 nd person	um-	am-
3 rd person	-d	a-

All but the third person singular possessive are prefixed, cause no phonetic change and require no remark. This exception, however, is of a different type, as it is suffixed. If the regimen ends in a vowel, the suffixation is without phonetic phenomenon but if it closes in a consonant, the original dropped final stem vowel reappears (cf. p. 322), thus,

umó'o	thy bone	ó'od	his bone
itn'u	our arrow	ú'uñ	his arrow
in.o'g	my father	ógad	his father
amno'nov	your hands	no'novid	his hands
ava'a'k	their house	va'kid	his house

The great majority of such examples show a final *a* vowel. Whether this is normal or due to assimilation or other process can be determined only by comparison with other Piman languages.³²

When the stem ends in a glottal stop preceded by a vowel, the vowel is reduplicated after the stop when used with the pronominal possessive suffix *-d*.

hi'	urine	hi'íd	his urine
mo'	head	mó'od	his head

Possessive Suffixes

Two frequent suffixes of doubtful significance are found mainly with possessives. The first, *-(i)g(i)-*, is probably more common, at least with the third person singular, than the bare possessive. Its significance is very doubtful, as the same stem may be found with or without it without apparent difference in meaning. Its exact form is also open to doubt, but it is generally found associated with an *i* vowel, either as *-ig* or as *-gi-*.

³² Rinaldini gives this pronominal possessive suffix as *-de* or *-di* for Northern Tepahuane (*op. cit.*). Smith (*op. cit.*) gives *-di* for Lower Pima.

15. *-(i)g, -gi-*, possessive.

öc	corn-field	inö'cig	my corn-field
		ö'cgid	his corn-field
hio'cid	his flower	umbio'cig	thy flower
		hio'cgid	his flower
var	basket	inva'rig	my basket
		várgid	his basket
mai'nad	his <i>petate</i>	mai'ngid	his <i>petate</i>
ha'vu	<i>xicara</i>	ha'vugid	his <i>xicara</i>
váindasad	his axe	váindasgid	his axe
-kar, -karad	(instrumental)	-kargid	his (instrumental)
tónad	his foot	tóngid	his foot
ban	coyote	bangid	his coyote

The natural inference here is that the suffix is either *-ig* or *-gi*.³³ In the first hypothesis, it would dominate over the reappearing final stem vowel (which as we have seen, is most frequently *a*), and change by metathesis to *-gi-* when followed by the possessive *-d*. In the second hypothesis, it would appear as normal before possessive *-d* but change by metathesis to *-ig* when in final position. But either theory is further disturbed by the fact that in a number, though a minority of cases, *g* appears with a vowel other than *i*. In many of these cases this phenomenon may be explained as a predominance of the stem vowel over the suffix vowel. Thus

ka'var	<i>chimal</i>	umka'varag	thy <i>chimal</i>
vi'v	tobacco	vívgaD	his tobacco
(S. Tep. vivái)			
na'uv	<i>nopal</i>	in'a'vok	my <i>nopalera</i>
hun	corn	inhu'nug	my corn
(N. Tep. junnu)		hu'ngad	his corn
bi'D	earth	inbidag	my ground
		bíngid	his ground
tórvín	rope	tórvíngat	his rope

A fuller knowledge of Pima roots would doubtless elucidate these apparent inconsistencies.

Occasionally an unexplained intrusive element is found in connection with this suffix.

ta'rí	uncle	ta'tarisgid	his uncles
to'vua	hen	tóvuatgid	his hen
ka'via ³⁴	horse	ka'viatgid	his horse (<i>Sp. caballo</i>)

³³ Rinaldini (*op. cit.*) gives this suffix as *-ga* and says that it must be used in certain relations such as *junugade*, his corn; *banigade*, his beans.

³⁴ In native text, words or parts of words in italics are of Spanish derivation.

The other suffix used principally with the possessive is also of doubtful significance. It appears to imply an ownership less absolute or more communal than the bare possessive.

16. *-tug, (-tuk), possessive.*

bauv	beans	inba'vtug	my beans
va'ka'	cow	va'pakatuk	cattle (<i>Sp. vaca</i>)
t'i'rik	wheat	t'i'riktuk	wheat (<i>Sp. trigo</i>)
tiu'p'	church	atiu'ptug	their church
kiá'cu'	cheese	inkia'cu'tug	my cheese (<i>Sp. queso</i>)
ma'yor	eldest brother	inma'yortuk	my eldest brother (<i>Sp. mayor</i>)
a'ri	small	a'ritug	child
ma'vín	puma	ma'vit'ugín	his puma

POSTPOSITIONS

A small number of particles are suffixed to nouns to indicate certain relations, principally locative. They express the same categories as the prepositions of European languages, but being suffixed, are better termed postpositions. They frequently carry a pitch accent.

17. *a'ba, locative, temporal, place where, time when, in, at.*

oída.a'ba	at the hill
uc.a'ba	in the tree
su'di.a'b'a	in the water
vara'ba	in the basket
vwi'mua'ba	in the morning
vö'e.o'rasa'ba	at all hours

18. *a'm, inessive, position inside, in. (Frequently with body parts).*

inmo'a'm	on my head
in'o'v.a'm	in my arm
inhu'ram	in my heart
inkóv.a'm	on my forehead
tóho.a'm	in the cave

19. *ör, inessive, position within, in.*

hi'kom.ör	within the mist
ho'cia.ör	in the saucer
va'mör.ör	in the lagoon

20. *öra, motion into, motion within, among.*

ictutu'k am.öra	into the darkness
na'v'öra'	among the nopals
ho'cia öra	into the saucer
ba'rö'ra	into the basket
kü'ra'r.öra	into the corral

21. *sa'gib*, *between, among.*

oi'dasa'gib	between the hills
hi'komsa'gib	within the mist

22. *so'na'p*, *position by, beside.*

va'va'iso'na'p	beside the cliff
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23. *ha'*, *directive, motion towards, to.*

mökha'	toward a distant place
bula'nyushá'	to Bolaños (let us go)
ga'gurha'	to one side
inki'amha'	to my house (let us go)

24. *ha'kuD*, *directive, motion towards.*

inra'ntcu.hakut	to my rancho
ha'pu.há'kuD	to that side
dörap.ha'ku't	outside (go)

25. *hó'köD*, *instrumental, with, by means of.*

itni'okhö'köt	with our language
noik'a'ró'köD	with a knife
törövinhö'köD	with a rope

26. *(n)mö*, *direction towards. (doubtful)*

wö'tanmö	downward
da'manmö	upward

27. *vwö'gam*, *with, mixed with.*

bavwö'gam	with beans
kó'korvö'gam	with chilis

28. *vwö'ta*, *wö'pta*, *subessive, beneath.*

oi'Dawö'pta	beneath the ground
va'va'ivö'ta'	beneath the cliff
tö'vaGwö'ta	beneath the heaven

29. *vwí*, *vui*, *comitative, motion with, go to be with.*

awí'	with them (go)
inha'dunvwí	to my kinsman (go)
inci'cvwí	to my elder brother

30. *vwöm*, *wöm*, *böm*, *comitative, position with, in company of.*

awö'm	with them (dance)
ambö'm	with you (live)

31. *pan*, *locative. (doubtful)*

ta'tpan	between the feet
go'kpán	on both sides

32. *dám*, superessive, above, over, on.

um'ai'nigdám	on thy <i>petate</i>
vo'idám	in the road
tō'vagdám	above the heavens
gō.su'didám	in the river
ka'viadám	on horseback
inka'madám	in my bed

33. *ko'vta'*, *ko'var*, at the edge of.

su'diko'vav	at the edge of the water
va'vaiko'vta'	at the edge of the cliff

Many of the postpositions carry an accent of a higher pitch than the stem, as nos. 19, 20, 25, 26, 29, 32. Others, such as 17, 18, 19, 20, 24 are generally separated from the stem by an appreciable pause. This latter phenomenon intimates that these may be in reality etymologically independent words serving morphologically as postpositions. This possibility is furthered by evidences of composition in these and other examples. Thus 17 and 18 of kindred meaning commence with the element *a*, possibly an indefinite demonstrative (cf. locative adverbs); 18 and 30 of like significance and possibly 32 contain a final *m*, possibly the true postpositional element; 27, 29 and 30 of kindred meaning and 28 as well commence with the element *vivö*.

THE VERB

ANALYSIS OF THE VERBAL COMPLEX

As common in American languages, the Tepecano verb expresses in itself all the main points of the sentence as regards tense, mode, and subjectival and objectival relations. The accompanying nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs serve to qualify and explain the statement made by the verb.

The essential elements of the verbal complex are the pronominal subject and the verb stem. The former always stands at or near the beginning of the complex, the latter at or near the end. It is therefore possible to divide the verbal complex into three component parts which may be termed initial, medial and final, each possessing its peculiar elements.

The initial elements consist of the pronominal subject and the sign of the preterit. The final elements comprise the pronominal object, the verb stem and various tense-mode suffixes. Between

these two integral parts of the complex may occur numerous other elements, some of them modal or adverbial particles, others bodily incorporated adverbs, postpositions, adjectives or nouns. These compose the medial elements.

PROCLITICS

Preceding the nominal subject, which may be considered the true initial element, are found certain proclitics more or less firmly attached to the complex. The more frequent of these are,

34. *n-*, relative. ³⁵

This proclitic is found very frequently in continued narrative. Its sphere does not seem to be well-defined and its force rather weak. It occasionally introduces relative clauses in which case it is translated by "which", but frequently also introduces absolute sentences without apparent cause. Its use may be to some extent euphonic.

35. *ku-*, subordinate.

This proclitic is a little more forcible than *n-*. It sometimes introduces subordinate clauses, being then translated by "that", but frequently begins a new sentence, particularly when a new thought is introduced or a break in continuity made.

36. *nwku-*, potential.

This may be a combination of the above two proclitics but is of relative rarity. It introduces statements implying uncertainty of future consummation and is generally translated "to see if."

Examples of these proclitics are frequent in the specimen texts.

Besides these three true proclitics there are many other conjunctions such as *hava*, "and"; *höna*, "then"; interrogative pronouns and adverbs and locative adverbs which in connected speech are so closely attached to the verb that they may well be considered as proclitic. The distinction is, on the whole, a rather artificial one, but the native mind seems to consider the three given particles as incapable of independent position, the others as normally independent. With the true proclitics however, should be considered the interrogative and the indefinite-relative locative particles *pa-* and *pi-* (p. 375).

³⁵ Northern Tepehuane *-na*, relative (Rinaldini, *op. cit.*).

INITIAL ELEMENTS

Pronominal Subject

The pronominal subject is the true initial element of the complex. It is seldom omitted, only occasionally with the third person singular and generally with imperative constructions, and is preceded by only the proclitics. The pronominal subject is often reduplicated without apparent reason. This may be best interpreted as the subjective form preceded by the independent for emphasis.

The subjective pronominal forms are closely related to the independent ones. In some cases the two are identical, but more typically, the subjective forms are briefer than the fuller forms, which seem to contain a morphological element *a*.

	Singular	Plural
1 st person	ani, an, ni, n	ati, at, ti, t
2 nd person	api, ap, pi, p	apim, pim
3 rd person	a, (none)	am, m
a'nividi'n	I am making thread	
antihi'k	I cut it	
ni'ti'vamú	if I die	
kunti'vamu	and if I die	
a'pibibi'a'ra	you are going to fish	
a'ptam'öib	now you have burnt yourself	
pi'pumö''ag	you are killing it	
kupmö'ak	then you kill him	
ati'adá	now it has flown	
ti'tutuí	she ground it	
a'tida'ra'wa	we are sitting down	
na'tputuvoinuk	where we wander	
ti'ti.inida'k'ta	if we leave it here	
kut'pacia'rapu	let us go visiting	
apimpuma'tön	know ye it	
pimibinbö'k	bring me it	
amti'tubi'bia	they were fishing	
micma'ig	they are drunk	

Phonetic rules of consonantal combination will probably account for these variant pronominal forms except in the cases of conditional and imperative constructions where the disappearance of the initial vowel of the pronominal form appears to be of morphological value.

Parasitic v.

In the use of the third person singular pronominal subject, a *v* is frequently introduced. This is probably done for phonetic reasons, as all the other pronominal subjects except the third singular may end in a consonant. Yet in other instances it is difficult to explain its presence on phonetic grounds. It is most frequently found before the substantive *-ar-*, probably always in the present tense and generally, though not always, with inanimate subjects.

navarica'p	which is good
kuaviamicmök'or	and it is very far
victöhöpin	it is getting cold

Preterit Sign

The second initial element is the preterit sign.

37. *-t-*; preterit sign.

This normally follows the pronominal subject. Generally it is preceded or followed by an *i* vowel of uncertain origin. This vowel may belong to the pronominal subject or it may be an intrusive vowel. The preterit sign may be actually *-it-* or *-ti-* and the vowel disappear by vocalic syncope or change position by metathesis. Thus we find

antiuma'gic	I told you it
napitpuda'iwa	you sat down
natpudu'via	he arrived

The most usual process is for the *-i-* to follow directly after the pronominal subject. The exact form is doubtless invariable in any given case and dictated by phonetic rules of euphony.

Verbalizing Particles

Three important constructions are verbal in syntax and meaning but, being used with nominal instead of verbal stems, belong to a mixed category.

The substantive and attributive relations are expressed by the particle *-ar-* which stands between the nominal or adjectival stem and the pronominal subject. The construction is therefore that of a verb except that the functional stem is nominal or adjectival instead of verbal.

38. *-ar-*, substantive, attributive.

n-apim-ar-in-ha'haedun	ye are my kinsmen
v-ar-am-ki'a'm	it is your house
n-a-v-ar-ic-tö'do'	which is blue
n-apim-ar-a'pim	ye who are yourselves
n-a-v-ar-gö'göR	which is grand

An *-a-* inserted in like position seems to imply ownership.

39. *-a-*, possessive.

purke-n-yam-a-sa'a	because I have no blanket
ani-a-mo'bar	I have a hat
an-sapi'a-viv	the tobacco which I have

The particle *-ta'* suffixed to nominal stems predicates the manufacture or preparation of the object indicated.³⁶

40. *-ta'*, factitive.

a'ni-tu-mo'bar-ta'	I am making a hat
a'ni-tu-ba'ak-ta'	I am making a house
a'ni-tu-sa'm'-ta'	I am making tortillas
am-pusu'ri'-da'	they are making <i>posole</i>
possibly ni-ho'n-ta'	I will marry (make a wife? <i>ho'ni</i> , wife)

MEDIAL ELEMENTS

The medial elements, those falling between the preterit sign of the initial elements and the pronominal object of the final elements are quite diverse in character. The first and most evident division between them is between the true verbal elements which never function independently of the verb, and the bodily incorporated normally independent elements which for the time being must be considered as a part of the verbal complex. This brings up the question of incorporation.

Nominal Incorporation

Nominal incorporation, the incorporation of the nominal object in the verbal complex, is not a typical process of Tepecano. In fact it seldom occurs in continued narrative. The question is largely an academic one, depending on how closely the pronominal subject may be considered as welded to the verbal complex. It is difficult

³⁶ Lower Pima *-ta* (Smith, *op. cit.*); Northern Tepehuane *-(a)le*, *-(i)te* (Rinaldini, *op. cit.*).

to see how the preterit sign, for instance, can be considered as anything else but an integral part of the complex. By this criterion nominal incorporation is theoretically very fully developed in Tepecano, though actually of infrequent occurrence. Compare the following forms given as grammatically correct.

hōga ti-vainum-in-tane'tit	he did-money-me-lent
an-ti'-um-mai'nig-dam-ko'i	I-did-thy- <i>petate</i> -on-slept
an-ti'-nauv-kōs	I-did-nopal-transplanted
an-ti-sa'a-c-hōhir	I-did-blanket-desired

Compare also the extraordinary complex in specimen text 4, p. 405.

n---a---t---tu'-ga---n---sa'a---in--ka'tua--dam--vá----vwa
Then-she-did-it-the-my-blanket-my-shoulder-on-already-placed

A few cases of incorporation of the nominal subject have also been found. This phenomenon is of even less frequency and less authenticity than objectival incorporation, and must be admitted as of doubtful function in the language, though the examples were given as grammatically correct.

kuti'diuvantōk'ta	if only God remembers me
tō'tihō'maiswi'marama'cir	if one deer appears

Adverbial Incorporation

The incorporation of other elements such as adverbs, locatives, postpositions and similar parts of speech is one of the vital processes of the language and of constant occurrence. Practically all adverbs and postpositions may be thus incorporated. In some cases it is doubtful whether an element is a true verbal particle or whether it is an incorporated adverb. Thus for instance the particle *-p-* (*-ap-*, *-up-*, *-ōp-*) of frequent occurrence, denoting "also, as well", is evidently related to the synonymous independent adverb *puicōp*. Similarly the particle *-pu-*, "thus, in a like manner", is related to the synonymous independent adverb *hāpu*. The two particles are often combined in verbal complexes to *-pup-* or *-pōp-* and translated "thus-also", just as the independent adverbs likewise are often combined and translated similarly, *hāpu puicōp*, (*así también*). These particles, therefore, may be considered either as incorporated reduced adverbs or as verbal elements.

Among the adverbs most frequently incorporated in the verbal complex are:

ov	quickly	ap, öp, up, p	also, as well
yamku'i	not yet	bai'	a little, some
tá'pu	pretty soon	hactu	something
		ha'ban	with it, by it
ari	less, inferior	paróp	slightly, hardly
ap	well, good	pók'	so, thus, such
wa'm	ill, bad	pöp, pup	thus-also
tó'mai	continually	pu	thus, so

Medial Particles

There remain a large number of true verbal medial elements incapable of independent position which have various adverbial-modal significances. Most of these have a standard order of sequence, some gravitating toward the initial elements, others toward the final elements. Some, indeed, assume different meanings according to their relative positions in the complex, or, as may be a preferable explanation in certain cases, two different but homonymous particles are distinguished by relative position.

LOCATIVE PARTICLES

Of considerable importance in the verbal complex are locative or directive particles. The majority of verbs of motion contain one or more of these, sometimes proclitic, more often incorporated. The proclitic locatives are true adverbs and are normally found independently; they will be listed as adverbs. But there are moreover a few dependent locative elements which occupy a medial position in the verbal complex. They display some analogy to the independent forms but are never found independently.

11. *-bi-*, hither from nearby.

Combines with completive *a* to *ba*, and with perpendicular *i* to *bai*, hither from just above or below.

baidu'via	come here!
anbadai'm'ia	here I come on the run!
napitbai'avom	which thou didst lift hither

12. *-mi-*, hence a short distance.

Combines with completive *a* to *ma*, and with perpendicular *i* to *mai*, hence just above or below.

animina'mkia	I am going to meet him
kunatpuma.a'di	then he chased him away
maicinna'gia	lower yourself!

43. *-bö-*, *hither from or hence to a distance.*

Combines with perpendicular *i* to *böi*, *between heaven and earth.*

aticböhi'möd	we come from afar
näpböida'di	from above thou sendest health

44. *-nö-*, *here (arrival and rest).*

amti'nönió	hither they spoke.
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MODAL PARTICLES

While it is impossible to draw a definite line of distinction between the two categories, yet the medial verbal particles for the most part express modal distinctions, while the final particles, the verbal suffixes, express mainly ideas of tense. This often equivocal distinction has therefore been adopted as the basis for a convenient designating nomenclature.

45. *-ic-*, *positive.*

This is one of the most frequent and most equivocal of medial particles. It is never translated and its nature must be determined by its force when in combination with other particles. It is never found with negative sentences and when combined with the negative particle nullifies the effect of the latter; it has therefore arbitrarily been termed "positive". It is probably identical with a like particle which precedes most adjectival stems and may be considered as the sign of the adjective. It is invariably found with positive desiderative forms. The vowel *i* is weak and is generally assimilated by any other vowel with which it may be combined, as frequently with the completive *a* to *-ac-*. Frequently it is reduplicated to *-icic-* or *-icac-* without apparent cause or modification in meaning. Innumerable instances of it occur in the accompanying texts.

anichi'voinic	I am bewitching
ana'ctóno-m	I am thirsty
anichi'am	I wish to urinate
picacko'cim	do you wish to sleep?
icda'tpám	clear, pure

46. *-iam-*, *negative.*

The negative particle is occasionally found independently as *yam*, but is rare without the confines of the verbal complex. Here it carries different significations according to its position as regards other particles, particularly the positive *-ic-*.

When used alone it carries a negative force.

ania'mbiuk	I am not hungry
a'nicbiuk	I am hungry

When the two particles are combined in different sequence entirely opposite significations are obtained. When the negative particle (which is then frequently slurred over and heard as *-em-* instead of *-iam-*) precedes, and the positive particle (which is then occasionally heard as *-ac-*, possibly by assimilation from the completive *a*) follows, the latter seems to dominate and the combined particle then carries the sense of a superlative, "very".

ane'miwór	I am sweating very much
aviamicdō'nic	he smokes very much
ave'mactotón	it is getting very hot
aniamicho'nim	I am very desirous of marrying her

Combined in the reverse order, the positive before the negative, the two seem to nullify each other and to produce an equivocal particle which is translated by the Spanish "no mas", "no more".

ami'ciamac'da	they are merely now seated
kuti'ciamvo'mgök	then he merely sprang up

47. *tí'*, *tō'tí'*-, conditional.

The conditional particle closely resembles the sign of the preterit and stands in practically the same position, making for a confusion of the two. Under ordinary circumstances of future conditions, the two may be distinguished by the form of the verb stem or tense suffix and by the fact that the conditional particle seems to carry a heavier stress accent than the preterit sign.

ti'epudu'k	if it rains
tí'ti.inida'k'ta	if we leave it here
kuti'diosvantök'ta	if only God remembers me

But in certain cases the preterit form of the verb stem is used with the conditional without apparent reason. To avoid ambiguity here a second particle *tō*(^o) seems to be prefixed.

tōti'du'p	if it rains (tomorrow)
tō'ti'varu'v	if it be female
tō'tihō'maiswí'marana'cir	if one deer appears

Another characteristic of the conditional which is shared also by several other modal constructions, is the abbreviation of the pronom-

inal subject. Thus the initial vowel *a* of the pronominal form is generally or always dropped in the conditional.

niti'ananió'k'	if I speak to them
anti'anió	I spoke to them

The same phenomenon appears to be characteristic and of morphological importance in the case of the imperative and simple interrogative forms.

Imperative.

Imperatives differ in little from indicative constructions and no distinctive particle is used. The verb stem and the other elements likewise remain the same as with the indicative. The characteristics of the imperative are two; the use of the particle *-ci-* and the abbreviation or complete disappearance of the pronominal subject. The particle *-ci-* however, is probably not a distinctive imperative particle but the intensive verbal particle 58 found in indicative constructions and used with imperatives to render the command forcible. When this particle is used the pronominal subject is generally abandoned entirely.

cida'g	seize it!
cida'iwa	sit down!
biciböi	bring it here!
maicimna'gia	lower yourself!
gambicihim	come here!

When the particle *-ci-* is not used the pronominal subject generally appears in abbreviated form as with conditionals, the initial *a* vowel disappearing, but a few aberrant cases are found.

pinma'kia	give me it!
piam'a'hisda	do not shoot it!
pimiambi'a'ka	be ye not sad!
but	
apcidai'mia	run!
ci'peihim	run fast!

48. *-sö-*, *interrogative.*

In many cases there is likewise no distinctive particle for interrogative constructions. My informant always insisted that there is no morphological difference between a simple indicative and a simple interrogative, as for instance, between "he went" and "did he go?" Occasionally the pronominal subject is abbreviated in the interro-

ative as in the above modes and at other times it is reduplicated, but for the most part context alone betrays the nature of an interrogative. There is however, a definite interrogative particle which is probably used for emphasis or to avoid ambiguity. It is most frequently found however, with adverbs interrogative by nature, though also occasionally with simple questions.

apsö'puicbám	are you angry?
pasöpurunki'a'm	where is your house?
has'öpuka'ida	what does he say?
ha'rovsöpötu'uu	who is cutting it?

