

“Bukidnon,” from “bukid” (mountain) and “non” (people), means “mountain people.” The term was first used by Visayan coastal dwellers to identify the people of the mountains of the province that came to be called by the same name, in north-central Mindanao. They are not related to the mountain dwellers of southern Negros, who are also called “Bukidnon” by the lowland Visayan inhabitants.

The native name is “Talaandig,” a designation also used by the Manobo for the Bukidnon. “Talaandig” derives from “talaan” (mark), and “andig” (worth emulating). It is the term by which the western Bukidnon still refer to themselves. The northern Bukidnon call themselves “Higaonon,” or “shrimp removed from the water,” referring to their displacement from their coastal settlements to the hinterland. Some Bukidnon groups derive their name from the river valleys they inhabit. For example, the Tagoloanon and Pulangien are named after the rivers Tagoloan and Pulangi, but they actually belong to the larger ethnic group of Bukidnon.

The Bukidnon people belong to the original stock of proto-Philippine or proto-Austronesian stock who came from south China thousands of years ago, earlier than the Ifugao and other terrace-building peoples of northern Luzon. Ethnolinguist Richard Elkins (1984) coined the term “Proto-Manobo” to designate this stock of aboriginal non-Negritoid people of Mindanao. The ancestors of the Bukidnon came from that stock. Culturally and racially, therefore, the Bukidnon have much in common with the Manobo.

The Bukidnon are located in northern Bukidnon, western Agusan, and southern Nfisamis Oriental. Their language is called “Binukid.” Population estimate in 1988 was 72,000 (NCCP-PACT).

## **History**

The proto-Manobo people originally established their settlements on riverbanks and along the coasts of northern Mindanao in an era before the birth of Christ. The population grew steadily until the coming of the Sri Vijayans, followed by the conquest of Madjapahit invaders. Those who were driven into the interior came to be called “Bukidnon” by the Visayan immigrants and “Monteses” by the Spaniards.

Although the Bukidnon are now scattered in the hinterlands, their oral tradition reveals that they were once a homogeneous group called “Talaandig.” Their ethnic unity is also indicated by the existence of the *giling*, a black scepter still in the possession of the *datu* (chief) of Bugabut, symbolizing the position of “the highest datu of the Bukidnon.” Another symbol of ethnic unity is the *takalub*, made of hollow bone or boar’s tusk, which is carried by a datu whenever he travels from village to village to settle disputes among the Bukidnon. It is said to have been handed down from the Bukidnon culture hero Agyu. The Bukidnon people believe themselves to be descendants of Agbibilin, considered the common ancestor of the four ethnic groups of Mindanao: Bukidnon, Maranao, Manobo, and Maguindanao. He tasked them with the duty to act as judge and

arbiter in domestic and intertribal disputes. This royal legacy is symbolized by a “jar of oil,” said to have been passed from Agbibilin down through generations.

The Talaandig had to defend themselves against invaders in search of loot and slaves. They fended off Moro raiders from the west, the Manobo and other tribes from the east and south. The warriors would bring back the arm of a slain enemy, hold it up for the families of the victors to strike and then hang it under the house in preparation for a thanksgiving ceremony for Talabusau, the spirit protector of warriors and of those who run amuck.

It was only around the mid-19th century that Spanish influence was felt in Bukidnon, for the jurisdiction of Misamis province extended to the northern part of the unexplored area. Then, by 1869, a politico-military government was established for Mindanao, and the Misamis-Bukidnon region became one of its six districts. Bukidnon was a part of Misamis until the end of the Spanish regime. During the American period, it became a subprovince of Misamis and later of Agusan in 1907. In 1914 Bukidnon became a separate province.

In 1910 the anthropologist Fay-Cooper Cole observed that the Bukidnon people were of three physical types: the Negritoid, Visayan, and Caucasoid. The Negritoid was the result of intermarriages with the aboriginal Aeta population; the Visayan descended from the Sri Vijayan and Madjapahit invaders; and the Caucasoid emerged during the colonial periods. Culturally, the Bukidnon may also be classified according to the three following types: the nontraditional, semitraditional, and traditional. The first group has been assimilated into the national culture, the second mixes both indigenous and cosmopolitan practices and beliefs, and the third has kept the indigenous culture intact because of its isolated habitat. This unevenness in degree of cultural assimilation among various Bukidnon groups has been observed by one anthropologist who, in 1955, noted that the lowland Bukidnon had adapted to Visayan ways, while a northern group was still wearing Talaandig costume and practicing tattooing and teeth mutilation. Anthropologist Carmen Ching-Unabia observed in 1986 that, generally, the only distinguishing marks of the Bukidnon were the *tangkulo* (male headgear) and their practice of betel nut chewing. However, there are Bukidnon in the mountain forests whose traditions are still intact.

## **Economy**

The Bukidnon's major means of subsistence are food gathering and swidden agriculture. The men fish and hunt; the women gather shellfish and jungle roots. Some women still make pottery and weave hemp and cotton cloth, although these industries have greatly declined because of the entry of trade goods. However, a source of pride for the Bukidnon women is their skill in making applique and embroidered garments. Mat weaving and basketry are done by both sexes. Blacksmiths make knives and spearheads; brass casting is done by the process of wax molding.

## Political System

The *batasan/balau* (custom law), is based on *bungkatol ha bulawan*, literally “the golden rule,” a sacred stick on which are inscribed Bukidnon laws and code of ethics. Custom law used to impose the death penalty for crimes such as murder, a wife’s infidelity, and incest. Whoever settled the land owned it. Once it was abandoned, however, it could be claimed by someone else. Trial by ordeal used to be practiced. The accused were ordered to pull out a needle from a pot of boiling water. They proved their innocence if their hand was left unscathed. Disputes were settled by fines of money, animals, and materials like plates and Chinese jars.

Laws could be revised only after general agreement was elicited in a *singampo*, a conference of *datu* (village chiefs). This practice became increasingly necessary with the encroachment of foreign cultures. The death penalty, for instance, had to be revised when the Americans prohibited it. Up to the early 20th century, an occasional *singampo* was still being called by the *datu*.

The Bukidnon recognize a hierarchy of leadership. The lowest type of *datu* is the *didingkulan*, who leads a particular village activity, such as hunting, trapping, fishing, or farming. Several *didingkulan*, therefore, assist the *datu* of the *tulugan* (kinship community). The *masicampo* (from the Spanish, “maestre de campo”) is the chief *datu* of the *kagtulugan*, a settlement consisting of several *tulugan*. Bukidnon of different settlements, culturally united in one *keleba* (district), acknowledge the authority of a *datu-datuon*, the high *datu*. Although the political system of the national and provincial government now prevails, the traditional concept of the *datu* is still strong.

The *datu* has two main functions: to judge and arbitrate in matters of dispute and assist the *babaylan* (shaman) in religious ceremonies. He is chosen by virtue of the qualities that he shows in his youth: a sense of fairness, intelligence, curiosity, and willingness to learn Bukidnon culture and lore. The *datu* is protected by a group of spirits: *Omalagad*, *Pamahandi*, *Tumanod*, *Molin-olin*, and *Ibabasuk*. His guiding spirit is *Dumalungdung*.

A man chosen to be a *datu* undergoes several ceremonies in his lifetime as he progressively rises a step higher in rank. When he is about 15 to 17 years old, the village may notice that he has the qualities of a good *datu*. He undergoes the *panlisig* ceremony to keep evil spirits away from him. He then undergoes *pani-ib*, an apprenticeship period where he learns the Bukidnon riddles, proverbs, belief system, pantheon of gods, myths, case reference stories, epic of *Agyu*, customs, and laws. A few years later, he undergoes the *panumanuron*, a simple initiation ceremony in which the good spirit *Tumanod* is invited to descend on him so he will become wise in decision making. Three chickens or roosters—red, white, and black—are ritually sacrificed. The white fowl represents *Tumanod* and the virtues of purity of heart, wisdom, and sincerity; the red fowl, *Talabusaw* and the vices of anger and hatred; the black fowl, the evil spirits. He is made to handle simple cases to test his soundness of judgment and

knowledge of custom law. Between 30 and 35 years old, he undergoes the ceremony for the first degree of datuship, the *tagulambong hu datu*, the root word *lambong* literally meaning “widespread branches,” symbolizing the datu’s ability to protect and feed his people. Hence, his land and granary must be available to all. He is sometimes expected to provide the bridewealth for a groom who cannot afford it. At the age of 45 to 50 years old, the *gulugundo* ceremony, a lavish ritual-feast, acknowledges his lordly status. The last ceremony is the *linangkaban*, performed when the datu is about 75 years old, venerated as one who has reached the apex of wisdom. He is carried on a hammock when he travels from village to village to judge and arbitrate.

In the past, the datu was also chosen by virtue of his prowess as a warrior. He wore a distinctive dress worn only by distinguished warriors. Polygyny was usually practised only by the datu, although it was generally allowed to all.

A *bai* (female datu) is chosen if she is childless and has wisdom and other such virtues. Her guiding spirit is *Babaion*, a term also sometimes used for the female datu herself.

### **Social Organization and Customs**

In the traditional social structure, the *datu* belonged to the warrior class, which was composed of other warriors, called *bagani*. They wore distinctive garments and tattoos. Women and children who were captured as slaves from other places could be integrated into the family. If so, their offspring were considered free. The offspring of slave women who became the concubines of their owners were also considered free.

In ancient times, a datu’s daughter was cloistered in a tower or a house set atop a hill that was difficult to climb. Her residence was heavily walled so as to keep the wind out. Such precautions would preserve her virginity and fine complexion and hence command a high bride-price for her.

The basic social unit is the family, which may extend to grandparents, aunts, and uncles, all of them living together in one big *tulugan* or house.

Betel nut chewing is a prevalent practice for both men and women. The quid, called *tinalad*, consists of betel leaves, lime, and the betel nut. It is placed in a small pouch or brass box that is carried about in the men’s carrying bag or the women’s carrying basket. It has an important function in religious, healing, and social rituals.

After childbirth, which is attended by the *mangonoyamo* (midwife), the afterbirth is wrapped in two layers of cloth and buried either under the ladder or the stove. It is believed to be the infant’s twin, and its soul ascends to heaven and becomes the infant’s guiding spirit. *Magbabaya*, the Supreme Being, descends to earth to inquire of the infant what manner of death it wants to have when its time comes.

The midwife tries to revive a stillborn by spitting the red juice of a chewed *tinalad* into

its mouth. A twin birth is followed by the *pagalomo* ceremony within three days to prevent sibling rivalry. The infant's name is derived from an event that is related to its birth.

An *idang* (aunt) takes charge of the children, especially a potential datu, who is tutored by his *idang* on Bukidnon lore. Puberty for both boy and girl means they are now "ready to chew betel nut." They then undergo teeth filing and blackening.

Arranged marriages and child betrothal are still practiced among the Bukidnon. Children of 11 and older are considered marriageable. On the wedding day, the groom and his entourage of relatives carrying items of the bridewealth go to the bride's house. These may be a bolo, spear, cloth, carabao, cash, jewelry, and so on. Leading the entourage is the *tagdasang*, who orates on the achievements of the groom's family, and the *tagsaot*, who dances a war dance. An *idang* holds an umbrella over the groom. At the bride's home, the two families face each other and the *taltag* or bridewealth is set. A kernel of corn represents an item of the bridewealth to be presented to each relative of the bride. The bride's *idang*, for instance, receives a substantial amount of the bridewealth. The wedding ceremony immediately follows: the groom takes a fistful of rice, molds it into a ball, and feeds it to the bride. The bride then does the same, and the ceremony is ended. The groom serves the bride's family during the first few months of marriage. However, after this initial period, the couple's place of residence is usually near that of the husband's family. In a polygynous household, the first wife is recognized as the head wife.

Incest taboo is strictly obeyed. Culprits used to be caged like pigs on the ground floor of a house, ridiculed, and poked with sticks. Then they were brought to the edge of a cliff and clubbed until they fell, but this penalty was modified in a *singampo*.

The death of a family member is announced by a person who must turn his back on the person to whom he is speaking. No single person must relay the same information, so several family members must take turns announcing the death to relatives. The corpse is prepared for its journey into the afterworld with a bath and its best clothes. A sharp bolo is buried with it so that the spirit will have a means of clearing its trail and of defense against evil spirits.

The grave marker is the *salimbal*, a crown of woven rattan, which will give the dead person's soul something to do, so it will not be lonely. After the burial, a *pangalak* or food offering is laid, where the coffin was, during the wake. The mourners eat the *pangalak*; leftovers are then placed in certain parts of the house. Someone leads the prayers meant to drive away the evil spirits that cause death.

## **Religious Beliefs and Practices**

Ching-Unabia (1986) divides Bukidnon cosmology into four worlds: the *langit* (skyworld), *kalibutan* (earthworld), *didalum ha nanad* (underworld), and *ulagingan*

(the paradise of the Bukidnon epic characters). Each world is in turn composed of several layers. For example, one of the seven layers of the skyworld is made up of all the designs and patterns used on the Bukidnon clothes.