49. -(u)m, passive, (reflexive).³⁷

A true passive seems to exist in Tepecano though it is not of very frequent occurrence. As in Spanish, or possibly through the influence of the latter, there is a close relationship between the passive and the reflexive. For the average reflexive the pronominal object is used without variation, but in the case of the third person singular reflexive where there is no object pronoun, the deficiency is supplied by the passive sign.

has'öpumk'á'	how is it eaten?
natum.a'rgi	he was formed
ativum'ö'ib	he burnt himself

50. -a-, -va-, completive.

The vowel *a*, appearing alone or in various combinations with other sounds among the medial elements, is always translated by the Spanish adverb "ya", "already". It is very difficult to translate idiomatically but seems to imply the idea of completion. It is used however, with present, past and future tenses. With the past it combines with the preterit sign to form the particle *-ta-*.

anta'tuhú	I have eaten, (<i>ya comí</i> ; said when meal is finished)
anta'ava'tia	I have already bathed, (<i>ya me bañé</i> ; said when refusing an invitation to swim)
anta'döb	I have just smoked, (<i>yo ya chupé</i> ; said when offered a cigarette)

The same translations are given for the words

anti'vatuhu'	I have eaten
natitpuvahú	we have finished eating
anti'va.ava'tia	I have already bathed
anti'va.adöb	I have just smoked

³⁷ Lower Pima *-am(u)* (Smith, *op. cit.*).

and it has been impossible to distinguish between the two forms *-ta-* and *-va-* in meaning or use. The completive vowel may however, stand alone without either the preterit *-t-* or the particle *-v-* and is frequently combined with the positive *-ie-* to form *-ac-*.

titi'ma'vwá	I have thrown it already
puáka'tōD	it was spread
ave'mracbiu'k'ad	I was very hungry
nanacma'hinam	which I now want to shoot

A puzzling idiom is that of a frequent word *anti'vahí*, "I am going", (*ya me voy*). The form here is purely preterit and should be translated "I have gone". It is a possible explanation that the idiom is copied from the Spanish idiomatic use of the same adverb "ya". *anti'kihí* is translated exactly the same, "I am going", and is also purely preterit in construction.

51. *-sap-*, repeated or indirect statement.

This particle is seldom directly translated but when a translation is insisted upon it is given as "dizque", literally "said that". While in many cases the reason for the use of the particle is not evident, it is principally used with statements made on the authority of another, repeated statements, reported sayings and similar cases.

amsapiva'tia	they are bathing in some other place
kutsapmitō'gia	let us go to see it
ku'msapipututō'ka	they say that they are going to ask him
atsapida'da'ia	he says we will arrive

52. *-gam-*, progressive.

This likewise is a particle of rather vague and indefinite meaning but of frequent occurrence. It occurs principally with verbs of motion and seems to imply separation, departure, the commencement of motion and similar concepts.

nagamikō'hinim	he goes walking
napuvakō'hinim	already he goes treading
natpugamatōnō'idida	that we may go living
na'tpuvapnō'idida	that we thus may go beholding

It is probably this same particle which precedes many imperative forms when motion is implied.

gambicihim	come here!
gambi'cimak	give it here!
gamcida'ra'iwa	sit down!

53. *-pu-*, *emphatic of subject.*

This is one of the most frequent and most colorless of the medial particles, following closely after the pronominal subject. In many cases its significance is weak. It should not be confused with the adverbial particle *-pu-*, related to the adverb *ha'pu*, "thus", which falls toward the end of the medial particles. When a translation of *-pu-* was insisted upon it was generally interpreted as emphasizing the pronominal subject.

aniputuga'gara	I personally will go alone to seek
anipuma'kia	I am the one who will give him

54. *-tu-*, *indefinite object.*

This is also one of the commonest and weakest of medial elements. It is rarely translated, but when done it is by the Spanish neuter article "lo". It seems on the whole to relate to the indefinite, inanimate pronominal object somewhat as *-pu-* relates to the subject, but in many cases seems to be interjected solely for euphony or to separate and designate other elements.

55. *-hi-*, *proximate time.*

This particle is translated, when translated at all, by the Spanish idiomatic term "horita", "presently, in a moment". It seems on the whole to denote immediate time, either just passed or just approaching but is generally found with the preterit sign and stem form, even when denoting future time.

anti'kihi	I am going
a'nikihi'mia	while I go
a'ntikihi'mök	I was going
anti'kiko'i	I am going to sleep
anti'ekikoi	I just slept a moment
anti'kituhu'	I am going to eat in a moment
anti'ekituhu'	I have just eaten
anickihi'dora	I will cook it in a moment

56. *-ma-*, *subsequent.*

kupimiamra'a'gda	you must not afterwards say
pimia'm'ása'nda	you must not afterwards weep

This particle may not improperly be considered as an incorporated temporal adverb.

57. *-icap-*, *coterminous.*

The adjectival particle *-ap-*, "good, well", under certain conditions assumes an idiomatic significance and is translated "as soon as".

naticapdu'via	as soon as he arrived
natiti'ca'psō'na't	as soon as we began
nanti'captuna'ta	as soon as I finished
nanicapōkia	as soon as I break it

As the particle is invariably accompanied by its adjectival sign *-ic-*, it is frequently confused with the incorporated adverb *-icap-*, "well", and the morphological distinction between them is not clear except that the former generally uses the proclitic *n-*.

anica'pbaig	I am well able
anica'pkanta'rot	I sing well

58. *-ci-*, *intensive, imperative.*³⁸

This particle strengthens the force of the verbal stem, often being equivalent to "rapidly, fast, much, suddenly" while at other times it carries a malevolent sense.

cipichi'mda	run quickly!
ancioi'mōr	I walk much
anicituda'dag	I work much
kumiamci'n'ō'id'a	they shall not look evilly upon me
napimiamci't'ō'gia	you will not ignore us
napimiamit'ō'gia	you will not see us

It is probable that the imperative prefix *ci-* is identical with or closely related to this intensive *-ci-* (cf. p. 345).

59. *-hak'-* *repetitive.*

This particle, which may not impossibly be a secondary verb stem, carries the meaning of "return", or less often "again".

anti'hak'tōtō	I turned around and saw it
anihak'gō'cia	I will return
anihak'wa'G	I am bringing it back

60. *-i-*, *perpendicular.*

One of the most frequent and most important particles in the language may directly precede any verbal stem which denotes motion. When thus used it implies that the motion is up or down in a vertical manner.

hōg'avi.'i'ia'ria	he will fall
hōg'avi.'ia'ria	he will stumble and roll
a'ni.i'wa'G	I am dropping it
a'ni'wa'G	I am throwing it

³⁸ Lower Pima *si*, "fortiter" (Smith, *op. cit.*).

a'ni.libō'ia	I will lift it
a'nibō'ia	I will seize it
ani'itu'nia	I will jump down
anitu'nia	I will jump away
a'ni'igō'cia	I will fall down
a'nigō'cia	I will dive

Other usages of the particle appear to be more idiomatic.

a'ni.ibia'g	I am taking it out (of the fire)
a'nibia'g	I am taking it out (of the earth)
a'ni.ikō'eda	I will begin
a'nikō'eda	I will fasten it

FINAL ELEMENTS

The final elements of the verbal complex consist of the pronominal object, the verb stem and the tense-mode suffixes.

Pronominal Object

The pronominal objective forms are identical with the prefixed possessive forms, but are frequently reduced to single sounds when in intervocalic position. The third person singular objective is lacking but in the case of the reflexive its place is supplied by the passive *-(u)m-*.

	Singular	Plural
1 st person	in, n	it, t
2 nd person	um, m	am
3 rd person		a

Verb Stems

The typical Tepecano verbal stem is monosyllabic or dissyllabic, rarely polysyllabic. It generally begins and closes with a consonant, the final vowel found in other related Piman tongues being entirely lost.

N. Tepehuane ³⁹		Tepecano
cua	stay, stand	kōk
mure	run	mōr
giai	urinate	hiá
coso	sleep	kos

³⁹ Rinaldini, *op. cit.*

A large number of stems, however, retain, as do certain nominal stems, their final vowels, and a small number of stems commence with a vowel.

Morphological Classification of Verb Stems

Two classes of verbs are distinguished in Tepecano, those which predicate an action and those which predicate a state or condition.⁴⁰ The former class comprises the majority of verbal stems. In the preterit tense the stem of this class of verb undergoes a modification according to certain phonetic laws, most frequently by the dropping of the final consonant or syllable. The characteristic of verbs of the second class, which on this account may be termed defectives, is that they are not affected by these laws and have no distinctive preterit stem. In place of the preterit stem they use the verbal suffix of past continued state (imperfect). Other class characteristics will be noted from time to time.

Composition of Verb Stems

Composition of verbal stems is not a characteristic of Tepecano but a few examples are found. Thus the frequent verb *ói(°)mör*, "walk, go", is probably a compound of the common verb *mör*, "run", with the less frequent verb *ói*, "accompany".

atin.o'í	he went with me
numa'vamör	there he runs!
a'ni.o'ímör	I am walking

Similarly the verb *öríd* with the meaning "feel, be in a certain psychological or physical condition" generally requires a second verbal stem to complete its sense.

anicaptu.ö'rid	I am in my usual health
kuhapupimisoi'da	so thus ye shall endure it
anisoí'nö'rid	I feel sad
anisoí'ma'c	I look badly

Singular and Plural Verb Stems

A few verb stems are used solely with one number, a different stem being used for the other. Some of these are:

⁴⁰ Cf. Dolores *op. cit.*, p. 243, 244.

Singular		Plural
o'imör	walk	o'ipö
mörinog	run	vopo
muk	die	ko'
möak	kill	ko'd (plural object)
duvia	arrive	dada

Reduplication of Verb Stems

While reduplicated verbal stems occur infrequently in continued narrative, yet most if not all stems are capable of reduplication. The process impresses one as being in a more or less petrified and quiescent state. If a verb stem is ever found reduplicated it is frequently or generally found so. Different phases of the iterative sense are expressed by this method; in some cases plurality of subject is indicated, in other cases plurality of object, but most frequently a continuation of action is thus denoted. Phonetic rules of syncope apply here as with nominal reduplications.

napimtuda'dar	ye are seated	a'picda'	art thou seated?
anidada	I am sitting down		
gamecida'raiwa	sit ye down!	cida'i'wa	sit down!
mituko'kos	they sleep	avi'eko's	he is sleeping
amti'miava'pas	they placed them	anti'va's	I placed it
naparnu'nkara'm	thou art guardian (of all)	napimitu'uka'ra	ye will guard us
kupipuso'sbin'a	thou wilt shield (from all)	apinso'bi'da	thou wilt shield me (from it)
natpuivo'pmig	he lifted them	natpu.awo'mig	he lifted it
ani'nannök	I am meeting	a'tibi'n'am	he met me
a'nituna'p'uaö	I am hunting	nanitna'udim	I went for deer
na'tpuvahi'hi'n	he howled (dog)	amihi'näk	they shout
ave'micto'tón	it is becoming hot	ave'micton	it is hot

These few examples will be seen to express in some cases plurality of subject, in others plurality of object and in still others continuance of action. In every case the iterative sense is noted. Nevertheless all three of these ideas are more frequently expressed by the use of the unreduplicated stem, the iterative being more generally indicated by adverbial means.

Internal Modifications of Verb Stems

The principal internal modification undergone by verbal stems is in the formation of the preterit stem, but there are also two other apparent changes which must be considered.

Normal *n* — Iterative *s*

Many verb stems which end in *-n* are not subject to reduplication. When it is desired to give such stems an iterative significance, which in the examples noted is exclusively continuative, the *-n* is changed to *-s*. It is possible that both *-n* and *-s* are verbal suffixes, but under ordinary conditions *-n* appears to be a part of the verbal stem.⁴¹

cí.u'rin	saddle it!	ani.u'ri's	I am shelving it
anituma'hina	I will shoot	anituma'his	I am shooting
cimci'tax	open it!	ni'cita's	I am opening it
cihai'n	chip it!	aniha'hí'c	I am breaking it
anihi'a'ix	I am buried	anihi'a'is	I am burying it
natuhi'woina	to bewitch	avi.inhi'vois	he is bewitching me
antihu'ru'n	I crossed it	anihu'ru'ci'd	I am crossing it
a'nituví'x	I am chewing	anivi'sub	I am chewing
antikō'hinit	I made him walk	nitōkō'hi's	I am trampling

Singular *m* — Plural *g*

In several instances defective verb stems apparently ending in *-im* for a singular subject change this to *-ig* when referring to a plural subject. This is doubtless a cognate process to that obtaining between the suffixes *-im* and *-ik* (p. 364) but in this case the verbal ending appears to be considered an integral part of the verb stem.⁴²

anta.i'bwim	I am tired	atita'ibwig	we are tired
vicma'im	he is drunk	micma'ig	they are drunk
ticgampōpba'i'm	he drowned	hō'gamtí'ba'ig	they drowned

Formation of the Preterit Stem

The verbal stem is found in bare unmodified form in the present tense. As such it frequently stands final in the complex but equally often is accompanied by verbal suffixes. From this stem is derived the preterit stem form which invariably stands final in the complex and is invariably accompanied by the preterit sign *-t-*. It expresses therefore bare past time without other qualifications; the other

⁴¹ In Lower Pima (Smith, *op. cit.*) verbs ending in *-ana* form their plural in *-asa* and those ending in *-aina* their plural in *-aisu* as *vanisana*, *vanisasa*, *desgarrar*.

⁴² This phenomenon must be cognate with Lower Pima. Here (Smith, *op. cit.*), *-mu* is the sign of the singular desiderative, *-coho* of the plural, being the stems of the respective singular and plural verbs "die", and meaning "to be dying for."

distinctions of past tense, such as imperfect, like other present and future tenses, are expressed by the present stem with attached suffixes, with or without the preterit sign *-t-*. The rules for the formation of the preterit stem from the present follow:

1). A stem ending in a consonant normally drops the consonant to form the preterit. In many cases the preceding vowel also is dropped, causing a disappearance of the entire final syllable. Phonetic theory, supported by actual evidence, suggests that a short vowel may thus disappear while a long one will merely have its length shortened. This class comprises the majority of verbal stems.⁴³

2). Final *a* is retained. Final *i* is also probably retained but the examples are few and inconclusive.

3). Final *o*, *ö* and *u* are changed to *oi*, *öi* and *ui*. Final *öc* likewise becomes *öi* instead of *ö* as expected.

4). A variant of the first rule is presented by a small number of monosyllabic stems consisting of an initial and a final consonant with intervening vowel generally long in quantity. These stems reduplicate and then drop the final vowel and consonant causing, in effect, a substitution of the reduplicated initial consonant for the normal final consonant. In two cases noted the final vowel is retained.

5). A very few verbs are found which form the preterit by the suffixation of *-ir* to the present stem. Most of these contain a glottal stop. (Cf. p. 320).

Practically all verbal stems obey one of these rules of preterit formation. Most of the apparent exceptions were obtained only once in response to a request for the form and can be ignored as errors.

In the majority of cases a rise in pitch was noted on the final syllable of the preterit form and this phenomenon most probably obtains in every case.

⁴³ That the present form is the true stem and not expanded from the preterit by means of terminations is shown first by the great variety of final consonants and second by comparison with other Sonoran stems

Nahua	Tepecano present	Tepecano preterit	Papago	
maca	mak	ma	mah	give
cochi	ko's	ko'i	kol	sleep

It is interesting in view of Piman comparisons to note that Papago verbal stems (Dolores, *op. cit.*) relate almost uniformly to Tepecano preterit stems, and where the Tepecano preterit has dropped a final consonant this is frequently replaced in Papago by the aspiration, *h*.

Glossary of Verbal Stems

A list of Tepecano verbal stems in the present and preterit forms is given below in phonetic order. These compose the total of stems collected during the field work. They are here given to illustrate the types of stems and the rules of preterit formation, to serve as a vocabulary for the specimen texts to follow and the accompanying syntactical examples and, possibly most important of all, as an aid to the comparison and elucidation of other Sonoran languages.

Too much reliance, however, should not be placed on detailed accuracy. In the first place many of the stems, particularly the preterit forms, were received in answer to a request for these forms and can not be above suspicion. Second, the custom of using the present stem to represent the applicative in the past tense tends to obscure the determination of the true stem. Third, as has been stated, the principal mark of identification of defective verbs is that they possess no preterit form of stem, being invariable. But certain normal stems, such as those ending in *-a*, are likewise invariable, and other cases of non-variation may be due to error. When to this is added the natural auditory lapses of perception, the possibilities of error or confusion become considerable. Such can be best corrected by a comparison with the verb stems of kindred languages.

Each stem is numbered from one to five according to which of the five rules governs the formation of its preterit form (p. 354). Defective verbs are denoted by D. Forms of dubious accuracy are queried and doubtful elements of a stem parenthesized.

Tepecano Verbal Stems

Present	Preterit	Type	Meaning
A			
aō, ai	ari	2,3	overtake, settle
a'a'n	aá	1	write
a'n	a	1	wash, cleanse
a'g	á	1	converse, advise, think
ar(')gi(d)	ar(')gi	1,2	form, become, grow
I			
iawa	iawá	2	pour, fell, convey
iapuc	?	?	hold

Present	Preterit	Type	Meaning
iag(id)	iag	I	bless with corn at fiesta
iatg(id)	iatag	I	cheat, deceive
iakdukda	iakdak	?	
iar	ia	I	stumble, fall, fell
iö	(a')i	3	drink
ihok	ihó	I	cough
i·bwim, i·bwig		D	be tired
ikcit	ikuc	I	weave
i'korak		D	be vile, dirty
O			
o'i(d)	o'i	I,2,(3)	accompany
o'imor	o'imö	I	walk (sing.)
o'ipö	?	?	(plur.)
oidak		D	pertain to, belong to
o'it	o'i	I	play
o'hi		D	be beautiful
o'mis	o'm	I	break (intrans.)
or	ó	I	harvest corn
Ö			
ö's, ö'c	ö'i	3	sow
ö'stö(a), ö'ctö(ic)	öctöi	3,I,(2)	hide
ö'cit	ö'c	I	rob, steal
ör(id)	ör	I	believe, feel
öbwi		D	be afraid
öbkiöt	öbkiö	I	frighten
ö'kra	ö'kra	2	happen, come to pass
ök(ö)	ö	I	break, crack, burst, smash
U			
uá	uá	2	break wind
(')ua')		D	be carrying
(ukatök)	u.uk	?	carry (plur. obj.)
u.ú	u.ú	3	reap, cut, harvest (beans)
urin, uris	ur	I	put on a high place, shelve
(uva), up'á, wupá	wvá, wa	2	throw, scatter around, sow
M			
maim, maig, (maik)		D	be intoxicated (with peyote)
mai'ic(turid)	mai'ic(tur)	I	earn, gain, secure
mahin, mahis	mahi	I	throw at, shoot at, hit
ma'c	ma'cir	5	appear, arise at dawn
ma't	ma't	?	know (apparently irregular; possibly defective; pret. form probably error; cf. Pap. <i>maI</i>)

Present	Preterit	Type	Meaning
mak	ma	I	give
movwa	movwá	2	nod, hit with the head
mōak	mōá	I	kill (sing. obj.)
mō(id)	mōi	3.I.(2)	burn
mōrinog, mōr	mōrin	I	run (sing.?)
mōmbra	mōmbra	2	scamper, run about
muk	mu	I	die (sing.)
mu	mui	3	shoot with arrow
mugia	mugia	2	bend, bow
N			
na	na	2	desire, crave
na(d)	na'i	?	make a fire (pres. stem probably error; cf. Pap. <i>naI</i>)
namōk	nam	I	encounter, meet, pay
nasáp	na's	I	fold, double
navuad	na'uv	I	hunt deer
natar	na'ta	I	finish, complete
nagia	nagia	2	hang
nagiu		D	be hung, be hanging
niok	niō	I	speak
norg	nor	I	return
nō(a), nō(id)		D(?)	be looking, behold, see
nōi'puc(turid)	nōi'puc(tur)	I	address, pray to, worship
nō'	nōi	3	sing and dance in ceremony
nō'nō		D(?)	fly, blow about in the wind
nōnō(a)	nōnō(a)	2	recollect, remember
nō'ri	nōrá	2	await, wait
nuá(?)	nuá	2,I	play a joke
nukad	nuk	I	guard, protect
S			
sa'uv	sa's	4	play a musical instrument
sau-wad		D.?	fast (reflexive; possibly same as:-)
savad, savat	savat (?)	?	buy, purchase (pret. probably <i>sava</i> ; cf. Pap. <i>Ca'vaI</i>)
sadim, sadig		D	be leading, driving (animals)
sak, (sa'n)	sasa	I,4	weep, cry
sar'kad	sar'ká	I	open, disclose (ceremonial)
soi'		D	be sad
sō'm	sō'm (?)	?	sew cloth (preterit probably <i>so</i> ; cf. Pap. <i>Coh</i>)
sonat		D.?	begin
sonia'	sonia	I	hack, chop
sonin	soni	I	strike, hit a person
sonvia	sonvia	2	bruise, wound

Present	Preterit	Type	Meaning
sob(id)	so·b	I	shield, protect, repel
sörin	sör	I	extend, straighten out
söid(id)	sö'id	I	suffer, bear pain
sudi(d)	su·dí	I	fill with water
surig, surik	sur	I	fall, return, dive (plural)
C			
cia(')d	ciá	I	dawn, awake, arise
ci·did	ci·dí	I	spy, watch
cidu		D	hoard, cherish in secret
?	cip	?	break, burst
citan, citas	ci·t	I	open
H			
ha(·)in, hahi·c	ha(·)i	I	break, smash
han	há	I	examine, handle
har(a)sap	haras	I	fasten, stick
hapug(id)	hapug	I	contain, hold
haduk		D	pertaining to rain (ceremonial; never well translated)
ha·gic(id)	ha·gic	I	pardon
hak	haha	I,4	toast corn
ha'k	ha	I	finish, fail, lack
ha'kiar(id), ha'ki(a)c	ha'kiar	I	tell, recount
hakwupa	hakwit	?	return an article
hiak, hia'	hiá	I	urinate
hia'in, hia'is	hia·i	I	inter, bury
hió·d (hioc)	hió	I	blossom, flower
him	hi	I	go
hi·nák	hi·n	I	cry, yell, howl, shout
hivso	hivso	I	sprinkle, throw water on
hivoin, hivois	hivo·i	I	bewitch
hidó·r	hidó	I	cook
hikiar·g, hi·k	hiki·d, hi·k(?)	?	cut flesh or hair (preterit probably should be <i>hi</i> ; cf. Pap. <i>hih</i>)
hikoma(g), hikoma(d)		D	cloud up, become cloudy
hoi·n(id)	hoi·n	I	shake, tremble
hon(tár) (?)	honít	?	marry a woman
hohi(')	hohir	5	desire, wish
ho·tos, ho·toc	ho·t	I	send, despatch
höm	höm (?)	?	laugh (preterit probably should be <i>hö</i> ; cf. Pap. <i>hüh</i>)
hömag(id), hömad	hömag	I	form, create
höp(id)		D	be cold

Present	Preterit	Type	Meaning
hōp(id)	hōp	I	rest
hōpir		D	convalesce, become better
hōg(id)	hōg	I	reply
hurun, huruc	hur	I	set sun, descend
?	hutua	?	stumble, trip
hug	hu	I	eat
húka(g), huka(d)	huká	I,2	warm, make warm
V			
va'id	vai	I	call
vai'g	vai'	I	fetch water
va'u(·)ta(g)		D	be drizzling
vanisan	vanis	I	stretch, let out, pull
va'pás	va's, va'pas	?	lead, put a person inside
vap'an	vap'a	I	glide like a snake, measure
?	vata'p	?	split, be born
vatia	vatia	2	bathe
vahōa	vahōa	2	milk (<i>Sp. vaca?</i>)
via'tar	via't	I	possess, hold
(viö), vipiö, vi(ya)	vi	3,2	remain, stop, stay
via'		D(?)	have, possess, own
vidi'n, (vi'in)	vid	I	spin, make thread
vi'n, (vi'sud)	vi'p	4	chew
vi'gi		D	pertaining to rain (ceremonial, never well translated)
vo'	voi	3	lie down, lay down
vopo, (wo')	vo'p	?	run (plur.)
voi'nuk	voi'nú	I	roam, inhabit (plur.)
vomig	vom	I	raise, lift, arise
vo'r		D	be sweating
wōpgö(v)		D	be lightning
wōp'auv(id)	wōpauv	I	equal, imitate
vwa, vua, wa, ua	vwa, vua, wa	2	do, act, perform
wa'g	vwa	I	place, put
wahim	wahi	I	remove, fell, carry away
vuctán	vuci't	I	blow with breath
vur'san	vu's	I	start, depart, come out
	vuvua		(plur.)
wur	vu	I	tie, bind
(wuva), wup'a	(da'i'd)	?	shield, repel
wa'c(id), wuwac(id)	wuwuac	I	select, withdraw
vöic(id), wic(id)	(vöic)	I	protect, deflect, prevent
B			
bai, (babaurr)	ba'i	2	ripen

Present	Preterit	Type	Meaning
ba'im(uk)	ba'i'm, ba.i'g	D(?)	drown
ba'i'g	baigir	5	be able, can
ba'm		D	be angry
baile'rot	baile'rot	?	use, make use of (<i>Sp. valer</i>)
basiarut	?	?	pour out (<i>Sp. vasiar</i>)
biag	biá	I	take out, withdraw
bia'(ka)		D(?)	feel, have a sentiment
biuk		D	be hungry
bibia'	bibia'	2	fish
bi't	bi'b	4	defecate
bö(i)	böi	3,2	seize, take, lift, bring
bök		D(?)	carry, bring
P			
paciana	paciana	2	visit (<i>Sp. pasear</i>)
pale'wid	pale'wid	?	aid, assist (probably word of foreign adoption)
paron	paró	I	mistreat, abuse
D			
dada	da	I	fly
da, dadar		D	be seated (sing. and plur.)
dai'wa, darai'wa	dai'wa, darai'wa	2	sit down (sing. and plur.)
dai'mn, dai'vn	dai'vus	?	run
ada'im, adim	adi	I	follow, chase
darsik	?	?	don sandals (ceremonial word)
dapi'k	?	?	squirm, crawl, glide
dadi(k)		D	be healthy, give health
dada	dada	2	arrive (plur.)
da'k	?	?	jump
dagvin	dagvi	I	knead dough
dag, dadg	da'd	I,4	work
dag(id)	dag(id)	?	give, send
dagiuu	dagiu	I	cleanse, bless, purify
dag	da	I	seize
dakta	dakta	2	desert, leave
diskwidarut	?	?	be careless (<i>Sp. descuidar</i>)
dom	dod	4	cohabit, copulate
do'da	do'dá	2	do thus, do in a certain manner
dön	död	4	smoke tobacco
dú		D	refers to position of sun
dun	du	I	make, do
duvia	duvia	2	arrive (sing.)
du'k, dudu	du'd	4,I	ruin
T			
ta'aruv	tá	I	put in (basket or bottle)

Present	Preterit	Type	Meaning
tamiám		D(?)	think
ta'n	tá	I	beg
tane't(id)	tane't(id)	?	lend
tata'm	ta:t	I,4	grasp a person
ta:t		D	feel tired, pained
tate(id), tatac, tats	tatac	?	collect wood, change money
tagv(id), ta'giv	ta'giv	?	cover, protect, shield
ton		D	be hot, rise sun
tono'm		D	be thirsty
todak	todá, tod	I	frighten, be frightened
töan	töa	I	command, order
töne(id)	töni:c	I	kiss
tösad	tös	I	climb, rise, raise
tövör(id)	tövör	I	lengthen, increase
töt'ia	töt'ia	2	play
töt'nit	tötön	I	uphold
tö, tö't, (tö'd)	töi, tö't, (tö'd)	3,?	say, tell
tö'gia	tö'gia	2	fight, battle
tög	tö	I	see, look, find
töktá	töktá	2	remember
tökö(id)	tök'öi	3,I,(2)	put on sandals
tök(id)	tök, (tö)	I	place, put something, extend the hand
tök	töt	4	call, name
tök'a	tök'a	2	inquire, ask
tui', aptui'		D	be (locative)
tui'd	(úr)	?	do, act
tui'd	tui'd	?	clear ground, sweep, clean
tun	tut	4	jump down or up
tusa (?)	tus	?	put out, extinguish fire (Pap. <i>tuil</i> suggests <i>tus, tui</i> .)
tuc(it)	tucit	?	give milk
tutu(á)	tutui	3	grind corn
tukur	tukur	?	sting
tukag(id)	tukag	I	pass the night
tuk, tug		D(?)	carry (generally combined with other verbal stems)

G

gauh, ga'i, gai'	ga'i	2	roast
ga'grá	gagar	?	sell
gaga	gá	2	seek
gigia, girak	giá	2,I	lassoo
gi(·)gid	gi'g	I,4	tremble
gigit(ut)	gi'i't	I	fatten
gi(·)kod	gik	I	whistle

Present	Preterit	Type	Meaning
göc	göi	3	fall
göv	gö(°)g	4	strike with whip or tail
gövka	gövka	2	become hard, freeze
göguk	gögu	I	stop, rest, stay (plu.)
K			
ka(°), ko(°), koi(°)		D	be eating
ka-i(da)	ka-i	2,?	say, talk
kaö, ka-i	ka-i	3,2	hear
ka-n	ká	I	clear ground, cut brush
<i>kantarut</i>	<i>kantarut</i>	?	sing (<i>Sp. cantar</i>)
kauvkat(da)	kaukat	?	tighten, constrain
ka-t		D	be spread out, thrown down
kiö		D(?)	live, dwell, reside
kiviá	kiviá	2	chew
ko'	ko-i	3	die (plur.)
ko'd	koi	3,I	kill (plur.)
kompik	komip	I	skin, dehide
ko's	ko-i	3	sleep
ko'k, ko'o'k, ko'kda		D	be ill, sick
kö(°)	köi	3	bite
köc(id)	köc	I	place, fasten, begin, decorate
köhin, köhi's, köitpak	köhi	I	trample, tread, kick
kökös		D(?)	be scratching
köwarin	köwar-i	I	freeze
kösa, köka, kök'	kös, kökua	2,?	stop, stay, rest, fasten (sing.)
kua'g	kuá	I	gather wood
kunát, kuntá	kunart	?	marry a man
ku'pa (?)	ku'p (?)	?	confine, shut in (<i>Pap. kuh</i> suggests <i>ku'p, ku</i>)
ku(°)m	ku-k	4	grind, chatter teeth
ku(°)gat	ku(°)gat	D(?)	finish, end, arrive, cease
<i>kumpaniarat</i>	<i>kumpaniarat</i>	?	accompany (<i>Sp. acompañar</i>)
kusiá	kusia	2	soil, dirty
ku	ku-i	3	moo, low

Tense-Mode Suffixes

In final position in the verbal complex and immediately following the verbal stem stand one or more suffixes. These express principally qualifications of tense but a considerable number of them indicate various modal distinctions. They are invariably suffixed to the full (present) verbal stem.

Modal Suffixes

61. *-ut, (-ot, -at), adaptive.*

This suffix is attached to adopted Spanish or other foreign verbs when used in native speech.

avi'mbaile'rota	it should be made use of	(Sp. <i>valer</i>)
kuya'mumdiskwida'rutdat	that he should not ignore it	(Sp. <i>descuidar</i>)
ati'ckikanta'rotta	while we sing	(Sp. <i>cantar</i>)
nicinipuamkumpa'niarat	I will accompany you only a little ways	(Sp. <i>acompañar</i>)
anibasiarut	I am pouring it	(Sp. <i>vasiar</i>)

62. *-d, (-iad, -dad), subjunctive, optative.*

Used in subordinate clauses after future suffixes *-ia* and *-da* and generally dependent upon verbs of desire or command.

anitö'giad	I would have seen it
kumi'bida'daiyaD	that they arrive
nansaptuda'd'giad	(they desired) that I should work
kuya'mumdiskwida'rutdat	(he told him) not to be careless
kupuva.ako'm'ip'giad	(I told him) to skin them
kuco'riovhak'gö'ciad	(would that) he may come soon!
a'piamhapuma'gad	(you need not) think anything
na'puinima'riad	(we desire) that he may appear here
ansapina'mkiad	they say that I must meet it

63. *-ög, hortatory.*

Denotes exhortation or weak command. The pronominal subject is always omitted and the intensive-imperative particle *ci-* is sometimes used.

mát'ög	know it!
tanög	beg him!
inka'ög	hear me!
cia'ög	overtake him!
nio'kög	speak to him!
cima'kög	give him!

64. *-it, (-ut), causative, compulsive.*

The suffix appears generally as *-it* but sometimes as *-ut*. It is possible that the original final stem vowel is the determining factor, an hypothesis which can be confirmed only by comparative work on other Piman languages.⁴¹ It is liable to be confused with the *-(i)d* of the applicative.

⁴¹ Lower Pima *-tuda* (Smith, *op. cit.*); Northern Tepehuane *-(i)tude* (Rinaldini, *op. cit.*).

antimsa'sa'kit	I made you cry
nappgamitökö'hinitda	which thou wilt make us tread
antihi'nkit	I made him howl
a'niko'cit'da	I will put him to sleep
sapicto'tnit	it gave him the fever
anti'mdai'mnit	I made you run
gamtuamto'gida	he will give you good sight
a'nipu.um.a'tutda	I will give you to know
anikumko'kdatut	I am making you sick
ti'punma'imüt	he made me drunk

65. *-am, (-im), desiderative.*

The desiderative is most frequently found with the suffix *-im*, identical with and liable to be confused with the present continuative *-im*, but other examples distinguish the desiderative by *-am*. It is probable that the original final stem vowel is the determining factor in this case also.⁴⁵ Whether *-am* or *-im*, it is always accompanied by the positive particle *-ic-* or by the negative particle *-iam-* according as the desire is positive or negative. It is possible that the frequent reduplication of the positive particle to *-icic-* in this connection serves to prevent possible confusion with the continuative particle *-im*.

ani'amtu.a'gam	I do not wish to talk
anti'kitu.a'gam	I am going to talk (with him)
atitua'gim	we go talking
ani'cickanta'rotám	I want to sing
a'nikanta'rotím	I go singing
ani'cicdö'nim	I want to smoke
anidö'nim	I go smoking
anicixi'a'm	I want to urinate
aniciebi'tám	I want to defecate
ananiamhi'mim	I do not want to go
puctuga'i'm	desirous of roasting

66. *-ik, (-ig), potential.*

A similar construction is that of the suffix *-ik* (possibly *-ig*) which evidently correlates with the desiderative *-im*. It has been shown on p. 353 how certain stems correlate a final *-im* singular with an *-ig* plural. The present suffix is an homonymous analogy but not a synonymous one.⁴⁵

a'niamko'cik	I do not know how to sleep
a'niamko'cim	I do not want to sleep

⁴⁵ Lower Pima *-mu* singular, *-coho* plural, being the stems of the singular and plural verbs "die"; i. e., to be dying for (Smith, *op. cit.*).

ane'micdónik	I am a great smoker
ania'mdönik	I am not a smoker
ni'cicdö'nim	I want to smoke
anicda'i'vnik	I know how to run
aniamda'i'vnik	I do not know how to run

67. *-(i)d, applicative.*

The use of the applicative is one of the most recurrent features of Tepecano. While the construction is not required for verbs by nature denoting action toward or against another person, it is generally found when a verb, as for instance a normal intransitive, predicates an action addressed toward another person. The suffix appears as *-d* or *-(i)d* alone or in combination with other suffixes in present or future tenses.⁴⁶

a'niumnio'kið	I am scolding you
ami'cupnio'k	they also speak
avi'bin'ö'nöið	he comes to see me
pa'napunö'a	where are you looking?
pimiaso'sbidida	ye must go obstructing them
anti'aso·B	I intercepted them
nampihötunha'nitda	that they may maul me
a'nituha'N	I am handling it
napuböit'ökdim	he is reaching down to us
anti'putö'k	I placed it

Other uses seem to be more idiomatic,

miamin'a'mköið	they do not pay me
miamin'a'mökdam	they do not want to pay me
ani'nanmök	I am meeting him
apticima'cið	how did you awake this morning?
natimá·edim	that we may go arising (every morn)
avi'ema·c	there it appears (the track)
pihö'natihúru·ndim	where we pass the afternoon
a'nimihu'r'nia	I am going down (to the river)

But the suffix is seldom found in the preterit. Here the usual process seems to be to distinguish the past applicative by the use of the present stem instead of the preterit form, as,

a'mitun.a'gið	they are speaking to me	(pres. applic.)
na'pimpu.a'G	(that) which you say	(present)
natpuvan.a'G	then he told me	(past applic.)
ati'tu.á	he conversed	(preterit)

⁴⁶ Lower Pima *-(i)da* (Smith, *op. cit.*); Northern Tepehuane *-(i)de, -(i)di* (Rinaldini, *op. cit.*).

napivo'pmigiñ	thou art raising them	(pres. applic.)
ani'ckiwopmigi	I am getting up	(present)
anti'awopmigi	I raised them	(past applic.)
anti'ckivo'm	I have just arisen	(preterit)

In a few other instances the *i* vowel of the applicative seems to be retained in the preterit. Unelucidated phonetic rules probably account for this phenomenon. It should be noted that the applicative verb functions as a normal verb stem, *i. e.*, to form its preterit stem it loses in some cases its final syllable, the suffix, the preterit applicative being then identical with the normal stem, and in other cases loses only the final consonant but retains the vowel, the preterit applicative being then equivalent to the normal verb stem plus *i*.

natpuma'nio'ki	whence he spoke to him
natpuga'minio'k	whence he speaks
napitivu'si	thou hast drawn her out
ti'ciwus	he ran out
natanda'i	she seated me
amöhövicda	there he is seated

The only other stems with which an *-i* suffix was found in the preterit are as follows:

ati'ioimöri	he started to walk
i'a'da'imi	he followed him
natpuvahö'madi	where he created it
natpugamisa'ki	where he began to weep
natpugamaga'ga'imi	he continually sought him

68. *-c, (-s), interest.*

The suffix *-c* indicates that the action of the verb stem is done for the benefit of a person, to his detriment, or that he has some interest in it. It is generally accompanied by the applicative suffix.

tieputö'maiamsa'kcit	continually we weep for you
a'nisa'k	I am weeping
aniamta'ncib	I am begging it for you
anti'umta'nic	I obtained it for you
aniamta'nib	I beg you for it
a'nituaha'ncit	I handle all his possessions
a'nituha'nib	I maul him
kutkö'amdo'dicda	which we must decorate for you
ha'puti'putudo'da	thus we do it

69. *-n, interest.*

The analogy obtaining between normal *-n* and iterative *-s* has

before been noted (p. 353). A similar relationship probably exists between the suffixes *-n* and *-c*, both denoting interest. *-c* probably indicates a more continuous action than *-n*. In both cases it is probable that the original lost final stem vowel reappears in certain instances.

cima'kan	give it to him!
cida'gin	hold him tight!
aniumnio'knim	I go speaking about you
a'tivti'anio'kcid	we were talking to them
kumi'tunha'giedán	they must pardon me
kupipipuma'tõx	know ye it!

70. *-tur*, *interest*.

Another suffix of somewhat similar import is *-tur*. It is found solely with transitive verbs and mainly in ceremonial concepts. The force of the suffix is rather intangible and can best be determined by a study of the actual occurrences.⁴⁷

namputso'sbiturdim	they go defending us
namputso'sbidim	they go obstructing us
anti'amnu'k'tur	I did not guard your commands
nat'unu'kturitda	which we must always guard
anti'tunu'k	I guarded it
napgama.itwi'eturda	thou wilt repel it from our midst
napgama.itwi'cda	thou wilt drive it from within us
ticiputõ'maiam'a'turit	for this we give you to know

71. *-im*, *present continuative with motion, iterative, participial, gerundive*.

This is one of the most frequently met suffixes in the language. It is probably derived from verb stem *him* "go", which suggests an earlier stem composition now reduced to a verbal suffix. The primary meaning of the suffix appears to be the natural result of the hypothesized stem composition, *viz.*, the addition of the idea of motion to the sense of the verb stem. Thus it is normally translated in Spanish "irndo" or in English "going." Frequently however, the context does not support the idea of motion and it appears that the use of the suffix has become idiomatic and frequently amounts to no more than a continuative, iterative or frequentative.⁴⁸ It appears in unchanged form without suffix in

⁴⁷ A Lower Pima example of a suffix *-tur* changes the verb "speak" to "teach" (Smith, *op. cit.*).

⁴⁸ Lower Pima *-him* also means "go doing" but does not necessarily imply motion and is often frequentative (Smith, *op. cit.*). The Northern Tepehuane gerund is formed by the suffixation of *-ami* (Rinaldini, *op. cit.*).

the present and in exceptional cases in the preterit, and very rarely with accompanying suffix in the future.

na'puwakōhinim	where he goes treading
kuvipupkima'kim	so he thus also goes giving
micupnio'kim	they also go speaking
mi'pugamá.itwō'cturdim	they go obstructing it for us
nanitna'udim	I went hunting deer
napimitso'soigim	that ye went in sadness
anti'kivai'gim	I am going for water
apiga'ga'imida	now you will go seeking him

In the future tense, contemporaneous motion is expressed by *-i-* before the future suffix. This is practically always *-da*, making the future motional suffix *-ida*, generally translated in Spanish "haber de irndo", "will going". This *-i-* may be a reduction from *-im*. Thus

anipukanta'rotida	I will go singing	
ha'stu nata'nda	kuviputma'kda	natarmá'mrad
Whatever we may ask	he shall give us	who are his children,
gat.o'G	kuviputma'kida	ha'snat'a'nida
Our Father.	He must go giving us	that which we go asking him.

For some unexplained cause, probably phonetic, possibly morphological, instead of *-i-*, *-hi-* with preceding variable vowel (probably the original final stem vowel) occasionally appears. The ostensible explanation is that this *-h-* belongs to the original verbal stem *him*. This however, is a very doubtful explanation. Certain other translations seem to suggest that the suffix *-hi-* carries a morphological significance, possibly implying a difference in rank between speaker and auditor, a reverential particle.

api.inda'giunihida	thou shalt go purifying me
apida'giunida	thou shalt go purifying him
api.it'a'nihida	thou shalt go begging us
api.it'a'nida	thou shalt go begging us
aniputumtök'ó'hida	I go asking thee
kupimipuma'tóhi	know ye and ...?
kuti'pukótdúnahi	we must decorate ourselves
anintamiamu'hida	I must go thinking

In the past tenses the concept of contemporaneous motion is expressed by the use of the tense particles *-ōn* and *-ök* with the particle *-im*, viz., *-imōn* and *-imök*.

Tense Suffixes

The pure tense suffixes, those which denote variations of past and future time, stand in absolutely final position in the verbal complex. Practically all tense categories are thus expressed with the exception of the bare preterit which, as has been shown, is denoted by the prefix *-t-* and the preterit form of the verb stem.

PAST TENSE

72. *-ōD*, *-(im)ōD*, *(-ōt, -imōt)*, *imperfect, past continued action, generally with contemporaneous motion.*

This suffix occurs generally with the motional suffix *-im* in the form *-imōD*. As such it denotes past continued action with motion and is normally translated by the Spanish “*ibando*”, “*was goinging*”. With a very few stems, all of which as yet found are given below, it seems to carry a bare imperfect significance, continued past state or action, and its difference from the imperfect suffixes *-kaD* and *-daD* is not evident. In some cases there seems to be an idea of simultaneity as “*while going speaking, they*”.

anita'nimōt	I was going (coming) begging him
anita'ndaD	I was begging him
aminio'kimōD	they were going speaking
kuticbō'himōD	we were coming
anicbō'himdaD	I was coming
abimō'cka-tōt	there it was spread out
avicna'kōD	he desired it
avicna'tōt	he knew it

73. *-ōk*, *-(im)ōk*, *simultaneous past action.*

This suffix, which is also generally found combined with the motional suffix to *-imōk*, indicates that two actions occurred simultaneously in the past, or that one occurred while the other was in progress or immediately upon its conclusion.

kutsapnio'kimōk	speaking, (he died)
anicō'nimōk gamko'i	smoking, I fell asleep
anti'va.ō'imōrimōk hakagōi	I have gone walking and returned
tum-a'agdimōk	they were going about conversing
antihimōk	I had gone (when)
ō'imōrimōk sakimōk	walking and weeping (he arrived)
antictōmaita'nimōk	I was begging continually

ati'vomgök	he jumped up (and seized it)
nanitpum'a'tök	then at last I knew

74. *-kad*, (*-kat*), *imperfect, continued past state or condition.*

This suffix is found principally with defective verbs and is the principal method of expressing past time with this class of verb stems. It may even be suffixed to nominal stems to denote objects which formerly existed.⁴⁹

ho'vitkad	the <i>zapote</i> which used to be here
ave'nacicbiu'ka't	he was very hungry
nankó'skab	(I remembered) that I had been asleep
a'mimicda'darkat	here they were seated
anipuva'nisankat	I am he who was let down
avictó'nkat	it was hot

75. *-dad*, (*-dat*), *imperfect, continued past action.*

This is the more common imperfect suffix and is found with most active verbs to denote a continuance of past action.

nampuacwa'dad	(I noticed) what they were doing
hö'ga.vi'wa''dat	he carried it
a'nitö'tnitdad	I was holding it up
hö'namicida'dakdat	they were working on it
namtuka'dat	they were eating it

76. *-(a)ç*, (*-ak*), *completed past, perfect participle.*

This suffix denotes completion in the past and is practically equivalent to the perfect participle (Sp. . . do; Eng. . . ed).⁵⁰

amtinxo'tsak	they had sent me
kunticanböidu'viag	that I had arrived here
anti'amtökak	I had placed you
gamava'triag	after having bathed
ica'pkö'eimdu'na'ç	well decorated
daiwak, daraiwak	after being seated
dagiunak	cleansed, purified

77. *-rag*, (*-rak*), *purposive past motion.*

Expresses past motion with a definite intention, "went to do". Note the analogy with the purposive future motion particle *-ra*, possibly differing only by the addition of the perfect suffix *-ç*.

⁴⁹ Lower Pima *-cada* or *-tada* (Smith, *op. cit.*). Northern Tepohuane *-cade* (or in other dialects *-lade*); e. g., *inoggacade*, "era mi padre" (Rinaldini, *op. cit.*).

⁵⁰ Lower Pima *-ca*, "after having" (Smith, *op. cit.*).

nanitsapbö'irag	which I went to bring
bitu'amwa'rak	they went to bring
antiga'grarak	I went to sell
antiga'garag	I went to seek

FUTURE TENSE

All varieties of future time are expressed by means of terminations suffixed to the present stem.