Cole's 1910 study lists three classes of Bukidnon spirits. The first class consists of the seven spirits, called *gimukod*, residing in every person. Illness is caused by one or more *gimukod* wandering away from the body. Hence, healing is done with a "soul catching" ceremony called the *pagaluno* or *pag-gimukod*. Death occurs when all seven of the person's *gimukod* merge into one, which then goes to live on Mount Balatucan. The *gimukod* of the dead sometimes visits its living relatives and must occasionally be offered food and prayers so as not to be offended.

The second class is the *alabyanon*, which is subdivided into the *magbabaya*, *pamahandi*, and *ingkantu* or *busau*. There are six powerful *magbabaya* and lesser gods. The *migloginsal/agobinsal/diwata magbabayalapo*, "The All Powerful One" is the creator of the earth. He lives in a house in the sky made of coins. People who see him are turned to water. His name is invoked only by the baylan and only when an offering is made. The *magbabaya tominapay* is "the spirit who lives under the earth and supports it with his hands." The *magbabaya* at the four cardinal points, "where earth and sky meet," are *Dumalungdung*, "the spirit in the east whence the sun comes"; *Ongli*, "spirit in the west where the sun hides"; *Tagalombong*, "the spirit in the south whence the waters come"; and *Magbabaya Tiponan*, "the spirit of the place where the waters unite, the ocean." *Dumalungdung* and *Ongli* are also the patrons of the baylan.

There are 14 lesser *alabyanon*. *Panglang* and her servant *Mangonoyamo* are females who care for midwives, pregnant women, and unborn children. *Gomogonal* looks after spirits of the dead. *Talabusau* is the patron of warriors and those who run amuck. Gods of domestic animals are *Omalagad*, the patron of hunters and their dogs, and *Amimisol*, the protector of chickens and pigs. *Agyu/Aguio*, an epic hero, is now a spirit who lives on earth and sometimes attends the *kaliga-on* ceremony. The last seven *alabyanon* are servants to the *kaliga-on*.

There are 10 *pamahandi*, who are protectors of horses and carabaos and senders of good fortune and prosperity. They are generally friendly although an offense against them will cause ill fortune.

The *ingkanto* are nature spirits. The *busau* or *balbal* are unfriendly spirits and include: the *bulalakau*, the spirit of the water which lives in the sea, springs, streams, and rivers; the *magomanay*, the spirit in the *baliti* trees; the *lalawag*, the spirit in groves, also the owner of deer and bees; *Tagadalama*, the spirit living in cliffs; and *Tagumbanua*, the god of the fields to whom the *kaliga-on* ceremony is dedicated.

The third class of spirits is the *kaliga-on*, consisting of 16 powerful beings. They live in mountains, specially in volcanoes. Crude symbols represent them at the *kaliga-on* ceremonies: the god *Lantagon* is represented by a small carved wooden figure; four gods are represented by the *golon-golon*, small bamboo baskets containing leaves and

part of a pig's skull; six other gods are represented by the *dagingon*, which are bundles each of two or three sticks.

The Bukidnon believe in charms. The *tigbas* is a magic stone which fell from the sky. It is owned only by the datu. A rare kind of stone, owned by a very few Bukidnon, is the *tigbas a kilat*, "teeth of the lightning," because it fell on the spot struck by lightning. It has the power to stop violent storms.

The magbabaya and the kaliga-on are referred to as diwata, but not the lesser alabyanon nor the gimukod of the dead. The term for any of the spirits is *magtitima/tomitima*.

The earth is supported by one male and one female serpent, called *intombangol*, who lie across each other to form a cross. Their mouths are submerged in the water where earth and sky meet. Their movement causes earthquakes; their breath causes the winds; and their panting creates violent storms.

The baylan performs *pamuhat* or religious ceremonies, which are held in the various stages of agriculture and of the life cycle, such as house building or preparing a clearing. The baylan's services are also required to cure an epidemic or diagnose an illness. A person is not called by the spirits to become a baylan. When a person decides to become one, he/she is apprenticed to an experienced baylan. According to folk tradition, the first baylan was taught by Molinolin, patron and guide of the baylan. His assistants are the gods Ongli and Dumalungdung, who help diagnose illness.

The most important and lavish pamuhat is the kaliga-on, which used to last nine days but is now reduced to three. It is the fulfillment of a *panaad*, a vow made to a god to offer prayers and material things like betel nut, cloth, and animals. The kaliga-on is performed for a bountiful harvest, hunting and fishing, the healing of the sick, before housebuilding, for a successful business venture, and so on. Other kaliga-on ceremonies are the *kasaboahan*, which is in honor of the god Malibotan and his grandfather, and the *magbabaya minumsob*, which is held by a bridal pair to ensure a happy union.

### **Architecture and Community Planning**

Because the Bukidnon subsist on food gathering and swidden agriculture, they live in small settlements near forest hillsides or along riverbanks. These settlements are not compact, since each house is built on the farm site. They used to build their houses atop trees or placed high on piles. Long poles extending from the ground to the sides or floor kept these houses stable. Entrance was by a ladder which was drawn up to keep animals and enemies out. During the Spanish and American times, villages based on the plaza-complex structure were established in the lowlands, like the Visayan towns along the coast.

The center of authority and ceremonial functions is the tulugan, which is the datu's residence. It is a large house surrounded by the people's homes and their fields. This house also shelters the datu's retainers and fighting men, aside from his family. It is the

gathering place during ceremonies and times of danger. A shell trumpet is used to summon the people to meetings. The term “tulugan” is also used to refer to the kinship community or the big house of an extended family.

Because rice cultivation is slash-and-burn (swidden), houses are light and easily demolished. The framework of the house consists of upright saplings across which poles are laid and tied to serve as the base of the bamboo floor. Cross poles join the tops at a height of about 1.8 meters. From the corners, light poles make an inverted V at each end to which a ridgepole is tied. The thatch roof is laid on more poles running from the top to the upper stringers. The walls are of beaten bark or mats, but a space is left open between them and the overhanging roof. Entrance is by a ladder. There is no door to shut out trespassers. Instead, a knot of leaves or cogon grass is tied to the ladder as a sign that the family is away and the place is “taboo.”

The floor is of broad bamboo strips on which grass or rattan mats are laid. Mats are made by lacing cords around narrow strips of rattan, like the pattern of venetian blinds. These mats are also hung on the sides to keep the rains out. The walls are smoked from torches and the kitchen fire.

Furniture is sparse. There is a raised seat or bed, which is placed in an alcove near the entrance. Mats serve as beds, tables, and seats. A rattan hammock may hang in one corner. Three stones forming a triangle make up the fireplace.