78. *-ra*, purposive future motion with singular subject.

kuviböi'ra	(I told him) to bring
anikivai''gira	while I go for water
nanatö'gira	I am going to see
anibö'iamka'ira	I am coming to hear them
apiga'grara	you are going to sell it
antuma'hinara	I am going to hunt

79. *-pu*, purposive future motion with plural subject.⁵¹

mai'kutsaptu'ua'pu	let us go and bring them
maik'utmitö'gipu	let us go and see
mai'kutpa'iarapu	let us go visiting (<i>Sp. pasear</i>)
nat'uko'i'pu	that we go to eat
na'tuvi'nipu	(we are going) to munch

The last two suffixes are preceded by either the vowel *i* or *a*. It is most probable that these represent the lost final stem vowel, though the slight range of variation is unassuring. Note the relationship of the former suffix *-ra* to the purposive past motion suffix *-rac*.

80. *-da*, continued future action.

da is one of the most frequent of the suffixes in normal use. Though its use seems to be more or less idiomatic and apparent exceptions may be found to any interpretation, it seems on the whole to point to a future action of more or less continuity and therefore to relate to the corresponding past suffix *-dad*. It is generally transitive and applicative in meaning. As will be seen in the texts, by a strange idiom most verbs of speaking and like concepts use the *-da* suffix even for the preterit.

kutiamambö'pa'uda	we can never equal your example
anan'cintunu'ka'da	I will remain here to guard it

⁵¹ Lower Pima *-hoppo*, "go to do" (plural; Smith, *op. cit.*).

pimiam'ásanda	do not afterwards weep
pin.u'rinda	saddle me (the horse)!
hacatsöpua.u'kna	how will we carry them?
kupimai'mutda	thou shalt intoxicate her
a'nitum'a'kda	I will give you your food (board)
niskiamnō'ra'da	I will wait for you
apinda'giunda	kindly absolve me (this man)

81. *-ka, continued future state.*

This is one of the less frequent suffixes but the few cases of its occurrence point unmistakably to its use in cases of future continued state, thus relating it to the similar past suffix *-kad*. Like the latter it may be used with nominal stems also.

napurit'u'kuk'a	that it may be our flesh
varinki'amka	it will be my house
nanbicimtō'k'dak'a	I will remember you
kupiamitda'k'ta'ka	do not desert us
nanbwōmatkiu'ka	so that I may live with her
pic.u'rinka	leave (the horse) saddled thus
kuaviamiputu'i'ka	it must not be thus

82. *-ia, future.*

The suffix *-ia* is of very frequent occurrence. Just as the continuative suffixes *-da* and *-dad*, *-ka* and *-kad* are related, so the future suffix *-ia* seems to relate to the bare preterit. That is to say, it is non-continuative and generally intransitive.

nahō'malai'ya	(in order) to overtake one
a'ni'intō'ō'cia	I am going to sow here
pinna'kia	give me it!
aticparō'pkihi'mia	we will walk a little ways
apxai'vatukua'gia	gather some wood!
apbi no'rgia	(when) will you return?

83. *-a, future.*

The future suffix *-a* is probably identical with the suffix *-ia* but differentiated by phonetic laws. It is found solely with certain verb stems, these being principally or exclusively those ending in the consonants *-n* for the normal and *-s* for the iterative. The suffix therefore practically amounts to *-na*, *-sa* being by definition impossible.

nagama.u'rna	he will brush it aside
pi'min.u'rinda	saddle me it!
pimic.u'rinka	hide yourself!

anituma'hina	I am going to hunt
piam'a'hisda	do not shoot it!
anisö'rna	I will extend it
nati'nituha'na	that we may examine what is here
nahö'maituhi'woina	(in order) to bewitch one
apinhí'voinda	kindly bewitch me this man
anigamitukö'hina	I am going to take a step

Naturally a small number of cases were found in which a stem varies in form and meaning but where corroborative evidence is lacking to afford cause for hypothesis of the existence of an etymological or morphological suffix or of stem composition. A few such instances are:

tan	beg	tane'tit	lend
ton	be hot	tono'm	be thirsty
da, dadar	be seated	dai-wa, daraiwa	sit down
köhin, köhis	trample, tread	köit-pak	kick

PRONOUNS

The pronominal relations of Tepecano are ordinarily expressed by means of pronominal particles attached to the nominal complex as possessive regent or to the verbal complex as subject or object. There are however, fuller forms which are occasionally used independently for the sake of emphasis. These are the more interesting from an historical point of view since, at least in the case of the first person plural, there is a phonetic element not found in the dependent forms. These independent forms, as well as the dependent ones, are given in the table below. Definite independent forms for the third person are wanting but this lacuna is filled by the use of the demonstratives *högra*, "that" and *högam*, "those".

The dependent subjective pronominal forms (p. 338) are frequently identical with the independent ones, a fact which suggests that originally the full independent forms were thus used more or less in the nature of proclitics. Today they occur with equal frequency as reduced or abbreviated forms.

The oblique forms of pronominal object and possessive regent are practically identical and invariably dependent. They belong to an entirely different series from the independent-subjective forms though the general phonetic resemblance between them is evident (pp. 331, 350).

Table of Pronominal Forms

Singular	Independent	Subjective	Objective	Possessive
1. pers.	ani	ani, an, ni, n	in, n	in, n
2. pers.	apí	api, ap, pi, p	um, m	um, m
3. pers.	hö'ra (demonst.)	a, (missing)	(missing)	-(vowel)d
Plural				
1. pers.	ativ	ati, at, ti, t	it, t	it, t
2. pers.	apim	apim, pim	am	am, m
3. pers.	hö'ram (demonst.)	am, m	a	a

ADJECTIVES

Tepecano adjectival ideas are generally expressed by independent adjectival stems which are not united with any other part of speech. Occasionally certain adjectival stems such as *ap*, "good" and *wa'x*, "bad" are used adverbially and incorporated in the verbal complex, but the typical process is to use the adjective independently or with the attributive particle *-ar-*. A few of the more frequent adjectives such as *o'hi*, "beautiful" and *gö*, *gö'gö'x*, "grand" are used independently with bare unmodified stem, but the majority of adjectival stems are accompanied by the prefix *-ic-* which is probably identical with the positive verbal particle.

84. *-g-*, verbalizing.

The particle *-g-* gives a verbal effect to adjectival stems as in English "whiten", "redden" (active, not causative).

aví'ciamgieta'	it simply whitens
avicia'ngiewö'g	it simply reddens
aviegiétó'dög	it is becoming green
amiciamgié'gö'k	they are becoming simply numerous

ADVERBS

LOCATIVE ADVERBIAL PARTICLES

One of the most noticeable characteristics of Tepecano is the development of locative adverbial particles. Most verbs of motion

include in their complex one or more directive particles, but there are furthermore independent adverbs compounded of from one to four locative particles which are of frequent occurrence.

The more definite of these particles occupy initial place in an adverbial compound and are seldom incorporated in the verb. Their exact connotation is uncertain but their translations and use seem to indicate the following values:

i'na, i'n(i)	here, right here
a'mi	very near, nearby
numa'	nearby and beneath, below
duba'	nearby and above, over, (below?)
na'mö	middle distant, above, higher
a'mö	distant, (below?)
a'bi	very distant, above
a'ni	round about, all around

In second place follow two less definite elements *mö* and *hö*. These are very difficult to define; *hö* seems to refer principally to rest, *mö* to motion, but there are numerous apparent inconsistencies. Another interpretation is that they may qualify the initial locative element as more or less near or far.

In final position may stand one of two locative postpositions, *-van* or *-dör*. The latter is often found in purely postpositional relations, the former seems to be purely locative. *-dör* denotes "from" while *-van* denotes "at", possibly also "to".

These three classes of locative elements may combine in almost any possible compound, such as

amöhö'van	over there
anihö'	all around
a'bi'dör	from above
abimö'dör	from above

INDEFINITE AND INTERROGATIVE LOCATIVE PARTICLES

The interrogative locative is expressed by the particle *pa-*. The indefinite or relative is expressed by a similar prefix *pi-*. Both are frequently prefixed to verbs as proclitics.

pinanitgö'i	(the house) where I was born
pihö'van	where
padör	whence?
pa'psö'pukiö	where do you live?

LOCATIVE ADVERBS

ina'mur	hereabouts	va'kór	indoors
ma'kór	other bank	di'da'pdör	this bank
mia'd	close by	dorapmó	outside
mök, mökör	far, distant	tása:p	in the sun
sör	to the right	tógika	up stream
ha'dör	this side	tök'auv	above, overhead
hu'ray, huráp'	half way up the cañon	ga'i, ga'gur ku'idá	aside down stream

TEMPORAL ADVERBS

iekö'kov	in the morning	arichu'kam,	a short time
ov, o'riov	now, soon, quickly,	liehu'kam	
	today	dámpan	afterwards
umci'v	presently, at once,	du'kad	part of a day
	shortly	itdamdu'kak	midday
yamku'i	not yet	tá'pu	pretty soon
mu'iv	often, many times	ta'kauv	yesterday
wi'mu('),	tomorrow	gatködöra	afterwards
vui'mu(')		gömhó	always, all one's life
wöpö	previously, before,	gumxö'wan	every time
	earlier	kaik'at	afterwards
hök'	a long time		

MISCELLANEOUS PARTICLES

áva:k	nearly, thus,	hákia	same, no more
	approximately	hi'di	this
i	affirmation	hó	yes, also
ma'ik'	come! (interj.)	hó'na	then, next
mörükön	hastily, rapidly	höc	when, how
mui'	many, much	hödör	alone, solely
sörkam	certainly, very	hö'gia	only, no more, solely
súdam	full, filled	hö'kiú	how many, so many
(i)cavhó'van	greeting!	vwómad, bwómad	with, beside
ci'iam	quickly, rapidly	vö'e, wö'e, bö'e	all, whole
háí'	some, little,	vö'pa	equally
hac, has,	how, what, why	paröp	scarcely, hardly
haetu	something	pök'	so, thus, such
há'rov	who?	pönög	like, in like manner
há'va	and	pu'ö'öp	also, as well
há'bán	by, beside, with	di	than, or
há'pu	thus, so	dok	or

du'sar	slowly	gō'ma'i	another, different
ta'i	face upward	gōk'ō	on this account
tō'pōk'a	yes, certainly	ku'pur	face downward
gar	a certain one	etc.	etc.

Compare also the incorporated adverbs on p. 341.

NUMERALS

The numerical system of Tepecano follows that of Tepehuane closely as far as five, but from here on departs from the decimal system of Tepehuane and follows the quinary system of Nahuatl and Cora.

1. hō'mad, hō'ma'i	6. civhō'mad
2. gōk	7. civgōk
3. va'ik	8. civa'ik
4. ma'kov	9. civma'kov
5. (i)ctumám	10. ma'mvōc

CONCLUSION

Tepecano is characterized by comparative phonetic simplicity, by the relatively small influence of phonetic rules and by morphological thoroughness in development.

RELATIONSHIP OF TEPECANO AND NAHUATL

The Uto-Aztekan hypothesis, the question of the interrelationship of the languages of the Nahuatl, Sonoran and Shoshonean groups was the primary cause of the present work. Stated in the barest terms, the hypothesis is to the effect that three of Major Powell's linguistic stocks: the Shoshonean of the American Great Plateau region, of which Ute is possibly the best known; the Piman of the Mexican and Arizonan western mountains, of which Tepecano may be considered a typical example; and the Nahuatl of western and southern Mexico, of which the classical Mexican or Aztek is the greatest exponent, are but three main branches of one greater linguistic family termed by general consent Uto-Aztekan.

Though the first suggestion of this hypothesis was advanced as far back as 1859,⁵² it was not until 1913 that any serious com-

⁵² J. C. E. Buschmann, *Die Spuren der Aztekischen Sprache*, Berlin, 1859; *Grammatik der Sonorischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1864.

parative work on material other than that presented by Buschmann himself was attempted. These articles⁵³ may be considered as definitely establishing the validity of the hypothesis. Detailed phonetic comparisons are there made establishing uniform philological laws of correspondence and change which can leave no doubt of their force. The present paper makes no claim to be in any manner comparative but it is a source of gratification to the author that it has served as an aid in the elucidation of this important problem.

The Piman or Sonoran branch, as it may be termed, of the Uto-Aztekan stock appears to fall into three main divisions: the northern, consisting of Cahita or Yaqui, Opata and probably Tarahumare and Eudeve; the southern, consisting of Cora and Huichol; and the central, consisting of Upper and Lower Pima, Papago, Northern and Southern Tepehuane and Tepecano. Each group has its phonetic peculiarities. Judging from a lexical standard, the former group displays considerable resemblance to Nahuatl, the latter group very little.

APPENDIX

SPECIMEN TEXTS

Four mythological or descriptive texts are here appended for the purpose of illustrating the processes of the language. While few in number, these compose the total of such texts collected. The great majority of native Tepecano texts secured were set prayers which will be published separately in conjunction with an exposition of Tepecano religion. But while the following texts constitute but a small part of the material collected, they contain rather the greater part of the lexical material and the morphological examples, since the prayers are more or less cast in the same mould and contain much repetition.

Each of the appended texts is given with literal interlinear translation and followed by free translation and morphological analysis.

⁵³ Edward Sapir, *Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, A Study in Uto-Aztekan*, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*. The first part, treating of the vowels, appeared in *Tome X (nouvelle série)*, 1913. The second and third parts, treating of the consonants, have appeared in the *American Anthropologist*, n. s., Vol. 17, nos. 1 and 2, 1915. A fourth part on comparative morphology is promised for a later date.

I. FOX AND OPOSSUM

1. ka'ció· havagaho'v
Fox and the Tacuache.
2. aviena'giukát ho'vita'ba kutmö wadu'via hógaho'v
He hung was zapote in. Then there now arrived that tacuache.
3. natpuva'töt arma'no yamha'ctu' ni'ctuka' gaho'vit
Then he said "Brother, not anything I eat it, the zapote.
to him,
4. has'öpumká' a'pitai'vo'ya konhö'kö'duma'hina
How is it eaten?" "You mouth-upward lie will that I with it you hit will".
5. natpuhö'köda'mahí kuti'egampöp'mö'a kunatpumövadu'via
Then he with it threw. Then he killed him. Then he there now arrived
6. hö'ganuí o'v uméiv apiga'ga'imida kupmö'ak
that vulture. "Now, at once, you seeking him go will. Then you kill him".
7. kuti'tö va'vaiko'vta' avieda'kát natpuwa'töt
Then saw cliff at the edge he seated was. Then he now said
him; to him,
8. piaminmö'möa'da i'naviena'giu' gatumpiút sú'dam
"You not me kill will! Here it is hanging the tompiate full of
9. hö'gava'inum maicimna'gia kupbitö'sa'da
that money. There yourself hang that you here bring it up will".
10. kutmana'gia kutbai'cidá kumticiampöp'túk'ur
Then there hung. Then there seized it. Then they simply thus stung him.
11. na'puváka'ída hö'gaho'v cínva'nisañ
Then he now say, that tacuache, "Do me let down!"
12. kuti'ciameida'k'ta vwö'tan'mö' ku'tiegampöp'mu
Then actually loosed him beneath. Then thus died.
13. kunatpumövadu'via hö'ganuí kupigamiga'ga'imida
Then he there arrived that vulture. "Now you seeking him go will!"
14. kuti'tö avietai'ka't va'va'ivö'ta' o'rasinimö'ak
Then saw He mouth-upward cliff beneath. "Now, yes, I you kill!"
him. was stretched
15. kupia'minmö'möa'da mita'puigö'í ga'a'zhelis nietö'txit
"But you not me kill will; they soon fell the angels; I uphold
16. hö'ga tö'do' tö'vwag kuga.u'c va'chio't
that blue heaven". Then the tree already was blossoming.
17. kunatpövädak'ta mök'pöp'tu't siempre
Then he now left it; far jumped. Continually

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|---|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| 18. natpögamaga'ga'im'i
he went seeking him. | kurti'tö.
Then saw him; | su'dik-o'vav
water at the edge | avi'eda-ká't
he seated was. |
| 19. sa'pímu'k'a't
Said guard | hö'gakia'e'u
that cheese | su'di.ó'R
water in | puva'kátöt
now thrown was. |
| 20. ave'ma'ciebiúk'a't
He very hungry was. | natpuvám'a
Then he now
thought, | a'ni.ihá'in'a
"I break bit
will". | natpuamágö'i
Then he now
fell. |
| 21. kuti'egampó'pba'i'm.
Then thus drowned. | amuhö'dör
There from | avichi'mdat
it coming was | ga'a'ri
the child. |
| 22. natpöa'tósad
Then he drew
it out. | natpöva'bö'k.
Then he now
carried | ki'amithá'
home his toward. | natpövatót
Then he now
told her |
| 23. gadö'u'D
the mother
his | kuvihído'rda
that cook it shall. | kuti'ciamvo'mgök
Then merely arose
and went. | bai'dó'kö'D
Tail his with |
| 24. natpua'gö'G
then he now
struck. | ticiamtö't'oa'pö'voa
Merely wall in struck. | nata'möri'n.
Then he fled. | |

TRANSLATION ⁵⁴

Fox was in a zapote tree when Opossum happened along. The latter said, "Brother, I have never eaten zapotes; how are they eaten?" "You must lie mouth-upward so that I can throw you one". So Fox threw a zapote at him and killed him. Soon the vulture arrived and revived him. "Now go find him and kill him!"

Opossum found him seated at the edge of a cliff. "Do not kill me!" he said. "There hangs a tompiate full of money! Lower yourself down and bring it up!" So he let himself down and seized it. The wasps stung him. Then Opossum cried, "Let me down!" Fox let go and he was killed. Then the vulture came and revived him. "Now go and find him!"

Soon he found him lying on his back at the foot of a cliff. "Now surely I will kill you!" "No! Do not kill me or all the angels will fall! I am holding up the blue heaven!" The tree was in flower (and Opossum believed the bees to be angels). Then Fox let go and jumped far aside.

Continually Opossum sought him and finally found him seated at the water's edge. Fox said he was guarding the cheese that was lying in the water. (But it was the reflection of the moon).

⁵⁴ Cf. Journal of American Folk Lore, Vol. XXVII, No. CIV, 1914, p. 150.

Opossum was very hungry and thought, "I will break off a piece". Then he dove into the water and thus drowned. Soon a child came and pulled him out. He carried him home and told his mother to cook him. Then Opossum jumped up and struck him with his tail and knocked him against the wall. Then he fled.

ANALYSIS

1. *havagahov*. *hava*, proclitic conjunction. *-ga-*, article; possibly reduced from demonstrative *höga*, or possibly basis of latter.
2. *avicnagiukát*. *a-*, 3^d pers. sing. subj. pronoun. *-v-*, euphonic connective. *-ic-*, positive. *nagiu*, defective stem BE HANGING, BE HUNG. *-kat*, continued past state.
hövítá'ba. *-a'ba*, postposition, IX.
kutmöwaduwa. *ku-*, proclitic conjunction. *-t-*, preterit sign. *-mö-*, locative. *-wa-*, (better *-va-*) completive. *duwa*, invariable sing. stem ARRIVE.
3. *högahov*. *höga*, demonstrative.
natpuvartöt. *n-*, proclitic conjunction. *-a-*, 3^d pers. sing. subj. pronoun. *-t-*, preterit sign. *-pu-*, emphatic subj. *-va-*, completive. *tö*, probable stem SAY. *-t*, (better *-v*), applicative(?)
armano. Sp. *hermano*.
yamhactu'. *yam-*, negative. *-hac-*, indefinite. *-tu*, inanimate neuter obj. pronoun.
nictuka'. *n-*, 1st pers. sing. pron. subj. *-ic-*, positive. *-tu-*, inanimate pron. obj. *ka'*, defective stem EAT, BE EATING.
gahovit. *ga-*, article.
4. *hasöpusk'á*. *has-*, indefinite, (assimilated from *hac* before *s*). *-sö-*, interrogative, (combines with preceding *hac-* to *hasö*). *-pu-*, emphatic subj. *-k-*, (surd before *k*), passive. *ka'*, EAT.
apitai'voya. *api-*, 2^d pers. sing. subj. pron. *-tai'*, descriptive adv. *vo*, LIE DOWN. *-ya*, future.
konhökö'dumahina. *ko-*, proclitic conj. (better *ku-*). *-n-*, 1st pers. sing. subj. pron. *-hökö'd-*, postposition. *-um-*, 2^d pers. sing. obj. pron. (Better *-um-*, as final *m* of pron. combines with initial *m* of verb.) *mahin*, pres. stem HIT, THROW, SHOOT. *-a*, future.
5. *natpuhökö'dama'hi*. *n-*, proclit. conj. *-a-*, 3^d pers. sing. subj. pron. *-t-*, preterit. *-pu-*, emphatic subj. *-hökö'd-*, postposition, *-a-*,

- either completive, (reduced from *-va-*, or latter may be built up from *a*), or else 3^d pers. plu. obj. pron. *mahi*, pret. of stem *mahin*, HIT.
- kutiegam̄p̄r̄m̄öä*. *ku-*, proclit. conj. *-t-*, preterit. *-ic-*, positive. *-gam-*, (*m* surd before *k*) progressive. *-p̄ȫp-*, prob. combination of *-pu-*, THUS and *-öp-*, ALSO. *m̄öä*, pret. of *m̄öäk*, KILL. (*m* surd after *p*).
- kunatpum̄öväduvia*. *ku-n-*. proclit. conjunctions. *-a-*, 3^d sing. sbj. pron. *-t-*, preterit. *-pu-*, emphatic sbj. *-m̄ö-*, locative. *-va-*, completive. *duvia*, invariable sing. stem ARRIVE.
6. *höganul*. *höga*, demonst.
- ap̄igagacim̄ida*. *ap̄i-*, 2^d sing. sbj. pron. *gaga*, continuative redup. stem *ga*, SEEK. *-im-*, contemporaneous motion. *-ida* continued future with motion.
- kup̄m̄öäk*. *ku-*, proclit. conj. *-p-*, 2^d sing. sbj. pron. *m̄öäk*, stem KILL (*m* surd after *p*).
7. *kutit̄ö*. *ku-*, proclit. conj. *-t-*, preterit. *-i-*, euphonic interpolation. (The true pret. sign may be *-ti-*, the vowel normally disappearing.) *t̄ö*, pret. of *t̄ög*, SEE.
- vav̄aikorta'*. *korta'*, postposition.
- av̄icda'kät*. *a-*, 3^d sing. sbj. pron. *-v-*, euphonic interpolation. *-ic-*, positive. *da'*, invariable stem BE SEATED. *-kat*, continued past state.
- nat̄puva'töt*. cf. § 3.
8. *piam̄inm̄ö'm̄öä'da*. *p-*, 2^d sing. sbj. pron. imperative form. *-iam-*, negative. *-in-*, 1st sing. obj. pron. *m̄ö'm̄öä'* (probably auditory error for *m̄ö'm̄öäk*) redup. stem *m̄öäk*, KILL. *-da*, continued future.
- in̄avicnagiu'*. *in*, locative proclitic. *a-*, 3^d sing. sbj. pron. *-v-*, euphonic interpolation. *-ic-*, positive. *nagiu* defective stem, BE HANGING, BE HUNG.
- gatumpiurt*. *ga-*, article. Mex. tompiate.
9. *högaval̄m̄m̄*. *höga*, demonst.
- maicim̄nagia*. *mai-*, locative. *-ci-*, imperative. *-m-*, 2^d sing. obj. pron., here reflexive. *nagia*, invariable stem HANG.
- kup̄bit̄ösa'da*. *ku-*, proclit. conj. *-p-*, 2^d sing. obj. pron. *-bi-*, locative. *t̄ösa'*, (probably auditory error for *t̄ösa'd*), CLIMB, BRING UP. *-da*, continued future.
10. *kutmanagia*. *ku-*, proclit. conj. *-t-*, preterit. *-ma-*, locative. *nagia*, HANG.

kutbaicidá. ku-, proclit. conj. *-t-*, preterit. *-bai-*, locative. *-ci-*, intensive. *da*, pret. of stem *dag*, SEIZE.

kunticiampöp'túk'ux. ku-, proclit. conj. *-m-*, 3^d plu. subj. pron. *-t-*, preterit. *-ic-iam-*, positive + negative, equivocal. *-pöp-* (probably *pöp*, *pu-öp*) adverbial particles THUS-ALSO. *tuk'ux*, STING, (stem uncertain).