Scattered about are storage, field, and fish baskets. Pottery jars and bamboo sections are used as cooking utensils and water containers. Rattan baskets or racks hanging from walls contain coconut shells used as dishes and spoons. A simple boxlike cradle for the baby hangs from the wall. There are wooden chests and Chinese jars, some of which are antique, acquired through trade on the coast.

## **Visual Arts and Crafts**

Traditional fabric for women’s clothing was abaca or hemp, but is now cotton cloth obtained through trade. Red, blue, and white strips, or rectangular or square pieces of cloth are sewn together to make a wide *saya* (skirt). The hem may be adorned with patchwork or embroidered triangles, zigzag lines, or realistic figures, such as the human form, fruits, and flowers. The skirt is held up by a *bagkus*, a similarly decorated sash, or a *golongan*, a waistband around which are sewn numerous *saliyaw* (small brass bells). The *ginilangan* (blouse) is even more fully decorated, covered with patchwork or embroidered designs boldly outlined in yarn. The patterns on the skirt are repeated on the blouse. The blouse is *sinulaman* if it is embroidered; *ginuntingan* if made up of red, black, and white stripes sewn together; and *tinudtudan* if adorned with patchwork of geometric shapes. The typical colors are black, white, red, and a tinge of yellow.

The most common skirt has patchwork of red and white triangles along the hem, and red and white vertical stripes from the waist. The blouse is short enough to leave the



midriff bare; it has bell sleeves on which are patched red and white triangles alternated with red and white stripes. In olden times, the women tattooed their midriff with the same geometric designs used on their garments. At present, they wear a white chemise under their blouse to cover the midriff.

Traditionally, a young woman about to learn how to embroider the Bukidnon garments has first to participate in a ritual attended only by women. An offering of a chicken and prayers to the spirit guardian of embroiderers would ensure that her fingers would be guided by the goddess, so that she can sew even without looking at her work. She would be divinely inspired to choose the right color combinations and designs.

That patchwork and geometric decoration of garments is integral to the culture of the Bukidnon is evident not only in their cosmology but also in the terms for different designs. In 1910 Cole collected some of these terms. Two of the basic patterns are *sinanbilian* (zigzag) and *linongko* (vertical). There are also half-diamond designs atop a base line and others hanging above the line. A circular design is “scissor work in a circle”; a red half-diamond against a white field is “in.” Embroidery in red and yellow is “colors of a mat.”

Although geometric designs predominate, a considerable number are realistic. Among these are figures of men, women, animals, flowers, and fruits. Examples of clothing designs are the man with bolo, lizard, the leaves of the *pinola* tree, zigzag, bird, leeches, flower of a tree, design derived from the back of playing cards, and panel design from a handkerchief. Coloring is done by the “tie-and-dye” process.

Another researcher (Balansag 1986) lists other terms for Bukidnon designs. *Lugo* is the general term for the geometric patterns. Basic lines are *matul-id* (straight), *kinayog* (curved), *tagtiyarog* (vertical), *taghiruga* (horizontal), *binaligyas* (diagonal), *balugko* (crooked), and *sinurigaw* (zigzag).

*Bangkol*, a large comb with intricate designs incised or inlaid in brass or mother-of pearl, is fastened to the woman’s hair, which is kept in a bun on the back of her head. Attached to the bun is a roll of hair (or switch) covered with a headpiece consisting of the *panika* and *kalu-kaplu*. The *panika* is made of two tassels of yarn, falling to either side of the head just behind the ears. The *kalu-kaplu* is an embroidered triangular cloth pinned to the back of the head and falling straight down. A more elaborate headpiece, worn on ceremonial occasions, is the *pinanggahanan* (see logo of this article), which fans out about 60 centimeters high from a comb fastened to the bun. It resembles a male peacock’s spread-out tail. The base is made of a series of bamboo splinters to which are attached rows of zigzagging yarn that alternate with strings of beads and sequins. Each splinter is topped with a tuft of feathers.

Earrings with incised designs, earplugs, or tassels of yarn are worn. *Balaring* are silver or brass earrings with multiple strings of beads worn from ear to ear and passing under the chin. *Salay* are necklaces of beads, seeds, or boar’s bristles. The *sinakit* is a beadwork necklace with numerous coins attached to it. *Bukala* are bracelets and armlets

of brass or shell. *Binuklad* are bracelets made of red, black, white, and yellow beads. Finger rings are worn up to the upper joints; toe rings are also worn. *Singkil*, heavy brass anklets with pellets placed in them, make tinkling sounds as the woman walks.

The men wear coats, full-length trousers and belts, all decorated with embroidery and applique similar to those on the women's clothing. *Salual/saoal*, tight-fitting trousers, consist of two panels one on top of the other. One design has the upper part from the knees filled with horizontal patterns, and the lower part filled with vertical ones, or vice versa. One panel has rows of *inonsorán*, large triangles each topped by a three-leaf motif, while the second panel has geometric lines resembling those on a snakeskin. The latter design is appropriately called *baksan*, meaning "the pattern on the python's skin" (Casal et al. 1981). The *panaya*, embroidered waistband, keeps the trousers in place.

Instead of using pockets, the men carry bags, which are worn on the left side and suspended by a shoulder strap passing over the right shoulder. Their necklace is the *dinakít*, consisting of multicolored beaded strands worn closely around the neck. *Palikan/pandítan*, embroidered and beaded headdresses, are worn like a turban and may serve to carry odds and ends. Two corners fall in front of the ears. The third corner falling over the forehead is richly embroidered and beaded. Distinguished warriors wear the *tangkulo*, a three- or five-pointed headdress. The highest ranking datu wears the *sulang-sulang*. Each knot made on the two corners signifies a step in the rank. The men today wear their hair short; however, a few still grow their hair and wind it around the head in a knot.

The warrior's battle gear consists of a padded vest that functions as armor, over which a decorated sash is wound several times around the body and passes over the shoulders. Hanging from the belt is a colored kilt, a *kris* (fighting knife) and its sheath. The sash is both decorative and protective. The kilt is purely decorative.

A charm called the *talian* is worn like a bandolier. It passes over the right shoulder and hangs down the left side. It is made of several leaves of grass held together with cloth to which are attached shells, pigs' tusks, magic stone, a miniature carving of a dog's head, and alligator's tooth. A *talian* carved to resemble a squatting monkey may dangle from the breast or a cord. It helps the wearer to sense if an enemy is nearby. Moreover, the water in which it is submerged is believed to have medicinal value.

Teeth filing and blackening start at age 10 for both sexes. The incisors are cut horizontally across, about midway of their length, or bored through and inlaid with brass wire.

Like their garments, the weapons are also lavishly decorated. The handle or scabbard of the *kris* is inlaid with white beads or carved in the likeness of a star. The *kalasag* is a wooden shield decorated with carvings and paintings, incised with straight or curved black lines, or inlaid with beads or mother-of-pearl. A mirror, called *bulan-bulan*, and fringes of horsehair may be attached. The knob at the center is both decorative and functional: it is the hub of the design and is the space on the reverse side for the

handgrip.

The *taming* is a round shield woven out of bamboo sticks and rattan strips. The sticks, radiating from a small wooden disk, compose the base under and over which the rattan strips pass. The outer edge is finally held together by woven rattan added to it.

Baskets are made of bamboo, rattan, and pandanus. They are simply decorated with alternating outer enameled strips and dull inner ones. Colored bands of bamboo are also used. The juice of the banana blossom or the *tuba-tuba* is used to blacken the materials, which are then exposed to the smoke of burning resin. Designs are achieved through four basic weaves and their variants: checkerwork of uniform size or hexagonal openings, diagonal or twilled design, wickerwork, and the crossed weft design.

The woman's basket is carried on the back, supported by a strap around the forehead. It is used to transport farm products. The man's basket is worn like a knapsack: the bands are worn over the shoulders, and the basket is on his back. These baskets are oval shaped with covers. Large baskets without covers, not for carrying but for general storage, are placed in the fields, in the house or blacksmith's forge. The small carrying baskets of women are of pandanus. Rice bags are made of pandanus or straw. Large wall hangers, in which plates and coconut shell dishes are kept, are made of rattan strips in intertwining loops that form a decorative openwork case.

Mats and rice winnowers are made of wild grass or rattan. A mat may be used as a bed, seat, table, musical instrument, and wrapping for the dead. Crude mats of pandanus are used for drying grains, such as coffee. Various colored straws are woven to make simple designs.

Coloring materials are extracted from plants, such as talisay, tagom, or banana blossom, and then the dyed object is exposed to the smoke of burning resin.

Decoration on pottery consists of incised scroll designs placed just below the rim. Wood carving ranges from very crude representations of human beings in ceremonies to decorative sections of musical instruments. The wooden doll *lantangon* in the kaliga-on ceremony has vague lines merely suggesting the eyes, nose, and mouth. It is dressed in white, wears a red headband, and is placed on a miniature bamboo seat. It is used once then discarded.

The lower end of the long narrow guitar is carved to represent one or two heads of crocodiles or birds, while the upper end represents the tail. Bamboo containers for betel nut are incised with designs similar to those on garments.

### **Literary Arts**

There are 13 forms of Bukidnon folk literature. The verse forms that are chanted are the *antuka* (riddle), *basahan* (proverb), *limbay* (lyric poem), *sala* (lyric poem), *idangdang* (didactic song or ballad), *kaliga-on* (religious song), and *ulaging* (epic). Poems that are recited are the *bayok-bayok* (verses) and *dasang* (argumentative poem). Prose

narratives are the *sampitan* (case reference stories), *nanangen* (folktale), *gugud/batbat* (myths, legends, and historical accounts), and *mantukaw* (recited narratives about Agyu, the epic hero)

Riddles are not only forms of recreation but are also tests for prospective sons-in-law or datu. Every riddle begins with the phrase, *Antuki nu paraan...* (Guess what it is ... ). The following are examples:

*Minikagi su bakbak  
didalem hu yakungan  
Tubag su yanggunuban  
tampad ku kahulugan. (Manumbalay)*

The frog spoke  
under the stone  
The big frog answered  
at the end of the waterfall. (Gossiper)

*Kawayan ta Udyungan  
Ha buntung ta Ulaligan  
Na hadi'gkapanlibawen  
ku kena baya hu datu. (Mga laga)*

A bamboo of "Udyungan"  
A bamboo of "Ulaligan"  
no one can cut it down  
if it is not the will of a datu. (Ladies)

*Lubayen binalighut  
Ba kad ulien duun hu baya  
di nu tangka mahukad. (Ngaran)*

Hair that is knotted.  
You will go home to death  
but you will never unloosen it. (Name)

Proverbs can be either terse or extended verse forms. The following are examples of the first kind:

*Isan en ubay so hari elegan,  
hari no ma oma.*

Near though a place is, you can  
never reach it if you don't walk to it.

*Hare ta himatayan  
ta asom tad himataye.*

Before you say anything  
think it over seven times.

The limbay closely resembles the sala in form and subject matter. The following is an example:

*Tagka alay-alay a  
Lagaylay ta Linawen  
Tagkasuminanak a  
Ta ugas ta lalahidan  
Amin ku nga-ay lumay  
Ha min ku dayunas  
Ha indalag ku kandan  
Di dayu ku Dangagen  
Pat-an ku Tigbabawan  
Salaysay ha sinihay  
Kugun dinuyana  
Kaduma hu kalaleng  
Kupaw hu kulighunuh  
Inu man sa timpu duun?  
San ku iyaan dia tunged  
San pag dagingun  
Ku duawangun si nalumay  
Ku dagumasmak ki mudan  
San ku yan din alaga  
Panayu bagsa-on ad  
Lapugnu ki tumana  
Malugen ad pahagpit  
Hu banua hi nalumay*

This is my worry  
Oh, flower of Liwanen  
I am dreaming of  
The young leaves of the other world of death;  
If only I had parents still;  
That I still had parents,  
But they have settled there  
On the hilltop where I cannot go,  
I cannot climb up to their graves  
Which are separated like cogon,  
Accompanied by errors,  
With mistaken thoughts; I regret my bad acts,  
What does it matter then?  
Even if there was a chance;  
I can hear the loud sounds  
Of falling rain on the  
Land of my parents  
I can hear the falling rain;  
Even if there was a chance  
Slowly I would still fall  
Like drops of rain  
It will be difficult for me to drop upon  
The place of my parents.

The sala is a reflection on such emotional topics as love, war, death, and friendship.