11. *na'tpuráka'ida. n-*, proclit. conj. *-a-*, 3^d sing. subj. pron. *-t-*, preterit. *-pu-*, emphatic subj. *-va-*, completive. *ká'i*, probable stem SAY. *-da*, continued future. (This form, though evidently future, is commonly used for the past tense with this verb. Like inconsistencies apply with some other verbs of saying, etc.).

högaho'r. höga, demonst.

ci'nvanisax. ci-, imperative. *-in-*, (combines with preceding element to *ci'n-*) 1st sing. obj. pron. *vani'sax*, stem STRETCH.

12. *kuticiameidakta. ku-*, proclit. conj. *-t-*, preterit. *-ic-iam*, positive + negative, equivocal. *-ci-*, intensive. *dakta*, invariable stem RELEASE, LOOSE.

vwöt'ar'mö'. vwö'ta-, normally postposition, here adverb. *-n'mö'*, (*mö*), possibly postposition.

kuticgampöpmu. ku-, proclit. conj. *-t-*, preterit. *-ic-*, positive. *-gam-*, progressive. *-pöp-*, (probably *pu-öp*) THUS-ALSO. *mu*, pret. of *muk*, DIE.

13. *kunatpumövaduvia. ku-n-*, proclit. conjs. *-a-*, 3^d sing. subj. pron. *-t-*, preterit. *-pu-*, emphatic subj. *-mö-*, locative. *-va-*, completive. *duvia*, invariable sing. stem ARRIVE.

höganui. höga, demonst.

kupigamigaga'imida. ku-, proclit. conj. *-pi-*, 2^d sing. subj. pron. *gam-*, progressive. *-i-*, possibly perpendicular. *gaga*, redup. continuative of *ga*, SEEK. *-im-*, contemporaneous motion. *-ida*, continued future with motion.

14. *kutitö. cf. § 7.*

avicta'k'at. a-, 3^d sing. subj. pron. *-v-*, euphonic interpolation. *-ic-*, positive. *-ta'í-*, descriptive adv. *k'at*, defective stem LIE, BE SPREAD OUT.

vavavö'ta'. vö'ta', postposition.

orasinimö'ak. Sp. ahora sí! -ni-, 1st sing. subj. pron. (*m* here should be *m'*, long in quantity to represent *m* of 2^d sing. obj. pron. plus *m'* of verb stem). *mö'ak*, (possibly better *mö'ak*), stem KILL.

15. *kupiaminmömöa'da*. cf. § 8.
mita'puigöri. *mi-*, 3^d plu. subj. pron. *ta'pu*, adv. IMMEDIATELY.
-i-, perpendicular. *göri*, pret. of *göe*, FALL. (It is difficult to avoid suspicion of Spanish influence in the use of the completive particles *-va-* and *-ta-*, generally translated by Sp. "ya", "already". "Ya" is frequently used in Spanish for future tenses as "ya merito", idiom for "at once", which is generally translated in Tepecano by *ta'pu*. Similarly *anti'vahi*, an obvious preterit, is translated, "ya me voy", "I am going". This Spanish example may explain the use of the preterit verb form and particle for an evidently future tense).
gaazhelis. *ga-* article. Sp. *angeles*.
nictötsit. *n-*, 1st sing. subj. pron. *-ic-*, positive. *tö'tu*, probably by syncope from *tötön*, UPHOLD (*n* surd after *t*; ' dubious).
-it-, (probably *-iv*) applicative.
16. *kuga.uc*. *ku-*, proclit. conj. *-ga-*, article.
vachio't. *va-*, completive. *-c-*, positive (by assimilation from *-ic-*). *hio't*, (possibly better *hiöv*), BLOOM.
17. *kunatpövädak'ta*. *ku-n-*, proclit. conj. *-a-*, 3^d sing. subj. pron. *-t-*, preterit. *-pö-* (better *-pu-*), emphatic subj. *-va-*, completive. *dak'ta* (better *dakta*) invariable stem SEIZE.
mökpöptut. *mök-*, adv. FAR. *-pöp-* (probably *-puöp-*), THUS-ALSO.
tut, pret. of *tun*, JUMP.
siempre. Sp. *siempre*.
18. *natpögamagawim'i*. *n-*, proclit. conj. *-a-*, 3^d sing. pron. subj. *-t-*, preterit. *-pö-* (better *-pu-*), emphatic subj. *-gam(a)-*, progressive. *gaga*, reduplicated continuative of invariable stem *ga*, SEEK.
-im-, contemporaneous motion. *-i*, pret. applicative.
kutitö. *ku-*, proclit. conj. *-t-*, preterit. *-i-*, euphonic interpolation.
tö, pret. of *tög*, SEE.
sudikövar. *kövar*, postposition, AT EDGE.
aviedak'at, cf. § 7.
19. *sapimuk'at*. *sap(i)-*, repeated statement. *uk'at* (possibly *ukav*, quantity dubious), stem GUARD.
högakia'vu. *höga*, demonstr. *kia'vu*, Sp. *queso*.
sud'i.ö'v. ö'v, postposition.
puvakatöt. *pu-*, emphatic subj. *-va-*, completive. *kat*, defective stem LIE, BE SPREAD OUT. *-öt*, past continued (imperfect).
20. *avemarciebiuk'at*. *a-*, 3^d sing. pron. subj. *-v-*, euphonic connective. *-em-*, heard variant of negative *-iam-*, which in conjunction

with positive *-ic-*, (here heard as *-ac-*), denotes superlative. *-ic-*, repetition of positive, possibly denoting desire. *biuk*, defective stem BE HUNGRY. *-k'at*, continued past state, (final and initial *k* combine to *k'*).

- natpuwám'a*. *n-*, proclit. conj. *-a-*, 3^d sing. pron. sbj. *-t-*, preterit. *-pu-*, emphatic sbj. *-va-*, completive. *-m-*, passive, used here as 3^d reflexive pron. obj. *a*, pret. of *ay*, CONVERSE, TELL. With reflexive object denotes THINK, i. e. to COMMUNE WITH ONESELF.
- ani.ihaiwa*. *ani-*, 1st sing. pron. sbj. *-i-*, perpendicular. *hain*, stem BREAK. *-a*, future.
- natpuamágö'i*. *n-*, proclit. conj. *-a-*, 3^d sing. pron. sbj. *-t-*, preterit. *-pu-*, emphatic sbj. *-a-*, completive (*v* weakened after *u*). *-ma-*, locative. *gö'i*, pret. of stem *göc*, FALL.
21. *kutiegampöbpa'im*. *ku-*, proclit. conj. *-t-*, preterit. *-ic-*, positive. *-gam-*, progressive. *-pöp-*, probably *pu-öp*, THUS-ALSO. *ba'im*, sing. pret. form DROWN. (Stem probably defective).
- amuhödör*. *amu-*, locative THERE. *-hö-*, locative, place where. *-dör*, locative postposition, FROM.
- avichimdat*. *a-*, 3^d sing. sbj. pron. *-v-*, euphonic connective. *-ic-*, positive. *him*, stem GO. *-dat*, imperfect, past continued act.
- ga'ari*. *ga-*, article. *-ari*, adjective, SMALL.
22. *natpöa'tösav*. *n-*, proclit. conj. *-a-*, 3^d sing. sbj. pron. *-t-*, preterit. *-pö-* (better *pu*), emphatic sbj. *-a-*, completive (*v* weakened after *ö*, *u*). *tösav*, stem TAKE OUT, CLIMB OUT. (Pres. stem used in pret. for applicative.)
- natpöwabö'k*. *n-*, proclit. conj. *-a-*, 3^d sing. pron. sbj. *-t-*, pret. *-pö-*, emphatic sbj. (better *pu*). *-va-*, completive. *bö'k*, stem CARRY; defective (?)
- kiamithá'*. *-it*, 3^d sing. possessive (better *-iv*). *-ha'*, postposition.
- natpövatöt*. *n-*, proclit. conj. *-a-*, 3^d sing. pron. sbj. *-t-*, preterit. *-pö-*, emphatic sbj. (better *pu*). *-va-*, completive. *tö*, stem TELL. *-t*, very dubious; may be preterit by reduplication; may be error for applicative *-d*; may be integral part of stem.
23. *gadö'wv*. *ga-*, article. *-dö'wv*, stem used only in 3^d sing. poss. *kivihidor'da*. *ku-*, proclit. conj. *-vi-*, uncertain. *hidör*, stem COOK. *-da*, continued future.
- kuticiamvomgök*. *ku-*, proclit. conj. *-t-*, preterit. *-ic-iam-*, positive + negative, equivocal. *vomg*, by syncope from *vomig*, stem ARISE. *-ök*, past simultaneous.

bai'dö'kö'n. *bai-*, stem TAIL. -'d, auditory error for -d, 3^d sing. poss. pron. *ö'kö'n*, elision from *hö'kö'n*, postposition.

24. *natpuag'ö-g.* *n-*, proclit. conj. -a-, 3^d sing. sbj. pron. -t-, pret. -pu-, emphatic sbj. -a-, completive (*v* weakens after *u*). *gö-g*, pret. of stem *gör*, STRIKE, WHIP.

ticiamtö'toa'pö'roa. *t-*, preterit. -ie-iam-, positive + negative, equivocal. *tö'to*, nominal stem WALL. -a'pö-, (better a'pa), postposition. *roa* (better *vua*), invariable stem DO. (A good instance of nominal incorporation).

natamöri'n. *n-*, proclit. conj. -a-, 3^d sing. pron. sbj. -t-, pret. -a-, completive. *möri'n*, pret. of *möri'nos*, RUN.

THE DEERSLAYER

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|---|---|---|--|--|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>hö'mai</i>
One | <i>gar</i>
certain | <i>hö'matkam</i>
individual | <i>nat.ö'i</i>
he sowed | <i>höga.ö'öc</i>
that field. | <i>hö'gabax</i>
That coyote |
| 2. <i>natpuváp'ö'i</i>
he now also sowed. | <i>kugahö'matkam</i>
Then the individual | <i>navanu'katdax</i>
he now guarding was | <i>hö'ga.ö'egid</i>
that sowing his. | | |
| 3. <i>kuna.ai'tuma'ria</i>
Then it dawn will. | <i>kuicö'ekat</i>
Then sowed was | <i>hö'gaba'uv</i>
that beans. | <i>hö'gahö'matkam</i>
That individual | | |
| 4. <i>na'puváka'ida</i>
then he now says, | <i>ha'rowsöpu.u'u</i>
"Who reaps | <i>hö'ga.inba'vtug</i>
that my beans? | | | |
| 5. <i>kuananic'dida</i>
Now I hereabouts
spy will | <i>ha'rowsöpötu'uu</i>
who it reaps." | <i>ickö'kova'ba</i>
Morning in | | | |
| 6. <i>natpuva'ei'di</i>
then he now
spied. | <i>kuamihö'eda</i>
And there is
seated; | <i>napuei'dib</i>
that he spies
him. | <i>kuamihö'wan</i>
Then right there | | |
| 7. <i>amiti'eiwu's</i>
there came out | <i>hö'gaswi'mar</i>
that deer; | <i>pö'nög</i>
in form | <i>xö'matkam</i>
human | | |
| 8. <i>avi'ema'e</i>
he appears. | <i>kunapuvatö'd'a</i>
Then he now tells him, | <i>para'a'e</i>
"For what | <i>kuputu'u'u</i>
that you it reap | | |
| 9. <i>hö'ga.inba'vtug</i>
that my beans?" | <i>kuna'tpuva'xö'g</i>
Then he now replied, | <i>hö'gaswímar</i>
that deer, | <i>anti'biu'uam</i>
"I hither to reap
came | | |
| 10. <i>hö'gabav</i>
that beans | <i>para</i>
in order | <i>nantönö'ya</i>
that I sing shall | <i>nöi'ka'rdám</i>
patio in." | <i>kunapövátö'd'a</i>
Then he now
tells him, | |
| 11. <i>ma'ik</i>
"Come | <i>inki'amhá'</i>
my house toward!" | <i>ku'gatio'd</i>
Then the man | <i>na'puváhö'gid</i>
that he now replies, | | |

12. pa'psö'pukió namöni'pukió oída.a'ba kunamitpuva'hi
 "Where you do live?" "Above there I live, mesa in." Then they now went;
13. natpubövadü'via hómái tóho'v amí'ciama'e'da tí'tio'D
 then he there now arrived. One cave they merely are seated, men
14. havaga.ü'ü'v kuna'mpuvatötä bi'ciduvia i'naha'dör
 and the women. Then they now tell him, "Here arrive! Hither from!"
15. gambieiböi höga.'toekar nada'i'wa hi'dinha'dux
 Go, hither bring that seat that he sit down this my kinsman!"
16. kuamihö'vieda kunapuvakai'da hö'ga mas kóri'gíd
 Then there is seated. Then he now says that most old,
17. gambai'citumak'utöhu'gia högae'a'm wo'sö'G a'nihöemö'mbra
 "Go, here it give that to eat!" That yellow rat about scampers.
18. hö'gala'mpara tók'auvana'g'riu kunapuvatö'tda hö'gahómatkam
 That lamp above now hangs. Then he now tells him that individual,
19. kuya'mundiskwida'rutdat purke amí'cim'ná nanicapókia
 that "not you careless should be, because they you want. Now I as soon as break will
20. hö'gala'mpara na'a'göeia kuviegamtutu'k'ia hö'gata'í
 that lamp then it fall will. Then darken will that light.
21. hö'na napavú'snia napebö'k'ta högata'í ma'tordám
 Then you run out will; then you must carry that light metate in.
22. kunapamóri'γgia kunata'vu's aticiamparöpma'eir
 Then you flee will." So he now ran out. He only little appeared.
23. kuna'puvaka'ida högaswíma'r ga'mcida'G inmö'vahim
 Then he now says, that deer, "Go seize him! Here now goes!"
24. kuamihövan namp'uva'ka'ida inmö'vahim ga'mcida'G
 Then right here they now say, "Here now goes! Go seize him!"
25. apimiamda'daktarda nakimórdat atígumhö'wán amihömtí'civi
 You all not release him will!" Then he running was. He got away. There they stopped
26. ictutu'k'am.óra kunapuva'ka'ida numa'vamór amihöceda'kat
 darkness in. Then they now say, "There now runs!" There seated was;
27. aví'etuk'á ha'p'uka'ida i'ciampueiká'ida högamu'var
 he eats. Thus say, merely say will that fly
28. ha'a hö'ga.i'ma'i napuha'bantuhi'dor kunapuva'ka'ida
 jar that squash that he with it cook. Then he now says

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|---|---|---------------------------------|---|
| 29. <i>högahai'ma's</i>
that others more | <i>kunu'kaD'a</i>
that guard it will | <i>ga.i'ma'i</i>
the squash. | <i>kuptu'cidákta</i>
"Then you it
release." |
| 30. <i>nathí</i>
Then he went. | | | |

TRANSLATION ⁵⁵

A man was sowing his field; Coyote likewise was sowing his. He guarded the field and at daybreak had sowed his beans. Then he said to himself, "Who can be cutting my beans? I will watch and see who it is!" Another morning he was seated there watching when a Deer in human form came out of the woods. So he addressed him, "Why do you cut my beans?" And the Deer replied, "I came to cut the beans in order to sing in the patio!" Then he said, "Come to my home!" "Where do you live?" asked the man. "Above there in the mesa". So they went and soon arrived there.

There in a cave were seated men and women. They cried, "Come on! Over here! Go! Bring him a seat that he may sit down; he is my kinsman!" So he sat down. Then said the oldest man, "Go! Bring him something to eat!"

A yellow rat was scampering around and told him, "Don't be off your guard; they want to eat you! Now as soon as I break the lamp which hangs above there, it will fall and the light will be dimmed. Then run out! Hide the light in the metate and flee!" So he ran out and was hardly seen. Then the Deer cried, "Seize him! There he goes!" Then in another place, "Here he goes! Grab him! Don't let him escape!" Still he kept running and got away, while they stopped in the darkness. And still they cried, "There he goes!"

Nearby was seated the fly eating. So he cried to him to cook the squash in the jar. Then he told the others to guard well the squash. "Do not let it go!" Then he went away. ⁵⁶

ANALYSIS

1. *hómai*. cardinal numeral, ONE. (Also obtained as *hūmad*).
gar. uncertain as to meaning.

⁵⁵ Cf. Journal of American Folk Lore, id., p. 153.

⁵⁶ The last paragraph is extremely dubious.

- hómatakam*. *hómat-*, probably from *homag*, *hömad*, FORM, CREATE.
-kam, abstractive suffix; thus CREATURE. (Possibly related to *hömad*, ONE.)
- nat.ö'i*. *öi*, pret. of *öc*, SOW.
- höga.ö'öc*. *ö'öc*, reduplicated plural of *öc*, CORNFIELD.
2. *natpuwápöi*. *-p-*, assimilated from *öp*, LIKEWISE. *öi*, pret. of *öc*, SOW.
- navanukatdap*. *nukat*, heard for *nukap*, stem GUARD. (*d* becomes partly surd as 1st member of consonantal combination).
-dap, imperfect, continued past action.
- höga.öcjid*. *öcjid*. *öc*, CORNFIELD. *-gi-*, possessive, (possibly by metathesis from *-ig*.) *-d*, 3d sing. poss. pron.
3. *kuna.aitumarcña*. *-ai-*, doubtful, probably locative.
-tu-, indef. impersonal object. *marc*, unexplained variant of stem *marc*, APPEAR. *marc* may be distinct root.) *-ia*, future suffix.
- kuicöckat*. *öc*, stem SOW. *-kat*, continued past state.
4. *napuwákarida*. *karida*, stem probably *kari*, SAY. *-da*, continued future. (But many verbs of saying, etc., use pres. and fut. forms in past.)
- harowsöpu.uu*. *haror-*, interrog. pron., WHO? *-sö-*, interrogative.
uu, stem REAP. (Also heard *u'u* and *uí*.)
- höga.inbartuc*. *in-*, 1st sing. pron. possessive. *bav*, BEANS. (*v* becomes partly surd before *t*). *-tuc*, possessive suffix.
5. *kuananicidida*. *an-*, 1st sing. pron. subj. *-ani-*, locative. HERABOUTS. *ci'di*, stem SPY, WATCH. *-da*, continued future.
- ikökova'ba*. *ic-*, adjectival sign, probably identical with positive. *kökov*, stem meaning uncertain. *-a'ba*, postposition IN, AT.
6. *kuamihöcda*. *ami-*, locative, NEARBY. *-hö-*, locative, place where. *-c-*, positive, (*i* combines with *ö*). *da*, invariable sing. stem BE SEATED.
- napuci'did*. *ci'di*, stem SPY. *-d*, present applicative.
- kuamihöwan*. *ami-*, locative, NEARBY. *-hö-*, place where. *-wan*, (better *-van*), locative postposition, TOWARDS.
7. *amiticüws*. *ami-*, locative, NEARBY. *-ci-*, intensive. *üws*, (better *üws*), pret. of *vus(a)n*, LEAVE, DEPART, COME OUT.
8. *aviemarc*. *marc*, stem APPEAR, BE SEEN.
- kunapuwatöva*. stem probably *tö*, SAY, TELL. (Stem uncertain; cf. text 1, 22.) *-da*, continued future suffix used with verb of saying in past tense. (Heard as *-va*).

- paraac.* (better *para.ac*). Sp. *para*, FOR. *-ac*, for *hac*, indefinite.
9. *kunatpuvaxö'c.* *xö'c*, (better *hö'c*), stem REPLY. Present stem used in pret. for applicative.
antibiu'uam. *-bi-*, locative, HITHER. *u'u*, stem REAP. *-am*, desiderative.
10. *nantönö'ya.* *-tö-*, probably for *-tu-*, indef. inanimate object. *nö'*(¹), stem SING, DANCE. *-ya*, future.
nö'k'axdám. *nöi'*(¹), stem DANCE, SING. *-kaxr*, nominal instrumental. *-dám*, postposition, ON.
kunapövátov'a. cf. § 8.
11. *ma'ik.* interjection.
inkiamhá'. *in-*, 1st sing. poss. pron. *kiam*, HOME. *-há'*, postposition.
napuváhög'in. *hö'g*, stem REPLY. *-i-*, possibly original stem vowel; possibly euphonic interpolation; possibly part of suffix. *-v*, applicative. (Present form, used as frequently with verbs of speaking for past tense).
12. *pa'psöpukiö.* *pa-*, locative interrog. WHERE? *-ap-*, 2d sing. sbj. pron. *-sö-*, interrogative. *-pu-*, emphatic. sbj. *kiö*, stem DWELL, RESIDE (probably defective).
namönipukiö. *namö*, locative, THERE ABOVE. *-pukiö*, cf. supra.
oida.a'ba. *-a'ba*, postposition, IN.
kunamitpuvahi. *ami-*, 3d plu. sbj. pron. *-t-pu-va-*, pret. — emphatic. sbj. — completive. *hi*, pret. of *him*, stem GO.
13. *natpubövaduvia.* *-bö-*, locative, THITHER. *duvia*, invariable sing. stem ARRIVE.
amiciamac'da. *am-*, possibly 3d plu. sbj. pron., THEY, but more probably locative, THERE. *-ic-iam-*, positive + negative, equivocal. *-ac'*, doubtful; possibly indefinite *hac*; possibly completive *-a-* plus positive *-ic-*. *da*, sing. stem BE SEATED. (But context should require plural stem *dadar* here. Both are invariable).
titio'v, *havaga.u'vr.* reduplicated plurals.
14. *kunampvatöttda.* cf. § 8.
bi'ciduvia. *bi-*, locative, HITHER. *-ci-*, imperative. *duvia*, invariable sing. stem ARRIVE.
inaha'dör. *ina-*, locative, HERE. *-ha'*, postposition, TOWARD. *-dör*, postposition, FROM.
15. *gambiciböi.* *gam-*, progressive. *-bi-*, locative, HITHER. *-ci-*, imperative. *böi*, pret. of *bö*, BRING, CARRY.