Following is the “Song of the Rejected Lover”:

*Sala ho Hari Agkabaya-an  
Dali danga palangga ha  
Angga ha dig balawan  
Na, pagka anlo asom  
Ha, ka pag kalibukas din  
Dao tangki no pa-anay  
Hi linduwangi no anay  
Na paayon ayoni no so  
Pasalin osnogi no so bintana pig larawan  
Ko bintana yu manigga  
Ko putla yu dig balawan  
Ta iyan na anlao asom  
Ha yan na nabayao asom  
Ha palangga pa long ba a  
Ha angga pahambilong a  
Ke dowangon yu palangga  
Ko lama yu dig balawan  
Tag pa ayon a magawad  
Ko lama yo dig madin-ayon  
Na dao ad asom patolon  
Na dao asom pahila-on  
Ko mga dason-dason kod  
Ha mga domangon kod  
So tampoyong ha salamid  
So bontod ha pagalongan  
Banowa hog sawadon ha  
Bangon hag Juevison  
Na aman ko dasonan a  
Ha man ko dagandanon  
Na magbakilid a  
Botok a maglisod a kamalig  
Ta nong mongngan siliban  
Ko ha agong solimanan ko  
Ta nong monggo siliban ko ha  
Ko maka gakod nod  
Ko maka lumanogoman nod  
So tig patay langi no  
Ha tig balinoknok ki no.*

Song of the Rejected Lover  
Sweetheart, little sweetheart,  
Darling whom I will never offend;  
At sunrise tomorrow  
At dawn next day,  
Will you look down at me;  
Will you peep down at me;  
Please hearken to my request:  
Look down from your gilded window,  
The door with carvings  
The window glittering,  
The door of my beloved;

Tomorrow will be the day  
 Next day will be the day,  
 My beloved, I shall go away,  
 My beloved, I shall stay in your yard;  
 In the yard of someone I love:  
 In the direction  
 On your yard not far away;  
 I shall only go near  
 I shall only go there  
 If I shall be able to reach,  
 If I shall arrive at the  
 Crystal mountain,  
 The looking glass mountain,  
 Town of Sawadon,  
 Town of Juevison;  
 If I could reach there  
 If I could arrive there  
 I shall put up a shanty  
 I shall put up a shack;  
 So I can observe  
 So I can overhear;  
 For I shall eavesdrop  
 I shall try to hear,  
 When you shall have owned  
 When you shall have conquered  
 The one who makes you swoon  
 The one who makes you sigh.

The idangdang was originally sung by the idang (aunt), who was tasked to teach the youth proper values and skills like wine making, weaving, and household chores. Some idangdang have evolved into ballads that illustrate a point. One idangdang tells about Manti-ay-ay Manduraw, a Bukidnon warrior who leaves his home vulnerable to attack when he goes off to capture a slave for his wife. A *Manobo magahat* (outlaw) raiding party sacks his home, abducts his wife, and sells her into slavery for a *pandi* (tube-shaped cloth) and an *ampik* (multicolored pandi). Below is an excerpt of a dialogue between the Magahat captor and Manti-ay-ay's captive wife:

Woman to Magahat:  
*Naka-uba ka sa dagmal*  
*Ta hura no kabalaye*  
*Sa bantugan ko ha hibang*  
*Mu-oy ko sambunotan...*

Magahat to Woman:  
*Sapod-od ka magsubay*  
*Sa maduduya ha sandir*  
*Ta hurra iman magbaya*  
*Ko ibani-ay ko imo duso*

Woman to Magahat:  
*Hura labi mabiro*  
*Ha ulipon sa ngaran ko*

*Taigtundagay ad ta Lanaw*  
*Tagbaliwas ad pande*  
*Ibaylo ad ko ampik*  
*Ta ulipon sa ngaran ko*  
*Ta ugdop sa tugam-a ko.*

Woman to Magahat:  
You have an advantage, oh villain,  
You did not find my hero home;  
My famous bravest man  
Out on a battle of his own...

Magahat to Woman:  
You stop talking, worthless slave  
Powerless, rightless slave, here  
Nobody can stop me if  
I thrust the dagger of death.

Woman to Magahat:  
It is not a lie  
That slave will be my name  
They will sell me in Lanao  
They will barter me with *pandi*  
They will exchange me for an *ampik*  
Because my name is a slave  
And my nickname is worthless slave.

The kaliga-on are religious or ceremonial songs. These are sung by the baylan and a group of girls. The baylan knows the words of the traditional songs, part of which he teaches to the girls, and to these he adds some of his own. Many lines are archaic and not understood. These consist of a few words repeated over and over. Below is an excerpt from the Dagingon, the “Kaliga-Tabok-Kagpugas” (Planting Verses for Women):

*Hindog ay kan Dagingon*  
*Yambay so Dalahinaw*  
*Cuisa Sandolng so Lipandong*  
*Abay si Ilangitnon*  
*Pandahinoy bantay ka*  
*Padagulin tanud ka*  
*Sa ighimula ha dakun*  
*Daw igtanum ha damudaw*  
*Ibulasa sa mudan*  
*Ibud-as sa tumama*  
*Daw mataman sa panigbas*  
*Laman ho ipanggabas*  
*Sa man susumo-uk dagat*  
*Daw sumipok layagun.*

Come to us Dagingon  
Who sits with the ever pure  
Beside the veiled beauty  
With the heavenly Deity



Goddess of harvest, please watch  
Deity of Abundance, do guard  
The palay ready for sowing  
And the palay ready for planting  
Oh pour the mighty rain  
Release the life-giving drops  
So that the cutting of trees will end  
At the limit we marked  
You of the following, ebbing sea  
You who blow the sails by day...

The ulaging of Agyu and other epic heroes is chanted by several bards called *palag-ulaging* during a *kaamulan* (a community gathering on occasions like a tribal conference or wedding); or an episode of it may be chanted by a singer for his fellow villagers at the end of a full working day. Except when the singer holds a note indefinitely, the rhythm follows a regular beat of 2/4 time, often giving two measures to one line. Each verse is octosyllabic, following a fixed rhythm of stressed and unstressed syllables. Ideas in the ulaging are chanted repetitively in different words or phrases. Meaningless syllables are trilled or chanted to maintain the cadence.

The bayok-bayok is a verse form that is recited in iambic tetrameter rhythm. Traditionally, it was recited by spokespersons of the bride and groom in wedding ceremonies. At present the form is used to recite on any topic at any occasion. An example of a bayokbayok follows:

*Ku kalubaybay ha hena-hena  
Aman malumasel man  
Dung ki pakakulatay  
Ku amhay taphaw gahinawa  
Ba di ka tag basul  
Ben man daduwa sa aldaw  
Hari ka tag pamunditan  
Ku mabahin si nabayaw.*

That is why we find it difficult  
to hold on  
To the threshold of the heart  
That is why we find it hard  
to cling to  
An insincere heart  
But do not repent  
When the sun divides itself in two  
Do not regret  
When the sun is divided.

The *dasang* is a forceful recitation of one's strong convictions or angry feelings. The first and last syllable of each line are heavily stressed. Below is an example:

*Na huata iman  
Ta palianaan ta ang kabayasa*

*Ag ikagiya ta-i ha naka-una  
Na mga дума taw dia ta dibaluy  
Na iman ta napaliman tad  
Sag kinahanglan din  
Na yan ta paman palimanan  
Sa-i an naumahan  
Ku inu kandag ha kubaya  
Amun ta matuna-an tad  
Sa tuyu dia ha hadig uyun  
Ku ig pabuhat ku duun  
Ha ma-ayad bay-anan  
Ta sa la-ug ha-i sidan  
Ta ag supak diay sidan  
Hu kamit ha batasan  
Hudo ta-i pulus na mga etaw  
Ma-ayad ha-i bag labayun hu ulipun  
Yan ta-i pakahimu ta dasang  
Sa pumili ha magulana ha datu  
Ha kinilala hu madakul tungkay  
Iyan silbi maghuhukum.*

Now stop there;  
We shall listen to what we want to hear  
Told by one who has just arrived,  
Our companions from beyond;  
Now that we have already heard  
What they need  
Now we shall hear also from  
Those who meet the ones who have just arrived  
About what they want;  
But then we know  
That they do not agree with our purpose  
Of what I want them to do;  
It is better to leave it,  
For the truth is that they do not agree,  
For they do not follow  
Our own customs;  
They are useless people,  
We may as well sell them into slavery.  
This causes debate,  
The old datu will elect  
He who is well known by many,  
He will serve as the judge.

The sampitan is an anecdote illustrating a point relevant to the occasion, such as arbitration, a wedding ceremony, or installation ceremony for a datu. One sampitan tells of a datu's servant who acquires wisdom by eavesdropping on his master discussing with a fellow datu how to settle a feud. Another sampitan recounts the origin of the *lumbu-bulawan*, a hand-to-hand combat between two leaders of conflicting parties before the peace talks. It is said that Apu Lingaling abducted Apu Manda Lawi's wife. The neighboring datu intervened to settle the dispute but Apu Lingaling first demanded a duel with his rival before any decision was made.

One folktale explains the origin of the monkey. A woman was dyeing a piece of cloth when the boiling water splashed onto her hand. When she dried it, her two children laughed at her. They were transformed into monkeys, and the shell spoons that they had been using became their tails. Their fingernails were black because they had been helping their mother to dye the cloth.

The Bukidnon also have *gugud/batbat* (cosmogonical tales) such as the creation, the flood, the first man and woman, and the origin of the different races. Before heaven and earth existed, there was the *banting*, a very bright space surrounded by a rainbow. Three beings dwelt there: the one-headed Mulug Nanguyawuyaw, the ten-headed Dadanhayan ha Sugay, and the one-headed, winged being named Diwata Makabugnaw. Mulug decided to create the earth and the human race with the cooperation of Dadanhayan. At his every request, Dadanhayan would reply, “Yan ka magbaya” (Your will be done). And that is how the Supreme Being came to be called Magbabaya. Magbabaya formed seven human figures in his image and left six of them with Dadanyahan who, without Magbabaya’s permission, finished them according to his own desire. Magbabaya and Dadanhayan dueled over this until their iron weapons sank into the earth. These became the minerals that the human race would later forge into its own weapons and modes of transport. Finally, Magbabaya kept the seventh figure and gave up the six figures that Dadanhayan had tampered with. His figure became the first man; Dadanhayan’s six figures became the *incantu*, environmental spirit custodians; Talabugta, who guards the soil; Ibasasuk, who guards the plants; Bulalakaw, who guards the water and its creatures; Mamemelig, who guards the forests and its creatures; Lalawag, who guards the bees and their honey; and Mamahandi, who guards the people’s wealth. The bits of clay that were cut from the figures as they were being molded became the other living creatures. The flying creatures came from the armpits; fish and other animals that are caught by the fingers came from between the fingers; animals carried on the back, like the deer and wild pig, came from the back; animals that are ridden on, like horses, cows, and carabaos, came from between the legs.

The celestial bodies began when the sky was so low that a woman who was pounding rice kept hitting it whenever she would raise her pestle. She hung her beads and her comb on the sky, but when she began pounding the rice, the sky flew up and took her ornaments with it. Her comb became the moon and her beads became the stars.

“Kalikat Hu Mga Etaw Dini Ta Mindanao” (The Origin of the People of Mindanao) indicates how the Bukidnon’s ancestors immigrated to Mindanao. Two brothers, Beleb and Balaoy, came from across the seas to settle on the island now called Mindanao. A long drought caused Balaoy to leave the coast and move inland as he followed the remains of a big river that had dried up. He settled by a lake that had likewise shrunk. He was the ancestor of the inhabitants of northern Bukidnon. Another origin myth traces the common ancestor of the four ethnic groups of Mindanao — Bukidnon, Maguindanao, Maranao, and Manobo — to Agbibilin, who alone survived the Great Flood.

A mantukaw is an episode of the Agyu epic cycle, recited in contemporary Binukid or Visayan, depending upon which language the listener understands. While the literary qualities of the epic are kept intact, the mantukaw makes the epic more available to more people, since the ulaging is chanted in archaic Binukid.

The adventures of Agyu have been compiled and translated as *The Epic of Nalandangan* (Opeña 1975). This epic, called ulaging in Binukid, is also present among the Ilianon and northern Cotabato Manobo. The tales of Agyu, his three brothers and sister reveal the Bukidnon people's customs and their history of warfare. Once, when he was killed by a brother who did not recognize him, he was brought back to life by his mother who spat *tinalad* on him.

Many of the tales recount the war exploits of the four brothers. They raided towns to take the women and children as slaves. More than once Agyu dueled with a man whose wife he desired. He was killed by Mansalgyom, whose wife Agyu saw up in a tower. To express his desire for her, he asked her for a betel nut. When she refused, Agyu laid his head on her leg and slept from weariness. And this is how Mansalgyom found him. Because the sword of Mansalgyom could not pierce Agyu's skin, he took Agyu's own sword, which he drove into Agyu's breast.

Matabagka, Agyu's sister, was one of the heroes of this epic. Nalandangan was a seaside fortress where Agyu and other heroes lived. Opeña, who compiled episodes of the Bukidnon ulaging, provided the titles for the English translation of the first two songs, which center on Matabagka. In "The Warriors of Sagila Attack Nalandangan," the first song of the epic, Matabagka proved her fighting courage when she held the fortress against invaders at a time when all the men and older boys (numbering 1,000) had sailed away on some war exploit. While the women and children wept helplessly, Matabagka put on her armor and with shield and spear, hovered in the air like a dragonfly over the invaders, slaying them until Agyu, her brother, arrived and the enemies were finally repulsed.

The second song, "Matabagka Searches for the Deity of the Wind," shows Matabagka's cunning and sense of duty. Having learned from her brother Agyu that the deity of the wind, who was also the son of the sun god, was planning to put Nalandangan under his power, she conceived a way of stopping him. She went to the deity's citadel and won him over by her subtle charms until she became a trusted mistress. Then, as the deity slept, Matabagka stole his armband *taklubu*, in which his strength and supernatural power were hidden. Matabagka later married this deity to end forever the enmity between the two lands.