- höga.atockar. atoc*, uncertain stem, (cf. *at*, BUTTOCKS). *-kar*, nominal instrumental.
- nada'wica. da'wica*, invariable sing. stem SIT DOWN. (cf. *da*, BE SEATED).
- hidinhadux. hidi*, demonst., THIS. *-n-*, 1st sing. poss. pron.
16. *kuamihövicda. -ami-hö-*, locatives, THERE. *da*, invariable sing. stem BE SEATED.
- kunapuwakaida. cf. § 4.*
- mas. Sp. mas.*
17. *gambaicitumak-utöhugia. gam-*, progressive. *-bai-*, locative, HITHER. *-ci-*, imperative. *-tu-*, indef. inanimate obj. *mak*, stem GIVE. *ku-*, conj. THAT. *-tö-*, (better *-tu-*), indef. inanimate obj. *hug*, stem EAT. *-ia*, future. (Really two words).
- höga'arm. höga*, demonst. THAT. *-c'*, (probably better *-c-*), by assimilation from *-ic-*, adjectival prefix (possibly same as positive; *i* absorbed in *a*). *-arm*, adjectival stem YELLOW.
- wasög. Possibly etymologically wo*, WOOL, *sög*, WOLF.
- anihöcmömbra. ani-hö-*, locatives, HEREBABOUTS. *-c-*, from *-ic-*, positive. *mömbra*, invariable stem SCAMPER, RUN ABOUT. (Possibly reduplicated from or related to stem *mör*, RUN).
18. *tök'awanagi'u. tök'auw*, adv. ABOVE. *-a-*, completive. *nagi'u*, defective stem BE HANGING.
- kunapuwatötäda. cf. § 8.*
19. *kuyamumdiskwidarutdat. ku-*, proclit. conj. THAT. *-yam-*, negative. *-um-*, 2^d sing. pron. obj. (Or possibly passive). *diskwidar*, Sp. descuidar. *-ut-*, adaptive suffix appended to foreign words. *-da-*, continued future. *-t-*, (better *-d-*), subjunctive.
- amicim'ná. am-*, 3^d plu. sbj. pron. *-ic-*, positive, used commonly with verbs of desiring, etc. *-i-*, doubtful, possibly *-ci-*, intensive. *-m-*, 2^d sing. pron. obj. (From *-um-*; *u* being absorbed in *i*). *ná*, defective stem CRAVE, DESIRE (TO EAT).
- nanicapökia. an-*, pron. sbj. *-ic-ap-*, positive + adv. WELL, together forming adv. AS SOON AS. *ök*, stem BREAK *-ia*, fut..
20. *na'ayöcia. na-*, proclit. conj. + 3^d sing. pron. sbj. *'a*, (probably better *.a*), doubtful, probably completive. *göc*, stem FALL. *-ia*, future.
- kwicgamtutuk'ia. -gam-*, progressive. *tutuk'*, probably redup. continuative of *tuk'*, DARK, BLACK. (cf. *ictutuk'am*, DARKNESS.) *-ia*, future.
21. *napavú'snia. -ap-*, 2^d sing. pron. sbj. *-a-*, doubtful, probably

- completive. *vusun*, by syncope from *vusan*, DEPART, LEAVE. -*ia*, future.
- napeibökta*. -*ap-*, 2^d sing. pron. sbj. -*ci-*, probably imperative, possibly intensive. *bök*, stem CARRY. -*ta*, probably for -*da*, continued future.
- matordám*. -*dám*, postposition.
22. *kunapamörizgia*. -*ap-*, 2^d sing. pron. sbj. -*a-*, dubious, probably completive. *mörizg*, by syncope from *mörinog*, RUN. (Probably related to *mör*, RUN). -*ia*, future.
- kunatacus*. -*ta-*, probably preterit completive. *vus*, pret. of *vusan*, DEPART.
- aticiamparöpmácir*. *paröp*, diminutive adv., possibly compounded with *öp*, ALSO. *mácir*, pret. of *mác*, APPEAR, BE SEEN.
23. *kunapuwakáida*. cf. § 4.
- gameidac*. *gam-*, progressive, (*m* partly surd before *c*). -*i-*, imperative. *dac*, stem SEIZE.
- innövahim*. *in-mö-*, locatives, HERE. -*va-*, completive. *him*, stem GO.
24. *kuamihövan*. *ami-hö-*van**, locative particles.
- nampuwakáida*. cf. § 4.
- innövahim*, *gameidac*. cf. § 23.
25. *apimi amdadaktarda*. *apim-*, 2^d plu. pron. sbj. -*iam-*, negative. *dadaktar*, probably redup. continuative of *dakta*(?), RELEASE, LOOSE. (-*r-*, dubious, probably developed from ?). -*da*, continued future.
- nakimördat*. -*ki-*, proximate. *mör*, stem RUN. -*dat*, imperfect.
- atigumhöwan*. *a-*, 3^d sing. sbj. pron. -*t-*, preterit. -*igum-*, dubious. -*hö-*wan**, locative particles here functioning as verb, lit. HE AWAY.
- amihönticivi*. *ami-hö-*, locative particles. -*m-*, 3^d plu. pron. sbj. -*t(i)-*, preterit. -*ci-*, intensive. *vi*, pret. of *vöö*, REMAIN, STAY.
26. *ictutuk'am.óra*. *ic-*, adjective prefix, possibly identical with positive. *tutuk*, redup. plural of *tuk*, BLACK, DARK. -*kam*, abstractive suffix. -*óra*, postposition INTO.
- kunampucakáida*. cf. § 4.
- numavanör*. *numa-*, locative. -*va-*, completive. *mör*, stem RUN.
- amihöcdakat*. *ami-hö-*, locative particles. -*c-*, from -*ic-*, positive; (*i* absorbed in *ö*). *da*, invariable sing. stem BE SEATED. -*kat*, past continued state.
27. *avictuká*. *a-*, 3^d sing. pron. sbj. -*r-*, euphonic interpolation.

-*ic*-, positive. -*tu*-, indef. inanimate obj. *ká*, defective stem BE EATING.

hapukawida. hapu, adv. THUS. *kawida*, cf. § 4, etc.

iciampucikáwida. -ic-iam-, positive + negative, equivocal. -*pu*-, either emphatic sbj. or adv. THUS. *kawida*, cf. § 4, etc.

28. *napuhabantuhidor. -a-*, 3d sing. pron. sbj. -*pu*-, emphatic sbj. *haban*, adv. meaning uncertain. -*tu*-, indefinite inanimate obj. *hidor*, stem COOK.

kunapuwakawida. cf. § 4, etc.

29. *kunukawá. nukaw*, stem GUARD. -*da*, continued future. *kuptucidákta. -p-*, 2d sing. pron. sbj. -*tu*-, indefinite inanimate obj. -*ci-*, probably imperative. *dakta*, stem RELEASE. (There should be doubtless a negative here; the form was translated, "Do not release it." The stem may however be *dagda*, continued future of *dag*, SEIZE. The two stems probably have a common origin).

30. *nathí. -a-*, 3d sing. pron. sbj. -*t-*, preterit. *hí*, pret. of *him*, GO.

A JOURNEY TO SANTA MARIA OCOTÁN

1. varxó'k'va'		nanitxí'mök'		gö'mai		ki'dadam
It is long ago		that I gone had		another		town in
2. pi'nampuptuniók'		hógatháha'edun		ha'pumi'etuniók'		
where they thus speak.		That our kinsmen		thus they speak		
3. pō'nōg	á'tiv	avé'miemók'o'r		ci'vgo'k		tó'no'rhók'kōD
like	ourselves.	It very distant,		seven		sun with
4. nanitga'mahi	paru	gö'mai	ki'dadam	pinampu'ptuniók'		
that I went	to	another	town in	where they similarly speak		
5. pōnök	á'tiv	itni'o'khók'kōD		ami'eupnio'k		
like	ourselves.	Our language with		they also speak		
6. gagok'i'k'dadám		antipuo'imó		nanitsá'pbóiraG		hógati'tolo
the two towns in.		I walked		for I, ordered bring went to		that title
7. havagakampa'na		havahómai		gavande'ra		civma'kov
and the bell		and one		the banner.		Nine
8. tōno'rhók'ōt'		antibödu'via		kuna'nitpuvatuatō'k'a		
sun with		I there arrived.		Then I now it them asked		
9. hógathá'ha'edun		kumsapiam'a'töt		pihō'napua'ptutu'i'		
that our kinsmen		that they maybe not knew		where that they are.		

10. nampuvantö'tda kumiputuató'k'a hö'gahai" gama'skók'rigit'
Then they now that they it them that rest the most old
me tell ask will
11. na'kuhö'gamsa'picma't' pixónapuap'tu'i' para
that to find they maybe know where that it is in order
12. namsabbaitxo'toeda ave'miemök'or anantisö'r'kami'bwim
that they said here us It very distant. I, I was extremely tired,
send will.
13. anihónanitpö'ó'imö kunampuantö'tda kumia'm'a't
there that I walked. Then they me tell that they not know
14. pihö napuap'tu'i' ku'namitpuwávi kumibituna'a'nda
where that it is. Then they now remained that they here it me
write will,
15. kumtiambituna'a'n antictö'maitönö'rimök' kutiamha'etupima'e'cir
But wrote they not here it I uselessly it wait did, for not anything appeared.
16. hógati'tulo var'a'tiv i'nkám hí'di ki'da ó'r'kam
That title is ours, local, this town, internal.
17. kumti'punxo'tsak ga'u'ciaka'm kuntiamha'etubibök' umei'v
And they me sent had, the authority. But I not anything here Now
brought.
18. ansapí'puphi'mia pero a'naniamhi'mi'm porke
I, they say, again but I, I not going because
go will
19. miamin'a'mök'dam nanpöva'atö'tda kumihömaiga'ga porke
they not me pay wish. So I now them tell that they one find because
20. a'naniamkihi'mim porke aviamiemö'k'or na'kugömai.óida'a'ba
I, I not to go wish, because it very far. Maybe another year in
21. ni'ti'am'u' yam kunti'vamu kuniamikihi'mia.
I if not die not. And I if now die, then I not go will.
22. nanatögira gatha'ha'edun na'kumhömaiinma'kia ga.u'v
I see them the our kinsmen if they one me give will the woman
will go to
23. ame'micapnö'nö gatö'tia gök'ö nipuchi'mi'm
they very good look, the girls. On this account I go wish.
24. kunampuanhö'git pahö'dör píehi'm na'npuva.atö'tda
Then they now me "Where from you come?" And I now them tell
reply
25. kuna'robonarta'mdör ku'nampuvatöntö'k'a hö'e
that is ants place from. Then they now it me ask, "How
26. napöcmö'k'or ananpuwa.atö'tda kuavi'amiecmök'or
that it far?" I, I now them say that it very distant.
27. ku'nampuwa'eituna'giö o'dam micupniók'i'm
Then they now it me converse, mecos, they also speaking;

28. ma'r'itháha·edun hápu' mí'cuptunio'k'im sí'r'kam
they are our kinsmen similarly they also it speaking. Extremely
29. na'vapictöhó·p'it köv aví'ciamgic'ta' du'pi'li'
that it also grows cold, ice it simply whitens. Head-man
30. navacho'hidað na'nsaptuda'ðgiad kua'nantiamho'hir porke
that he desiring was that I, he said, work should, but I, I not wished, because
31. nemicí'vwim·tu'giat hö'namiékida'dakdat högat'iu·p'
I very tired (?) Then they working were that church
32. nanitmö'o'imö gat'ha'haedunavwí kunanitpuva'ptöt'ö
that I there walked that our kindred with. Then I now when saw
33. ha'etunampuaewa'dað hön'a nampuwacho'hidað
the thing that they doing were, then that they now desiring were
34. nantuda'ðgiad kugasa'mit· miamput'öt'ök· pön'ök
that I work should. And the tortilla they not call like
35. a'tiv hö'gam'iputötök· dóm'ka'r mí'teu'
ourselves; they call, "Dóm'ka'r mí'teu'."

TRANSLATION ⁵⁷

It was a long time ago that I went to that other town where they speak the same as we. Our kindred there speak just like ourselves. It is very distant; it took me seven days to reach that other town where they speak like ourselves. They speak our language in two towns. I walked there to get a title, a bell and a banner. In nine days I arrived. Then I asked our kindred if they knew where they were. They said they would ask the others, the oldest people, to see if they knew where they were, that they might send them to us. It is very far; I was extremely tired when I walked there. Then they told me they didn't know where they were; they said that they would write to me. But they have not written. I got tired of waiting for they didn't find anything.

The title is ours, of this town, and the authorities sent me.

⁵⁷ Santa Maria Ocotán is the principal settlement of the Southern Tepehuane, some forty miles south of the city of Durango. (Cf. Hrdlička, *Physiological and Medical Observations, etc.*, Bulletin 34, Bur. Am. Eth., p. 11; *The Chichimecs, etc.*, p. 418; Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, p. 469). Some of the municipal insignia of Azqueltán are said to have been carried thither during one of the ubiquitous Mexican revolutions. My informant, Eleno Aguilar, was sent there to bring them back.

But I didn't bring anything. Now they want me to go again but I don't want to go because they won't pay me. I tell them to find someone else, for I don't want to go because it is very far. Maybe some other year, if I don't die! And if I die, — then I won't go! I want to see if they will give me a wife, our kindred; the girls are very pretty. On this account I would like to go!

They asked me, "Where do you come from?" and I told them, "From Azqueltán." Then they asked me, "How far distant?" and I told them that it is very far. Then the T'epehuanes conversed with me; they speak just the same; they are our people. It was extremely cold; the ground was white with ice. The head man wanted me to go to work but I didn't want to, for I was very tired. They were building the church when I walked there with our kindred. I noticed what they were doing and they wanted me to work too!

They do not call the tortillas as we do; they call them "dóm·kar mít'eu'."

ANALYSIS

1. *varxö'k'va'*. *v-*, euphonic interpolation. *-av-*, substantive. *-hö'k'*, adv. *-va'*, possibly completive.
nanitxí'mök'. *hém*, stem GO, *-ök'*, past simultaneous.
kidadam. *-dam*, postposition, IX.
2. *pinampuptuniók'*. *pi-*, locative relative, WHERE. *-am-*, 3d plu. pron. subj. *-pup-*, probably *-pu-öp-*, THUS-ALSO. *-tu-*, indefinite inanimate obj. *niok'*, stem SPEAK.
högatháhædun. *-t-*, 1st plu. poss. pron. (*i* of *-it-* is absorbed in *á*). *hahædun*, redup. plural of *hædun*, (*c* is unexplained intrusion).
hapumictuniók'. *hapu*, adv. THUS, SIMILARLY. (Generally found in shorter form *-pu-*). *-m-*, 3d plu. subj. pron. *-ic-*, positive. *-tuniok'*, cf. § 2.
3. *avemicmök'or*. *a-*, 3d sing. pron. subj. *-v-*, euphonic interpolation. *-em-ic-*, heard variant of *-iam-ic-*, negative + positive, superlative, VERY. *mök'*, adv. DISTANT. *-or*, phenomenal.
civgo'k. Cardinal SEVEN. (lit. "2 two").
tonorhök'ö'n. *ton*, stem denoting HEAT. *-or*, phenomenal suffix, thus *tonor*, SUN, DAY. *-hök'ö'n*, instrumental postposition.
4. *nanitgamahi*. *-gam-*, progressive. *-a-*, completive. *hi*, pret. of *him*, GO.

5. *itxiokhō'kō'n*. *it-*, 1st plu. poss. pron. *niok*, stem SPEAK or SPEECH. (*n* partially surd after *t*). *-hō'kō'n*, instrumental postposition.
amucupniok. *am-*, 3d plu. pron. sbj. *-ic-*, positive. *-up-*, adv. ALSO. (possibly better *-ōp-*). *niok*, SPEAK.
6. *gagokikdadám*. *ga-*, article. *-gok-*, cardinal numeral, TWO. *kik-da*, by syncope for *kikida*, redup. plu. of *kida*, TOWN. *-dám*, postposition, IN.
antipuoimō. *oimō*, pret. of *oimör*, WALK.
nanitsapbölrac. *-sap-*, repeated statement. *böl*, pret. of *bö*, BRING. *-rac*, past purposive motion.
7. *civmakör*. Cardinal numeral NINE, (lit. "4four").
8. *antiböduvia*. *-bö-*, locative, THITHER. *duvia*, invariable sing. stem ARRIVE.
kunanitpuvatuatōka. *-a-*, 3d plu. pron. obj. *tōka*, invariable stem ASK.
9. *kumsapiam'atöt*. *-sap-*, repeated statement. *-iam-*, negative. *mat*, stem KNOW. *-öt*, uncertain, possibly subjunctive *o* with euphonic *ö*; possibly continued past state or condition.
pihönapua'ptutui'. *pi-hö-*, locative indefinite, WHERE. *-ap-*, generally excellentive, GOOD, but always accompanies this verb stem. *tutui'*, redup. of *tu'*, BE (place). (redup. used for plural sbj.)
10. *nampuwantötä*. *-n-*, 1st sing. pron. obj. *tö*, stem TELL. (Stem may be *töt*.) *-da*, continued future. (Used frequently with past tenses of verbs of speaking).
kumipuatōka. cf. § 8.
gamaskökrigit. Sp. mas. *kökrigit*, by syncope from *kökörigit*, redup. plu. of *körigit*, OLD.
11. *nakuhögamsapiem'at*. *na-ku-*, proclitic of possibility, TO SEE IF. *högam*, demonst. THOSE, THEY. *-sap-*, repeated statement. *-ic-*, positive. *mat*, stem KNOW.
pixónapua'ptui'. cf. § 9, but note stem without reduplication.
12. *namsapbaitxot'ocda*. *-sap-*, repeated statement. *-ba-*, locative, HITHER. *-it-*, 1st plu. pron. obj. *xot'oc*, stem DESPATCH, SEND. *-da*, continued future.
anantisör'kami'bwim. *anan-*, redup. 1st sing. pron. sbj. *-ti-*, preterit. *sör'kam*, adv. EXTREMELY. *i'bwim*, defective stem BE TIRED.

13. *anihónanítþö'óimö*. *ani-hö*, locative, THITHER. *-þö'*, (probably better *-pu.*), emphatic subj. *óimö*, pret. of *óimör*, WALK.
kunampuantötöda. cf. § 10.
kuniam'at. *-m-*, 3d plu. subj. pron. *-iam-*, negative. *ma't*, stem KNOW.
14. *kunamítþucávi*. *-wá-*, completive, (*v* heard as *w* after *u*). *vi*, pret. of *vöö*, REMAIN; ("quedar". The use of this stem here is not quite clear, as the context evidently requires a verb ANNOUNCE, DECIDE).
kunibituna'a'nda. *-bi-*, locative, HITHER. *-tu-*, indef. inan. obj. *-n-*, 1st sing. obj. pron. *a'an*, (probably better *a.an*), stem WRITE. *-da*, continued future.
15. *kuntiambituna'a'n*. cf. supra. *-iam*, negative. *a'a'n*, stem WRITE. (Pres. stem used as commonly in past tense to denote applicative).
antictömaítönö'rimök. *-ic-*, positive. *tömai*, adv., USELESSLY, TO NO PURPOSE. *-tö-*, (probably by assimilation from *-tu-*), indef. inan. obj. *nö'r*, by elision or assimilation from *nö'ra*, invariable stem AWAIT. *-im-*, contemporaneous motion. *-ök*, past simultaneous.
- kutiamhactupimá'civ*. *-iam-*, negative, *-hac-tu-*, indef. inanimate. SOMETHING. *-pi-*, probably indef. locative, ANYWHERE. *ma'civ*, pret. of *ma'c*, APPEAR, BE SEEN.
16. *var'a'tiv*. *v-*, euphonic interpolation. *-ar-*, substantive. (' is probably better . , a hesitation). *a'tiv*, independent 1st plu. pron. *in'kám*. *in-*, locative, HERE. *-kám*, abstractive, HERENESS, i. e., LOCAL.
ör'kam. *ör*, generally postposition, IN. *-kam*, abstractive, INNESS, INTERNAL.
17. *kuntipunxotsak*. *-n-*, 1st sing. pron. obj. *xots*, by syncope from stem *xotos*, DESPATCH, SEND. *-a-*, possibly reappearance of original stem vowel. *-k'*, perfect, completed past.
ga'wciakam. *ga-*, article. (' is probably better . , merely hesitation). *uc*, nominal stem TREE, STICK, thus STAFF OF AUTHORITY, (Sp. *bastón*). *-ia-*, nominal suffix of undetermined meaning. *-kam*, abstractive.
kuntiamhactubibök. *-iam-*, negative. *-hac-tu-*, indefinite-inanimate, ANY-THING. *-bi-*, locative, HITHER. *bök*, defective(?) stem BRING.
18. *ansapipuphimia*. *-sap(i)-*, repeated statement. *-pu-*, probably adv.

THUS. *-p-*, probably assimilated from *öp*, ALSO, AGAIN. *him*, stem GO. *-ia*, future.

ananiamhimim. *anan-*, redup. 1st sing. sbj. pron. *-iam-*, negative. *him*, stem GO. *-im*, desiderative, (possibly same as *-im*, contemporaneous motion; normally expresses negative desire after *-iam-* as it expresses positive desire after *-ic-*).

19. *miamin'amök'dam*. *-in-*, 1st sing. pron. obj. *namök*, stem ENCOUNTER, MEET. Used applicatively denotes PAY. *-d-*, applicative. *-am*, desiderative.

nampöva'atötda. *-pö-*, probably auditory error for *-pu-*, emphatic sbj. *-va-*, completive. (' is probably merely a hesitation, .). *-a-*, 3d plu. pron. obj. *tötda*, cf. § 10.

kumihömaigwga. *hömai*, pron. numeral, (SOME)ONE. *gwga*, invariable stem SEEK.

20. *ananiamkhihimim*. cf. § 18. *-ki-*, proximate time.

aviamiemökor. cf. § 3. *-iam-*, frequently heard as *-em-*, superlative. *nakugömai.óida'a'ba*. *naku-*, prefix of possibility, TO SEE IF. *gömai*, adv. ANOTHER. *óida'*, nominal stem, YEAR. *-a'ba*, postposition, IN.

21. *ni'ti'amru*. *-ti-*, conditional. (The principal difference between this and preterit *-ti-* seems to be in the heavier stress accent carried by the former. The tense form of the verb stem seems to be the determining factor). *-iam-*, negative. *mu*, pret. of stem *muk*, DIE.

gam. independent negative.

kuntivamu. cf. supra. *-va-*, completive.

kuniamikihimia. cf. § 20. *-ia*, future.

22. *nanatögira*. *-a-*, 3d plu. pron. obj. *tög*, stem SEE. *-i-*, possibly original stem vowel; possibly euphonic connective. *-ra*, purposive future motion.

nakumhömaiinmakia. *naku-*, proclitic of possibility, TO SEE IF. *-m-*, 3d plu. pron. sbj. *hömai*, numeral, ONE. *-in-*, 1st sing. pron. obj. *mak*, stem GIVE. *-ia*, future.

23. *amemicapnönö*. *-em-*, heard variant of *-iam-*, negative, which in conjunction with *-ic-*, positive, makes superlative. *-ap-*, excellentive WELL. *nönö*, redup. of *nö*, LOOK, SEE.

gatöt'ia. *ga-*, article. *töt'ia*, redup. plur. of *töya*, GIRL.

nipuchimim. *-c-*, for *-ic-*, positive. *him*, stem GO. *-im*, desiderative.

24. *kunampuanhögüt*. *-á-*, completive. (*v* of *va* is weakened after *u*).