Another epic centering on the hero Baybayan exists among the Bukidnon, although only fragments of it have been collected so far. The best-known fragment recounts the mysterious circumstances of Baybayan's birth, his mission to lead his people in a journey seven times around the sea, and his ascension to heaven. Some versions identify him as a brother of Agyu, others recount merely chance encounters between these two men.**Performing Arts**

Bukidnon songs are usually monophonic, i.e., sung with a single melody, and are sometimes monodic, i.e., sung with a one-phrase melody. The singer embellishes with slurs and trills, gliding up and down the scale, at times holding a high note and then lowering it to a fast recitative that fits 4 to 6 syllables in one beat.

Examples of Bukidnon songs include the idangdang, some of which have evolved into ballads; the sala, which have a slow, melancholic tempo; the limbay, which have a faster and lighter tempo, and; the kaliga-on, which are religious or ceremonial songs. The last are sung by the baylan and a group of girls. When they sing, the girls hold cloths in front of their faces to cover their mouths. At one stage of the ceremony different groups of girls take different parts of the songs simultaneously, while the baylan chants independently, usually in a different time and key.

Musical instruments are either indigenous or acquired by trade. The *tambol* is a two-faced drum made of small, hollowed-out tree trunks covered with pigskin at each end. The *bantula* is a section of bamboo with a slit on the side and rhythmically beaten with a stick. *Agung* or brass gongs, although not indigenous, are used. Women also beat time with their hands on mats. There are two types of bamboo flute: the *lantoy* is small and short, about 30 centimeters long; the *pulala* is wider and about 1 meter long. The *kubing* is a bamboo  Jew's harp. The *dayuray* is a one-stringed violin. Another type of native violin is made of bamboo covered with a leaf, a piece of bark, or leather. The strings are of hemp. The bow is of bamboo to which are attached hemp strings. The *saluray* (native guitar) is a bamboo tube on which narrow strips are cut lengthwise, then raised and tightened with wooden plugs. Another type of guitar is the artistically carved two-string *kudlong* (boat lute), representing either a mythical or real animal.

Many of the Bukidnon dances are mimetic, such as those imitating the movements of a hawk, of men stealing, courting or having intercourse, the last being very risqué. The most common dance is the *binanog*, in which one or more persons, male or female, hold cloths in their hands. They bend their wrists backward and forward; their extended arms go in circles, to and fro in slow graceful movements "like the hawk" whose flight the dance imitates. Music is furnished by two or three women who beat a brisk rhythm on a mat with the palms of their hands. *Sinakaysakay* is a woman's dance. The dancer holds a shield in each hand and raises and lowers it "as if flying." Meanwhile she circles, keeping time to the music, as in the binanog.

Other mimetic dances are the *pangalingot* (honey-gathering monkey dance), *binakbak* (frog dance), *bubudsil* (bird dance), and *inuwak* (crow dance). These are entertaining solo dances performed in kaamulan, weddings, and after the kaliga-on rituals when everyone has eaten and the atmosphere has turned festive. In the pangalingot, a man comically mimics the movements of a monkey gathering honey to the rhythmic sound of the tambol. He wanders in search of a beehive, accidentally pokes one, and frantically runs around with imaginary bees after him. In the binakbak, a man maintains a squatting position with both hands on the ground between his legs. He hops all throughout the dance, to the accompaniment of the agung. In the bubudsil, a woman

mimics the timid movements of the budsil bird in search of food. The saluray provides the music. In the inuwak, a man wearing a red headkerchief pretends to be a young crow perched on a tree, moving its wings in delight as its mother feeds it. He remains stationary throughout the dance, in a sitting position with legs folded crosswise before him. The tambol or agung provides a rhythmic accompaniment.

The *sa-ot* is performed at a wedding. At the head of the groom's party is the *tag-dasang*, who loudly proclaims to the public the proud lineage and accomplishments of the groom's family. He is followed by the *tag-saot*, a man carrying a shield and long spear to which a bell is attached. He dances furiously, with rapid movement of the feet, but keeping time to a martial drumbeat. He charges, with spear held aloft, and retreats, covering himself with his shield, intent on warding off evil spirits that may harm the groom. The groom is third in line, with his idang (aunt) holding an umbrella over him. Relatives carrying items of the bridewealth make up the rest of the entourage. Presently, the sa-ot also precedes the Bukidnon entourage in a parade.

An occupational dance is the *sinalumpi*, performed at harvest season, when the people dance as they pound rice on mortars. Their pestles and leglets with bells provide the rhythm.

The *pig-agawan*, meaning "to grab," is a dance in which there is much dramatic action: grabbing, fighting, insulting, pushing, hurting and crying, as three maidens fight over one man to be their husband. The maidens are dressed in their finest attire, feather combs and beads cover their hair, neck, and chests. Each tries to attract the man by showing physical attributes, gyrating to danceable music or laying a beautifully embroidered scarf on the floor, hoping that the lover will choose to lay his kris on her scarf. The man moves from maiden to maiden, leaving each either crying or angry with disappointment as he proudly moves away. The three women grab the man from one another, hitting and pushing until the weakest begins to cry and one is chosen.

*Lagoras* is danced in connection with kaliga-on ceremonies. It is danced by two girls, who hold each other's hands and swing them forward and up, hold them an instant, then swing them back. Meanwhile they circle right, then left, slipping one foot toward the other. At one point in the kaliga-on ceremony the girls sing as they make a half-circle around the *dapolan* (ceremonial place).

*Dugso*, meaning "dance," is performed solemnly and reverently because it is part of the kaliga-on, which is related to thanksgiving, appeasement, supplication, and consultation of nature spirits. A fire is built or a table laden with food is placed in the middle of the place where the dance is to be performed. The baylan stands beside the fire, singing his prayers as the dancers perform around him and the fire. The smoke of the fire is believed to carry the thanksgiving offering up to the gods. On the other hand, the dancers' act of stamping their feet is meant to awaken the underworld spirits, who will then witness this act of worship.

There are now over 12 versions of the dugso. Each village has developed a version

based on the basic footwork but there are variants in formations, body movements, costumes, and use of ritual props, ranging from a bowl of fire to anahaw leaves, to wide scarves. The similarities, however, are in the use of colorful feathered combs, ankle-length skirts, bell-sleeved blouses, and brass bells tied to their upper legs. For some dugso, these bells furnish the only music and produce varied rhythmic sounds as the dancers execute the steps. They are believed to be the best sound to the ears of the diwata. Others have a two-faced drum as accompaniment. • R.C. Lucero, with notes from R.Obusan, F.R. Aquino, and E.A. Manuel/Reviewed by S.K. Tan

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