- n*-, 1st sing. pron. obj. *hög*, stem REPLY. -(*i*)*t*, (better -*i*(*D*), applicative present. (Verb of speaking using present form in past tense).
- pahödör*. *pa*-, locative interrog., WHERE? -*hö*-, locative of place. -*dör*, locative postposition, FROM.
- píchi'm*. *p*-, 2d sing. pron. sbj. -*ic*-, positive. *hi'm*, stem GO. *nanpuwa.atötta*. cf. § 19.
25. *kumar·dodonartamdör*. -*ar*-, substantive. *dodonar* (probably better *totonar*), redup. plu. of *tonar*, SMALL BLACK ANT, (Mex. azquel). -*tam*-, descriptive locative, PLACE OF. -*dör*, postposition, FROM.
- kunampuatöntöka*. -*tön*-, by synthesis from -*tu-in*-, indef. inanimate obj. — 1st sing. pron. obj. *tök'a*, invariable stem ASK.
26. *napöemök'or*. -*pöc*-, by synthesis from -*pu-ic*-, emphatic sbj. — positive. cf. § 3.
- ananpuwa.atötta*. *anan*-, redup. 1st sing. pron. sbj. -*wa*-, complete, (heard for *va* after *u*). cf. § 19.
- kuaviamicök'or*. -*iam-ic*-, negative + positive, superlative. cf. § 3.
27. *kunampuwacitunagi'd*. -*wa*-, complete, (heard for *va* after *u*). -*ci*-, intensive. -*tu*-, indef. inanimate obj. -*n*-, 1st sing. pron. obj. *ag*, stem CONVERSE. (*i*)*D*, applicative. (Verb of speaking using present form for past tense).
- micupniök'im*. -*ic*-, positive. -*up*-, adv. ALSO. *niök'*, stem SPEAK. -*im*, contemporaneous motion.
28. *mar'itháha'edun*. *m*-, 3d plu. pron. sbj. -*ar*-, substantive. (' is probably merely a pause, .). -*it*-, 1st plu. pron. poss. *hah'edun*, cf. § 2.
- micuptuniök'im*. cf. § 27.
- sir·kam*. (Orthographic error for *sirkam*, *sörkam*).
29. *narvapietöhö'pit*. *n*-, proelit. conj. -*a*-, 3d sing. pron. sbj. -*va*-, probably complete. -*p*-, reduced from -*öp*-, adv. ALSO. -*ic*-, positive. -*tö*-, (better -*tu*-), indef. inanimate obj. *hö'p*, stem COLD, (*ichöp*, adj.). -*it*, doubtful; possibly -*iv*, applicative, (but note *hö'pitkam*, THE COLD).
- aviciamgi'ca'*. -*ic-iam*-, positive + negative, equivocal. -*g*-, verbalizing adjectival, BECOME. -*ic*-, adjectival sign, (possibly cognate to positive *ic*). *ta'*, stem WHITE.
30. *navachohidav*. -*a*-, complete. -*c*-, probably for -*ic*-, positive. *hohi*('), stem DESIRE. -*dav*, imperfect, continued past act.
- nansaptudavgian*. -*sap*-, repeated statement. -*tu*-, indef. inani-

mate obj. *dag*, uncertain, but probably by syncope from continuative redup. *dadag* of stem *dag*, WORK. *-ia*, future. *-v*, subjunctive.

kuanantiamhohix. *anan-*, redup. 1st sing. pron. subj. *-t-iam-*, preterit-negative. *hohix*, pret. of *hohi*('), DESIRE.

31. *nemicivimtugiat*. *-em-ic-*, negative + positive, superlative; (*em* for *iam*). *iwim* (or *ibwim*), defective verb BE TIRED. *-tugiat*, of uncertain meaning.

hönamickidadakdat. *hõna*, proclitic conj. *-ki-*, proximate time. *dadak* (probably better *dadaa*), continuative redup. of stem *dag*, WORK. *-dat*, imperfect, continued past action.

32. *nanitnö'õ'imö*. *-mö-*, locative, THITHER. (' is probably merely a hesitation, .). *õ'imö*, pret. of *õ'imör*, WALK.

gathahacduarwi. cf. § 2. *-a-*, 3d plu. pron. obj. *-vwi*, postposition. WITH, IN COMPANY OF.

kunanitpuvaptöt'õ. *-p-*, doubtful, probably reduced from *-õp-*, ALSO. *tötö*, continuative redup. of *tö*, pret. of stem *tög*, SEE.

33. *hactunampuacwadav*. *hac-tu-*, indef. — inanimate, SOME-THING, *-ac-*, probably by assimilation from *va-ic*; (*v* weakens after *u*; *i* assimilates into *a*). *wa* defective stem BE DOING. *-dav* imperfect, continued past action.

nampuvachohidav. *-wa-*, completive, (*v* weakens to *w* after *u*). *-c-*, by reduction from *-ic-*, positive. *hohi*, stem DESIRE. *-dav*, imperfect, continued past action.

34. *nantudavgiav*. cf. § 30.

miamputõtök. *tõtök* (better *tötök*), redup. usitative of stem *tök*, NAME, CALL.

35. *hõgam'iputõtök*. *hõgam*, 3d plu. pron. subj. or demonst., THOSE, THEY. *-i-*, doubtful. *tõtök*, cf. supra.

võm'kar miteu'. Southern Tepehuane words. *võm*, (probably better *tõm*), stem of dubious significance. *-kar*, instrumental nominal suffix.

THE DEER HUNT

1. <i>hõ'mai</i>	<i>to'nora'ba</i>	<i>anti'hi</i>	<i>na'nitna'uvdim</i>	<i>inci'c</i>
One	sun on	I went	I deer-hunting.	My elder brother
2. <i>ati'n.o'i</i>	<i>ananiama'pbaik</i>	<i>nantuma'hina</i>	<i>pero</i>	<i>hõ'ga</i>
he me	I, I not well	that I it shoot	but	he
accompanied.	am able	will		

3. *aviema'töt* *tuma'hís* *hö'gavi'ua'dat* *högama'hin'k'arad*
he knew did to shoot. He carrying was that rifle his
4. *kuanihö'gia* *hö'ganga't* *havaganu'u* *wö'p'ö* *títisóna't*
but I only that my bow and the my arrows. At first we began
5. *kutiti'tugá* *dí'dáp'dör* *gok* *o'rasaba* *pero*
that we sought this bank two hours in but
6. *itíama'etutó* *mas* *di* *hö'mai* *vai'sör* *ati'k'oi'*
we not more than one racoon he slept
anything saw
7. *ho'vitwö'ta* *su'dikó'vav* *havahómai* *nu'í* *natmó'ak*
zapote beneath water at the edge and one zopilote which he killed
8. *hö'gabán* *xóna* *natpuva'na'g* *hö'ganci'e* *aviama'etu*
that coyote. Then that he now me said, that my elder "It not anything
brother,
9. *swí'mar* *i'ni* *mu'iv* *ganta'tá* *ume'iv* *natuda'dag*
deer here! Often the my father, now he works
10. *bula'níus* *atítuma'hisdát* *ina'mu'r* *kugumxó'wan*
Bolaños, we it hunt did here about but each time
11. *natpumó'agá'ga'imda* *kutiamhá'etunó'nöikda* *ma'ik'*
that we there them but we not anything see will. Come
seeking go will
12. *ma'kora'v'ba* *hö'na* *nanitpuwa'töt'* *kuti'tdamadí*
other side to!?" Then that I now said, that us over now was sun.
13. *ap'apia'mbiu'k'* *hö'* *pero* *avia'mha'etusa'mit*
"You, you not "Yes, but it not anything tortilla
hunger?"
14. *avia'mkuí'tuba'i* *hö'gagi'sur* *anti'putöt'* *kuvírsör'kam*
it not yet ripen that pithaya." I said that is certain,
15. *pero* *anti'ma't'* *pinahó'maikök'* *gana'k'uar* *xó'mai*
but I knew where that one grows the guache one
16. *ba'viatám* *cin'óra* *asta* *kunhakgö'cia* *ani'kivai'gira*
spring place. "Wait until that I return shall. I to get water
will go.
17. *citukua'gia* *napa'tuna'dá* *porke* *ví'etöhö'pit*
Gather wood that you make a fire will, because it gets cold.
18. *tö'tihö'maiswi'marama'cír* *tö'ti'varu'v* *píama'hísda*
If one deer now appeared, if is female you not shoot it will."
19. *hö'na* *a'ni* *nanta'sona't* *nano'imör* *para* *vaviatám*
Then I I now began that I walk toward spring place
20. *ha'kud* *kuvoi'da'm* *nantatö* *xö'mai* *ganöi'k'ar*
towards. But road in that I saw one the patio

21. pinamtönö'dad v wöp'ödör gavagö'gör ína nantasó'nat
 where they dancing formerly the forefathers. Here that I began
 were
22. nanaema'hinam go'k' gatu'tutei' nana'acmuimkat
 that I shoot wish two the rabbits. I them shoot wish did
23. inu'uhö'k'öd namtuka'dat högasai' pero antiamxö'maimu'í
 my arrows with which they eating that grass but I not one shot.
 were
24. kumti'hi kuntimö'du'via su'dítám nanta'sona't
 And they Then I there arrived water place. Then I now began
 went.
25. nansu'sdið höganva'k'a nanti'cap'tuna'ta nanta'dak'ta
 that I fill it that my bule. Then I as soon as it then I now left
 finished,
26. nanta'ú'a'm hö'gana'k'ua'R nanta'sónia para
 that I now cut that guache. Then I now hacked in order
 wished
27. nanicbai'gria nanha'bantös'dia nanitböva'da mö'k'módör
 that I be able that I thus climb Then I out grabbed far up
 will.
28. in'o'vhö'kö'd nanta'tu.uí högana'k'ua'r nanta'civáni's
 my hand with. Then I now it cut that guache. Then I now extended.
29. kuticgam.o'm nanit.a'göi nanita'n.o'm ganka't'ua
 But broke and I now fell. I now me broke the my shoulder
30. a'idám kuxök'k' nia'mbaig nanvo'm'gia ni nansö'rna
 bedrock on. And long I not am able that I arise will nor that I move
31. gan'o'v ni'ndé'dos nanaho'hoinda hö'n'a' nanitinda'k.ám
 the my nor my fingers that I them shake Then I did my nose on
 hand will.
32. ha'vaganmo' nantanso'n'via hö'na nanitpuva'n.a' anhódör
 and the my I now me wounded. Then that I now me I alone,
 head thought,
33. yampök'cituko'k'da kugane'í'e avín'ö'rá a'ni xö'na
 "Not much hurt, and the my he me awaits. I." Then
 brother
34. nanta'vom nanta'só'nat nan.oí'mör pero
 I now arose; I now began that I walk but
35. a'naniamictuko'k'dakat liexu'k'anhö'kö'd nanta'nam hö'm'ai
 I, I very ill was. Short time with that I now met one
36. ganam'go nanitpuvátöt kuviböi'ra höganva'k'a vaviatám
 the my friend. I now told to here bring to that my bule spring place.
37. nava'töntö'k'a pasö'puva'viag nanitpuva'töt va'vá'iso'na'p
 Then he me ask, "Where? spring." Then I now told, "Cliff beside,

55. havagantu'tr'ui iciampu'pungi'gitdat nantaso'na't
and the my knees simply trembling were. Then I now began
56. nanaho'ho'inid hogan'o'nov havaganto'ton para
that I beat that my hands and the my feet in order
57. nanhu'k'a so'r'kam ho'na namitama'mei'r va'ik'
that I warm much. Then they now appeared three
myself
58. hogati'tio'd mas di ganami'go kumi'bida'daiya'd
that men more than the my friend that they here arrive
should.
59. go'k amiku'siatuk hogaswi'ma'r homat havaganami'go
Two they shouldered that deer; one and the my friend
60. nampuva'ua gagö'mai hógancie'e nata'nda in'o'v.ám
they now carried the other. That my he me seized my hand by
brother
61. para nanoimö'riat para gacxö'p naso'pda'd voi'dam
in order that I walk in order the cold avoid should. Road in
should
62. avemiei'haik so'r'kam nava'etohö'dig ka'dactumam
it very rough. Extremely that it stony. Every five
63. minutos nana'ia'rim go'k o'rasa'B'a titi'mö'dada
minutes that I falling. Two hours in we there arrived
64. kadaxö'mai ki'amitha'kud inxo'ni ti'bin'ám dö'rapmö
every one home his toward. My wife here me met outside
65. voi'dam natva'körha'anva's nata'nda'i ha'ban
road in Then she inside me led and she me seated with her
66. gagö'ta'iso'na'p natu'gansa'a.inka'truadamvávwa'
the big fire beside. Then she the my blanket my shoulder on placed.
67. aviámictö'nkát xóna hö'ga nata'tuhi'do hógava'ka'e
It very hot was. Then she she it cooked that meat
68. di gago'k' gö'gör su'suimar nathö'kö'da'tunmä
of the two great deer. Then she with it me gave.
69. antia'mho'hír nanituhu' por'ke aniamkuibiuk'at pero
I not wished that I it ate because I not yet hungry was but
70. höga ti'tunma nantuhu'giab ho'na nanta'vo'i
she it me gave that I it eat might. Then I lay down,
71. aniticapa'ko'i pero wí'mudag iekö'kov antieko'o'kab
I well slept but next day morning I ill was
72. a'ci'a'd homat si'man anieko'o'k inka'madam
now rose. One week I sick my bed in

73.	anika't I lie.	wö'e All	gaki'da the town	amti'ahú they them ate	gaswi'mar the deer
74.	havanti'anö'i and they danced.	ania'minki'aminma't I not my home me know	porke because	nienö'i'mkad I wish dancing did	
75.	tö't'ia.avwö'm girls them with	pero but	gömxö'túk'a every night	ganci'e the my elder brother	
76.	avi'bin'ö'nöid he here me see	gömhö'wan every time	avi'hö'mdáD he laugh did.	natpuva'ntöt Then he now me said,	
77.	a'ni I,	napaxö'pria "That you recover will,	gahua'n the Juan,	xö'na then	nata'p'kinau'dipu we again hunting will go
78.	pero but	xöna then	títubi'tuktu'gia we it here eat carry will,	sa'mid tortillas	bavwö'zgam beans with.
79.	hö'na Then	nata'dak'taka that we leave will	högana'kuar that guache	para for	gako'k'on the crows!"

TRANSLATION ⁵⁸

One day I went hunting. My elder brother went with me. I can't shoot well but he knew how to shoot. He carried his rifle but I took only my bow and arrows. At first we began looking on this side of the river for two hours, but we didn't see anything but a racoon sleeping under a zapote at the water's edge and a zopilote which had been killed by a coyote. Then my brother said to me, "There are no deer here! Often my father who is now working in Bolaños and I hunted around here but we never found anything. Let's go to the other side!" But I said that it was now noon. "Aren't you hungry?" "Yes, but we have no tortillas and the pithayas have not yet ripened." I said that it was true, but I knew where there was a guache tree by a spring. "Wait until I return," I told him. "I will go and get water. Gather some wood for a fire, for it is getting cold. If a deer appears, if it is a female, don't shoot it."

Then I began to walk toward the spring. On the road I saw a patio where the forefathers used to dance. Here I tried to shoot

⁵⁸ This story was composed by the author in Spanish for the purpose of elucidating certain constructions. It was then translated by the informant, Eleno Aguilar, into Tepecano. Therefore, while nearly all of the forms are doubtless correct, many of the idioms can not be above suspicion of foreign example.

with my arrows two rabbits which were eating the grass, but I could not hit them and they ran. Then I arrived at the spring and began to fill my water-bule. When I had finished I left it there and went to cut the guaches. I hacked steps in order to climb the tree. Then I reached far up and cut the guaches. Suddenly the limb broke and I fell! I broke my shoulder on the rock. For a long time I was not able to arise nor to move my hand or shake my fingers. I hurt my nose and my head. At last I thought to myself, "I am not much hurt and my brother is waiting for me." So I got up and began to walk, but I was very sore.

Soon I met a friend and told him to go to the spring to fetch my bule. He asked me, "Where is the spring?" and I replied, "Beside the cliff, between the mesas." So he went to get the bule, and I lay face upward beneath an ocote. As soon as he arrived he sprinkled me with water on my face and shoulder and I felt relieved. I put a bandage on my head where it hurt and then I told him that I could walk as far as my brother. "Come!" he said, and we went.

Soon we reached my brother. He had shot some deer, one for me and one for himself and I told him to skin them with my knife. Then we ate the meat equally. When we had finished, "How shall we carry the meat?" we said. "If we leave it here the coyotes will eat it." Then my friend said to me, "I will go to town and get someone to help us to carry the meat." But the town was very distant and it began to rain. It was very cold. "Would that he would return quickly!" I said. I could hardly stand it; my teeth chattered and my knees trembled. Then I began to beat my hands and feet to warm myself.

But now appeared three men besides my friend. Two of them shouldered one deer and my friend and the other man carried the other one. My brother took me by the arm to help me walk in order to avoid the cold. But the road was very rough, full of stones. Every five minutes I fell. In two hours every one reached his house. My wife met me outside in the road and led me inside and seated me with her beside the big fire. Then she put my blanket on my shoulder; it was very warm. She cooked the meat of the two big deer and gave me some of it. I didn't want to eat because I wasn't hungry but she gave me some to eat. Then I lay down and slept well, but the next morning I awoke ill, and

for a week I lay sick in my bed. The whole town ate venison and danced. I didn't like to be at home for I wanted to dance with the girls, but every night my brother came to see me. And every time he would laugh and say, "When you are better, Juan, we will go for deer again, but then we will carry food, tortillas and beans and we'll leave the guaches for the crows!"

ANALYSIS

1. *nauitnawdim*. Stem probably *nauvad*, possibly *naruad* (*nauvd* by syncope; HUNT DEER.
2. *atin.ori. ori*, stem ACCOMPANY. (As verb is by nature applicative, present stem is used exclusively in past tense).
ananiamapbaik. *anan-*, redup. pron. subj. *-iam-*, neg. *-ap-*, excellentive, WELL. *baik*, (better *baic'*), BE ABLE, CAN.
nantumahina. Stem *mahin*, SHOOT. *-a*, future.
3. *avimatöt. mat*, stem KNOW. *-öt*, continued past contemporaneous.
tumahís. mahís, iterative stem of *mahin*, SHOOT, THROW.
högarv'ua'dat. *-vi-*, undetermined. *'ua'*, invariable stem CARRY. *-dat*, imperfect, past continued action.
högama'hin'k'arav. *mahin*, stem SHOOT. *-k'ar*, (probably better *k'ar*), nominal instrumentative. *-a-*, probably reappearance of lost stem vowel, *k'ara*. *-d*, 3^d sing. pron. possessive.
4. *havaganu'u*. *hava-*, proclitic conjunction, AND.
titísónart. *sonart*, pret. form BEGIN; (present stem uncertain).
5. *kutititugá. ga*, invariable stem SEEK.
6. *titiamactutö. actu-*, by elision from *hac-tu*, ANY-THING. *tö*, pret. of *tög*, SEE.
at'k'ó'. (', of doubtful value). *k'ó'*, (better *ko'i*), pret. of *ko'e*, SLEEP.
7. *hövitwö'ta. -wö'ta*, (or *wö'ta*), postposition, BENEATH.
sulikovar. *-kovar*, postposition, AT THE EDGE.
natsvöak. vöak, (*m* quite surd after *t*). The stem seems to be *möak*. This past form may be the present stem used in past tense for applicative, but is more probably pret. *möa* and perfect suffix *-k*.
8. *natpuvan.ava. ava*, stem CONVERSE. (Present form used in past tense to denote applicative).
9. *natnudadac. dadac*, redup. continuative of stem *dag*, WORK.

10. *atitumahisdát. mahis*, iterative stem SHOOT. *-dat*, imperfect, continued past action.
11. *natpumöagagawimda. -mö-*, locative THITHER. *-a-*, 3^d plu. pron. obj. *gaga*, redup. continuative of invariable stem *ga*, SEEK. *-im*, contemporaneous motion. *-da*, continued future. (One would expect a past tense to be used in this case).
kutiamhactunönöikda. nönöik, doubtful; possibly error for *nönöiv*, redup. continuative applicative of *nö*, defective stem BE SEEING. *-da*, continued future.
marik. interjection.
12. *nanitpuwatöt. tö't*, possible stem SAY. (Used applicatively in past tense. But occasional non-applicative examples give stem *tö*, pret. *töi*).
kutitdámadú. -it-, 1st plu. pron. obj. *-dám*, postposition, ABOVE. *-a-*, doubtful but possibly completive. *du*, defective stem referring to position of sun.
13. *ap'apiambiw'k. ap'ap-* (probably better *ap.ap-*), redup. of 2^d sing. sbj. pron. *-iam-*, negative. *biw'k* (better *biuk*), defective stem BE HUNGRY.
14. *aviamkuitubavi. -kui-* (with neg. *-iam-*), incompletive, NOT YET. *bavi*, stem (probably invariable), RIPEN.
kuvirsörkam. -ir-, probably related to *-ar-*, substantive.
15. *pinahömaikök. pi-*, locative relative, WHERE. *hömai*, cardinal, ONE. *kök*, uncertain, possibly stem *kö*, REMAIN, GROW, BE FIXED. *-k'*, perfect.
16. *bariatám. -tám*, descriptive locative, PLACE OF.
cin'öra. ci-, imperative. *-n-*, 1st sing. obj. pron. *nöra* (better *nö'ra*), invariable stem AWAIT, WAIT FOR.
kunhakgöcia. -hak-, repetitive. *göc*, stem FALL. The particle (possibly secondary stem) *hak* changes the meaning of the stem *göc* from FALL to RETURN. *-ia*, future.
anikivai'gira. -ki-, proximate time. *vai'g*, stem FETCH WATER. *-i-*, possibly reappearing stem vowel. *-ra*, purposive future motion.
17. *citukua'gia. ci-*, imperative. *kua'g*, stem WOOD OR GATHER WOOD. *-ia*, future.
napatunadá. -ap-, 2^d sing. pron. sbj. *-a-*, undetermined. *na'*, doubtful stem MAKE A FIRE. *-dá*, continuative future.
victöhöpít. cf. text § 3, 29.
18. *töt'ihömaiswimaramacír. tö'ti-*, uncertain. The verbal stem form

- used is preterit, possibly due to error of informant who was translating dictated Spanish. Thus *-ti-* may be the preterit sign and *tö-* the conditional. In other instances the conditional particle has appeared as *-ti'-*. *hömai*, cardinal, ONE. *suimar*, DEER. *-a-*, euphonic interpolation. *marcir*, pret. of *marc*, APPEAR, BE SEEN. A good example of a verbal complex. *tö'ti'varuv*. cf. supra. *-ar-*, substantive. *uv*, stem WOMAN, FEMALE.
- piamrahisda*. *p-*, 2^d sing. pron. subj. *-iam-*, neg. *mahis*, iterative stem SHOOT. *-da*, continued future.
19. *nantasonat*. *-a-*, completive. *sonat*, cf. § 4. *nanoimör*. *oimör*, stem WALK.
20. *nantatö*. *-a-*, completive. (Note that this text commonly uses preterit forms in *-ta-* rather than in *-ti-* as in former texts). *tö*, pret. of *tög*, SEE. *ganöi'kar*. *nöi*, pret. of *nö'*, DANCE. *kar* (better *kav*), instrumental.
21. *pinamtönö'dav*. *pi-*, locative relative, WHERE. *-tö-*, probably for *tu*. *nö'*, stem DANCE. *-dav*, imperfect, continued past action. *gavagö'gör*. *-va-*, doubtful, possibly error for *-v-ar-*, substantive. *gö'gör*, redup. plural of *gö*, GREAT.
22. *nanaemahinam*. *-ac-*, probably *-a-*, completive and *-c-*, for *-ic-*, positive. *mahin*, stem SHOOT. *-am*, desiderative. *gatututei'*. Redup. plu. of *tutei'*, RABBIT. *nanaemumkat*. *-a-*, completive. *-a-*, 3^d plu. pron. obj. *-c-*, positive, (by assimilation from *-ic-*). *mu*, stem SHOOT WITH ARROW. *-im-*, contemporaneous motion; when compounded with positive *-ic-*, denotes desiderative. *-kat*, past continued condition or state. (The use of *-kat* would imply that the emphasis is laid on the continuance of the desire. The verb stem would ordinarily require the imperfect suffix *-dat*).
23. *inu'uhök'ö'v*. *u'u*, redup. plu. ARROWS. *-hö'kö'v*, instrumentive postposition. *namtuka'dat*. *ka'*, defective stem BE EATING. *-dat*, imperfect, continued past action. *antiamxömaimui*. *mui*, pret. of *mu*, SHOOT WITH ARROW.
24. *kuntimö'duvia*. *-mö-*, locative, THITHER. *duvia*, invariable sing. stem ARRIVE.
25. *nansusdiv*. *susdiv*, (or *susdit*), redup. continuative of *sudit*, FILL WITH WATER. (By syncope from *susudit*. Stem doubtless

related to *swdi*(^o), WATER, possibly by addition of applicative suffix *-d*).

nanticap'tunata. *-ic-ap-*, positive + excellentive, this combination denoting immediate subsequence, AS SOON AS. *nata*, pret. of *natar*, FINISH, COMPLETE.

nantadakta. *dak'ta*, invariable stem LEAVE, DESERT.

26. *nantaü'am*. *ü'a*, by assimilation from *ü'u* (probably better *u.u.*), CUT, REAP. *-am*, desiderative.

nantasonia. *sonia*, pret. of *sonia'a*, HACK, CHOP.

27. *nanicbaü'gria*. *baü'gr*, by syncope from *baü'gir*, pret. of *bai*(^o)*g*, BE ABLE, CAN. *-ia*, future. (The use of the preterit form with future suffix appears inexplicable).

nanhabantös'dia. *haban*, adv., BY THAT MEANS. *tös'd*, by syncope from *tösad* (^o probably auditory error), CLIMB. *-ia*, future.

nanitböwada. *-bö-*, locative, directive *da*, pret. of *dag*, SEIZE.

mök'mödör. *mök*, adv., FAR. *-mö-*, locative, THITHER. *-dör*, postposition, FROM.

28. *in'or'hök'ö'd*. *norv*, stem HAND. *hö'kö'd*, instrumentive postposition, WITH.

nantatu.üi. *u.üi*, pret. of *u.u*, CUT, REAP.

nantaciváni's. *-ci-*, intensive. *vaní's*, pret. of *vanisan*, STRETCH.

29. *kuticgam.o.m*. *-gam-*, progressive. *o.m*, pret. of *o.mis*, BREAK.

nanit.agöi. *göi*, pret. of *göc*, FALL.

30. *á'idám*. *-dám*, postposition, ON.

nanvom'gia. *vom'g*, by syncope from *vomig*, ARISE. *-ia*, future.

nansörna. *sörn*, by syncope from *sörin*, EXTEND. *-a*, future.

31. *nanahohöinda*. *-a-*, 3^d plu. pron. obj. *hohöin*, redup. continuative of *höin*, SHAKE. *-da*, continued future.

nanitindak.ám. *-t-*, preterit. *-in-*, 1st sing. poss. pron. *dak*, stem NOSE. *-ám*, postposition, IX. (This form seems incomplete as it contains verbal elements without verbal root. Too much importance should not be given to it, as the informant was translating from Spanish).

32. *nantanson'via*. (Possibly better *son'via*), invariable stem WOUND.

nanitpuwan.a. *a*, pret. of *ag*, CONVERSE, which when used with personal pron. obj. reflexively, denotes THINK.

33. *yampök'citukok'da*. *yam-*, negative. *-pök-*, adv. superlative, VERY MUCH. *-ci-*, intensive. *kok'da*, defective stem (exact form uncertain, possibly *kol'da*), BE SICK, ILL.

- awírörrá*. cf. § 16.
34. *nantarom*. cf. § 30.
35. *ananiamietukok'dak'at*. *anan-*, redup. 1st sing. pron. subj. *kok'da*, cf. § 33. *-k'at*, past continued condition or state.
licxuk'amhō'kō'd. *li-*, adv. SMALL. (Generally found as *ari*, SMALL or YOUNG, CHILD. In the rare cases where *r* falls initially it is heard as *l*; rarely also medially, as occasionally *ali*, SMALL).
- nantanam*. *nam*, pret. of *namök*, ENCOUNTER, MEET.
36. *kwiböira*. *böi*, pret. of *bö*, BRING, FETCH. *-ra*, future purposive motion.
37. *navatöntök'a*. *tön*, synthesized from *-tu-in-*, IT-ME. *tök'a*, invariable stem ASK.
pasöpuwariac. *pa-*, interrog. locative, WHERE? *-sö-*, interrogative. *ravia*, stem SPRING. *-c*, uncertain, possibly perfect.
ravarisonap. *-sonap*, postposition, BESIDE.
38. *oidasagit*. *-sagit*, postposition, BETWEEN.
natkiböim. *-ki-*, proximate time. *bö*, stem BRING. *-im*, contemp. motion.
nanitaröi. *voi*, pret. of *vo*, LIE DOWN.
39. *hucukwöt'a*. *-wöt'a*, postposition, BENEATH.
naticapduwia. cf. § 24.
nata.inxirso. *-in-*, 1st sing. pron. obj. *hirso*, pret. of *hirsos*, SPRINKLE.
40. *hava.inwicas*. *hava-*, proclit. conj., AND. *wicas*, heard for *vuicas*, (doubtless cognate with *vui*, EYE), FACE, COUNTENANCE.
kumantá'xö'p'ir. *xö'p'ir*, defective stem CONVALESCENCE, GET BETTER. (Doubtless cognate to *höp*, COLD, BECOME COLD, REST).
41. *nantada*. *da*, pret. of *dag*, SEIZE.
napuso'wia. cf. § 32.
42. *kuricbaric*. cf. § 27.
nan.örimör. *örimör*, stem WALK.
inhadunwí. *-wí*, (probably better *wi*), postposition, TOGETHER WITH.
44. *kutlicóriormöddáda*. *-ic-*, positive. *-orior-*, adv. PROMPTLY, SOON. *-nö-*, locative, THITHER. *dáda*, invariable plural stem ARRIVE.
nataamahi. *-a-*, 3d plu. pron. obj. *mahi*, pret. of *mahin*, SHOOT, THROW.
45. *gasusuimar*. *susuimar*, redup. plural of *suimar*, DEER.

46. *kur'öik'ar'ö'kö'd*. -*n*-, 1st sing. pron. poss. *nöik*, reconstructed, possibly obsolete stem CUT, SHAVE. -*kar*, instrumental suffix, e. g. KNIFE. -*ö'kö'd*, by elision for -*hö'kö'd*, instrumentive postposition.
- kupuwa.akomipgiaw*. -*wa*-, completive, (heard for *va* after *u*). -*a*-, 3d plu. pron. obj. *komipg*, by syncope from *komipig* itself syncopated to *kompig* in present), SKIN, DEHIDE. -*ia*-, future. -*d*-, subjunctive.
47. *natitaahu*. *hu*, pret. of *hug*, EAT.
itröpa. *it*-, either poss. or obj. 1st plu. pron. -*vöpa*, probably adv. EQUAL. (cf. verb *vöpa'auv*, EQUALIZE, "emparejar").
kunatitica'ptunata. cf. § 25.
48. *haecatsöpuu.uk'ta*. *hae*-, indefinite, HOW. -*at*-, 1st plu. pron. sbj. -*sö*-, interrog. -*pu*-, emphatic sbj. -*a*-, pron. obj. *uk'ta*, uncertain but possibly by metathesis from *ukat*, CARRY.
titi.inidak'tá. *ti*-, pron. sbj. -*ti*-, conditional. -*ini*-, locative, HERE. *dak'ta*, stem LEAVE, DESERT.
49. *kugababan*. *baban*, redup. plu. of *ban*, COYOTE.
amihugia. *hug*, stem EAT. -*ia*. future.
50. *antikihí*. -*hi*-, proximate time. (cf. note Text § 1, 15. The use of the preterit sign and stem form is inexplicable here, where the meaning is "I will go"; it may possibly be explained as a literal translation of the Spanish idiom "ya me voy", the particle "ya" normally carrying the significance "already").
kida.örá. *kida*, TOWN, (possibly from stem *kíö*, DWELL). -*öra*, postposition, INTO.
nanhömaig'gara. *g'gara*, redup. continuative of invariable stem *ga*, SEEK. -*ra*, purposive future motion.
51. *na'itpalewita*. (' is probably merely a hesitation,). -*it*-, pronom. obj. *palewit*, invariable (and consequently irregular) stem AID, ASSIST. (This is probably a borrowed stem as it contains three very rare or abnormal sounds, initial *p*, *l* and *e*, besides being irregular). -*a* (probably better -*da*), future.
nabwök'ta. *bwök*-, probably defective stem BRING, CARRY. -*ta*, (probably for -*da*), continued future.
52. *naduk*. *duk*, stem RAIN.
53. *navapictöxö'piv*. cf. Text § 3, 29.
kucoriorhak'göciat. -*c*-, positive, (assimilated from -*ic*-). *orior*, adv. PROMPTLY, SOON. *hak'göcia*, cf. § 16. -*t*, optative.

54. *antisö'id*. *sö'()**id*, pret. of stem *sö'idib*, SUFFER, BEAR. (It is quite possible that the stem is *sö'id*, the *-ib* of the apparently present form being applicative, but the reason for such use is not evident).
- intatam*, *tatam*, doubtless redup. plu. of *tam*, TOOTH, but this simple stem appears to be not in common use.
- nanaakürmdat*. *-a-*, completive. *-a-*, pron. obj. *kürm*, stem CHATTER. *-dat*, imperfect, continued past action.
55. *havagantut'ruü*. *tut'ruü*, by syncope from *tuturuü*, redup. plu. of *turuü*, KNEE.
- iciampupungü'gitdat*. *ic-iam-*, positive + negative, equivocal. *-pup-*, probably advs. *-pu-öp-*, THUS-ALSO. *-um-*, probably passive. *gü'git*, stem TREMBLE, SHAKE. (The apparent present stem here may be iterative reduplication of stem *git*). *-dat*, imperfect, continued past action.
56. *nanahono'inib*. cf. § 31.
- höganonor*. *n-*, poss. pron. *nonor*, redup. plu. of *nor*, HAND.
57. *nanhuk'a*. *huk'a*. (Other examples point to stem *huk'ad*, pret. *huká*. One would expect a form such as *hukda*, with future suffix; this form may be due to error of informant).
- namitámame'x*. *mame'x*, by syncope for *mame'x*, reduplication of *mac'x*, pret. of *mac*, APPEAR, BE SEEN. (Redup. for plu. subj.).
58. *kumibidadaiyar*. *-bi-*, locative, HITHER. *dada*, invariable plural stem ARRIVE. *-iya-*, probably heard for *-ia-*, future suf. *-b*, probably subjunctive. (Why the future subjunctive should be used in this instance is inexplicable, unless it be that the informant misunderstood the intent).
59. *amikusiatuk*. Uncertain; *kusia* is given as invariable verbal stem SOIL, STAIN, "manchar". *tuk*, defective(?) stem CARRY.
60. *nampuva'ua*. (' is probably hesitation, .). *ua*, invariable, defective stem CARRY (BE CARRYING?).
- nataxda*. cf. § 41.
- in'or.ám*. *in-*, pron. poss. *nor*, HAND. *-ám*, postposition, IN, BY.
61. *nanoimör'iat*. *öimör*, stem WALK. *-ia-*, fut. *-t*, subjunctive.
- gac'öp*. *gac-*, for *ga-ic-*, article-adjectival sign. *hö'p*, stem COLD.
- nasó'pdap*. *só'p*, stem SHIELD, PROTECT, OBSTRUCT; (stem uncertain, probably *sob'*). *-da-*, continued future. *-b*, subjunctive.
62. *awem'ic'ihalk*. *-em-ic-*, (*-iamic-*), neg.-pos., superlative. *ihalk*, (probably better (*ihaić*), adj. DIFFICULT, HARD.
- naractohod'ic*. *-ac-*, assimilated from *-a-ic-*, completive-positive.

-to-, probably auditory error for -tu-. *hodi*, probably elided form of *hoda'i*, STONE, ROCK. -a, adjectival, FULL OF.

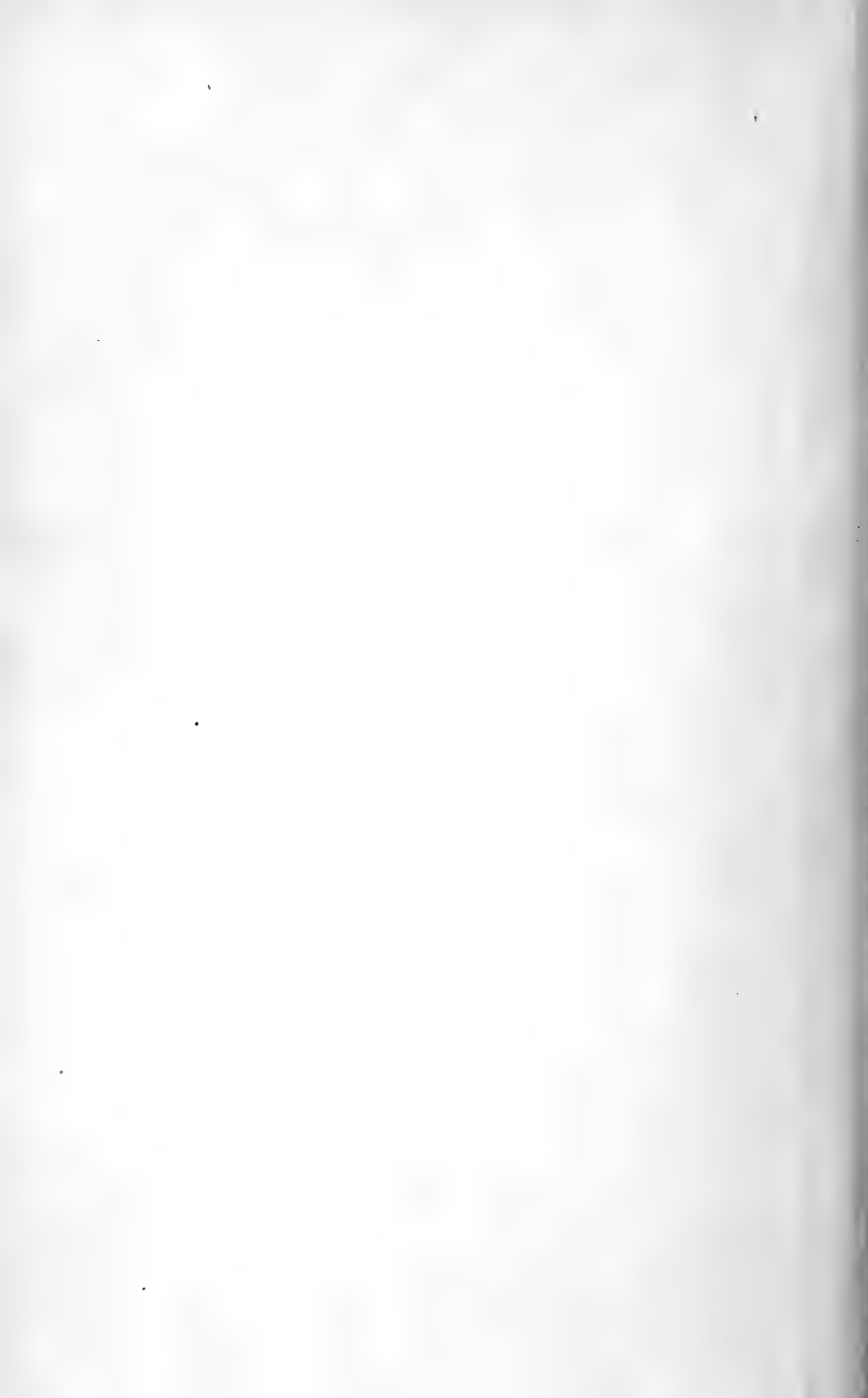
kadactuma'm. *kada-*, Sp. cada, EVERY. *ctuma'm*, reduced from *ictuma'm*, cardinal, FIVE.

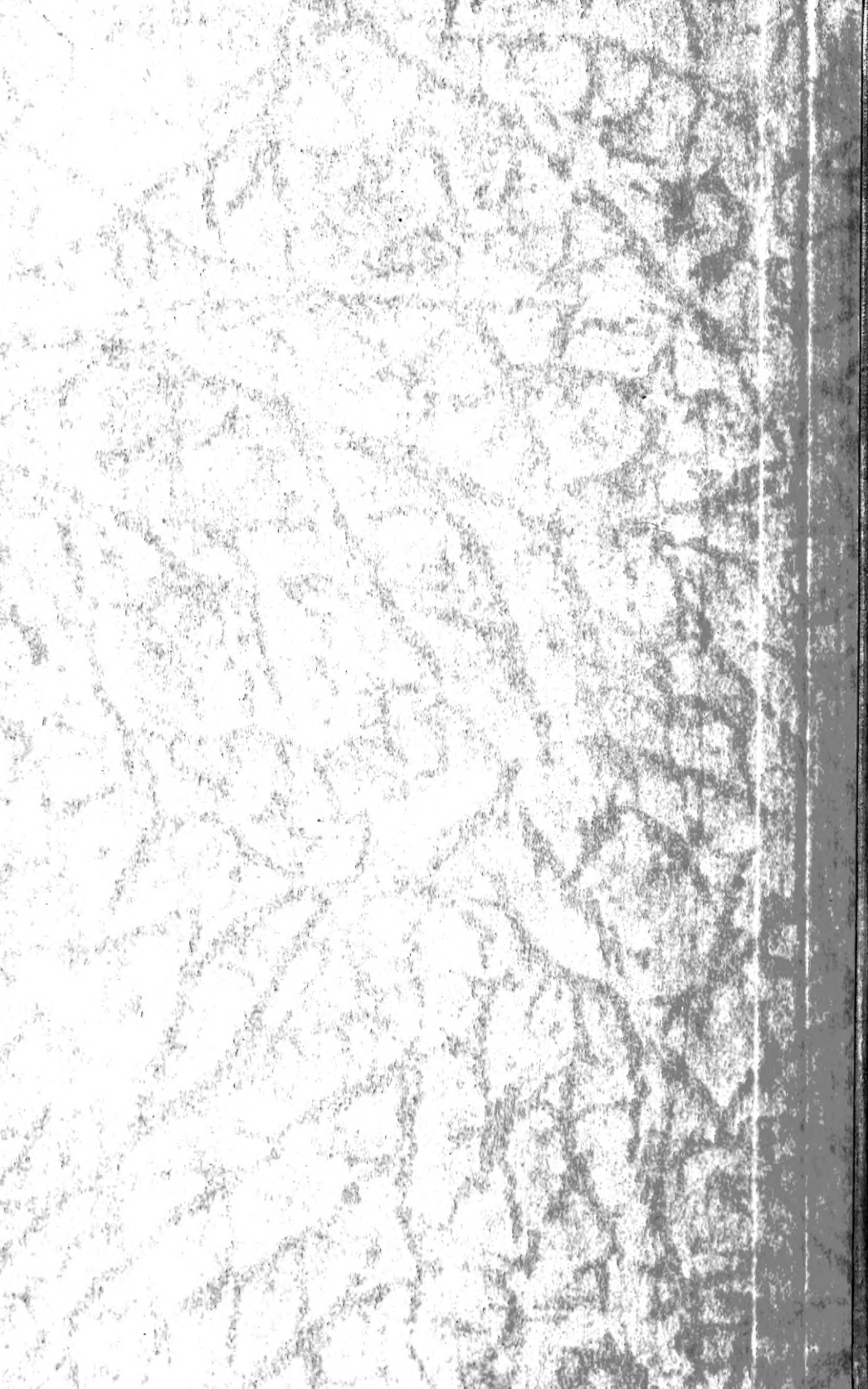
63. *nana'iarim*. 'iar, stem FALL. -im, contemporaneous motion. *titimö'daddá*. cf. § 44.
64. *kiamitha'kud*. *kiam*, stem HOME, (probably cognate with *kiö*, LIVE and *kida*, TOWN). -i-, original stem vowel. -t-, (better -d-), 3d sing. pron. poss. -ha'kud, postposition, TOWARDS. *tibivám*. -bi-, locative, HITHER. -n-, pron. obj. *nam*, pret. of *namök*, MEET, ENCOUNTER.
65. *natrakörha'ánva's*. *vakör*, adv. INDOORS, (doubtless from *va'ak.ör*, HOUSE-IN). -ha', postposition, TOWARDS. -a-, completive. -n-, pron. obj. *va's*, invariable (defective?) stem LEAD. *natanda'i*. *da*, invariable stem BE SEATED. -í, pret. applicative.
66. *gagö'ta'isonap*. *gö'*, adj. GREAT. *tari*, FIRE. -sonap, postposition. *natugansa'a.inkat-uadamvúva*. An extraordinary verbal complex. *n-*, proclit. conj. -a-, pron. sbj. -tu-, uncertain, possibly emphatic sbj. but there should be a preterit -t- here. -ga, article. -n-, poss. pron. *sa'a*, BLANKET. -in-, poss. pron. *katua*, SHOULDER. -dam-, postposition, ON. -va-, completive. *va*, pret. of *wak*, PLACE, PUT.
67. *avianictonkat*. -iam-ic-, neg.-pos., superlative. *ton*, defective stem BE HOT, HOT. -kat, past continued state. *natatuhido*. *hido*, pret. of *hidor*, COOK.
68. *gö'gör*. redup. plu. of *gö'*, GREAT. *nathö'kö'datumá*. *hö'kö'd*, instrumental postposition, here functioning as adv., WITH IT. -n-, pron. obj. *ma*, pret. of *mak*, GIVE.
69. *antiamhö'hiv*. *hö'hiv*, pret. of *hohi'*, WISH, DESIRE. *nanituhu*. *hu*, pret. of *hug*, EAT. (Possibly the future tense should have been used here as no pret. particle is used and the context would seem to demand the future). *aniamkuibiuk'at*. -kuí-, (after neg. *iam*), incompleted, NOT YET. *biuk*, defective stem BE HUNGRY. -kat, past continued state.
70. *titunma*. cf. § 68. *nantuhugiv*. *hug*, stem EAT. -ia-, future. -d-, subjunctive. *nantavó'i*. cf. § 38.
71. *aniticap.ako'i*. -ic-, positive, or more probably in this connection, adjectival sign. -ap-, excellentive, WELL. -a-, completive. *ko'i*, pret. of *koc*, SLEEP.

- anticko'o'kab. ko'o'k*, unexplained variant of stem *ko'k*, BE ILL.
-*kab*, past continued state.
72. *a'cia'd. a-*, completive. (The ' is probably merely a pause, .).
cia'd, invariable (defective?) stem DAWN, AWAKE.
anicko'o'k. cf. § 71.
73. *anikart. kart*, defective stem LIE, BE STRETCHED OUT.
74. *havantianö'i. nö'i*, pret. of *nö'*, DANCE.
aniaminkiaminmart. -in-, pron. poss. *kiam*, HOME. -*in-*, pron. obj. *mart*, invariable (and consequently irregular) stem KNOW. (This form was given as a translation of "I did not want to stay in my house").
nicnö'ïmkav. nö', stem DANCE. -*im-*, contemporaneous motion; after positive -*ic*, desiderative. -*kab*, past continued state. (The use of this suffix instead of -*dat* shows that the continuance of the state of desire is emphasized).
75. *tötia.avö'm. tö'tia*, redup. plu. of *tö'ya*, GIRL. -*a-*, pron. obj. of postposition. -*vö'm*, postposition, TOGETHER WITH.
gömxötük'a. gömhö, adv., EVERY. *tuk'a*, NIGHT, (cf. *tuk*, BLACK, DARK).
76. *avibinönöv. -bi-*, locative, HITHER. -*n-*, pron. obj. *nönö*, redup. frequentative of *nö*, SEE. -(*i*)*v*, applicative.
avilhö'mdäv. hö'm, stem LAUGH. -*dav*, imperfect, past continued action.
natpuvantöt. cf. § 12.
77. *napaxö'pria. xö'p*, by syncope for *xö'piv*, CONVALESCENCE. cf. § 40. -*ia*, future.
natap'kinavdipu. -at-, pron. sbj. -*ap-*, probably for *öp*, ALSO, AGAIN. -*ki-*, proximate time. *navd*, by syncope from *navad*. cf. § 1. -*i-*, probably reappearance of lost stem vowel. -*pu-*, plural purposive future motion.
78. *titub'tuktugia. -bi-*, locative, HITHER. -*tuk-*, doubtful, probably refers to food, as complex carries that meaning. *tug*, possible stem CARRY. -*ia*, future.
bavvö'zgam. bav, BEANS. -*vö'zgam*, postposition, MIXED WITH.
79. *nata'daktaka. dak'ta*, invariable stem LEAVE, DESERT. -*ka*, continued future state.
yako'kon. ko'kon, plural of *kókon*, CROW.



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