

IV The Talanganay Myth Analyzed

1. The Creation of Man and His Food

The First Sacrifice

It is not known how Talanganay proceeded in making the first people. He made them in a concavity on the *annayugan* rock, a ledge with a flat surface that juts from the mountain slope along the river bank almost directly across from the stone on the other side of the river that is said to have been his residence.

The name of the ledge, *annayugan*, is an obsolete form for *mansayugan*, literally ‘where watering of plants is done,’ from *sayug*, ‘watering of plants.’ Throughout the myth, the first people and their descendants are referred to as *sinayug*, best translated as ‘watered to life.’ One narrator thought that the God poured water, in which herbs were mixed, over the bodies he had fashioned to make them alive. In another body of myths, the epic songs, the heroes, who only die in battle, are sent to a pool downstream to be *masayug* or restored to life. In these same epics also, the heroes commonly bring their newborn babies to the river, and pour water over them. By this repeated action, the children grow progressively through the main stages of childhood into young adults.

The word that commonly describes the God’s action in making the first people is *bosa*, ‘contrivance, invention, device, creation, fabrication.’ Used as a verb, *bosalon*, it means ‘to fashion, mold, invent, fabricate, create.’ A newly invented instrument, such as a new type of plow or harrow, weaving loom or instrument for making ropes, is known, for example, as *bosa’n sudag*, the invention of Sudag. Products, such as wicker work, a woven piece of cloth, or an axe whose maker is known, are referred to in the same manner. Similarly, the first people can be referred to as *bosa’n talanganay*, since they are his products. The terms *panday* for blacksmithing and *duwin* for pottery making are not used to describe the God’s creative activity. As a loan word from Ilocano, *panday* (blacksmithing, blacksmith’s product) is sometimes used as a synonym for *bosa*.

The more general term for making or doing, the irregular verb *ko-on* (*mangwa*, *kingwa* in some of its simpler forms) is also used. The verbal form *sinayug* (‘watered’) was also heard as descriptive of the creative action of the God. It can, thus, be said that the God *sinayug*, watered to life, the first three people; or also: *nangwa’d sinayug* or *binsana’d sinayug*,

'he made/fashioned people.' The term *sinayug* therefore designates their having being created.

Although the people do not have a definite picture of how the God proceeded in fashioning the first people, they point out that the surface of the ledge has an oblong, shallow concavity about 1.5 m. long, 1 m. wide, and 15 to 20 cm. deep. It was in this depression on the stone, they say, that the God conducted his creative activity. Some further commented that the concavity is large enough for two people to lie in.

The watering of plants, or *sayug*, is most commonly done in connection with the planting of sugarcane. The planting process is to cut off sugarcane tops (*ngawoy*), trim the leaves, put three or four in a single hole (*abut*) in the ground, and fill the hole with loose earth. If there is not enough rain, water is regularly poured into the holes until the plants take root and grow well.

More suggestive, perhaps, is the process of pottery making. The first step is to prepare a *lukung*, a shallow, wide concavity, as distinct from *abut* or deep and narrow cavity. The concavity on the *annayugan* stone is a *lukung*. The ledge is *nalukungan* ('has a concavity'). The *lukung* for pottery making is prepared by first placing a pot ring or *bayukag* (a round, woven ring on which earthen cooking pots, whose bottom is rounded, are placed when taken off the fire to keep them steady) on the floor or some other flat surface. A thick layer of rags (*gamet*) is then draped over the ring as a cushion. (These rags are also used by women during menstruation. When worn for that purpose, they are referred to as *agibay*.) In the soft concavity or *lukung*, created by the pot ring covered with rags, the ball of sticky clay is then placed. The next step is the formation of the pot's mouth. A large egg-shaped pebble¹ is used to pound by repeated strokes, a hole in the mass of clay, as a first movement in the manual shaping of the jar's rim. After about a day, when the rim is dry, the body of the pot is shaped, using the same stone inside the pot and holding the other hand against the outside wall.

The myth is completely silent about the material that was used in the formation of the first people, and also about the God's actual procedure in molding them. There are other myths, however, in Kalinga in which the productive activity of the other creator God, Kabunyan, is described.

In Banaw, an area one region removed from Buaya, the following story is told according to one Buaya informant:

One day, Kabunyan found a woman who was excavating a mountain slope (to convert it into a rice paddy). He proposed that he take over, but she should not come to see him and wait for him in the house. After cooking her food later in the morning, instead of waiting for him, she went to the field to bring him food. There she found him with all his intestines extended from

his belly, and busy excavating and leveling the earth. On seeing him, she shouted: "Kabunyan, I brought you your food." The intestines quickly returned to his belly, and he said: "I told you not to come here. There will never be enough level land for your children." That is why there are few level places in Banaw where rice fields can be constructed. After that he left her and went on his way.

In several places in Kalinga that I know of, Kabunyan is said to have started the construction of a stone bridge over the local river. In Balinsiyaga, Balatoc and Tulgao his work was interrupted in a similar way, while in Naneng he was called away because his son had died. In Tulgao, a region in southwestern Kalinga where, as among the Kankanay further south, there is not a single but instead several Kabunyan, the events are related, with minor variants, as follows:

A certain Kabunyan married here. He wanted to make a bridge in Pannao over there. Early in the morning he told his wife: "Bring my food at mealtime (around 9:00 a.m.) to Pannao, for I have something to do. Do not come near. Just put the food down at Pugu, and call me from that distance. I will go there to eat when I get hungry." "Alright," said the woman.

At mealtime, his wife brought his food but did not follow what the Kabunyan had told her. She went straight to Pannao and hid herself in the bushes to peep at what he was doing. There he was, making a bridge. He moved large boulders and licked them with his tongue and with his penis² to join them, and they became one piece. It was nicely done.

The woman came out and called him. Thereupon the Kabunyan kicked what he was making, and said to his wife: "Your nature as human being is showing again. When we tell you something, you do not obey. Even though I told you to call me from above (from Pugu, from where he is still out of sight), here you are coming near. I was kind enough to make you human beings a bridge."

He looked away from her as he said this, and wiped off his perspiration. That is the salty water at Pannao. They went up, and when they reached Madangdangla he abandoned the woman. She left, and came to tell what she had done. The people scolded her.

The story further relates that he shook off his perspiration once more, thus giving origin to another "salt spring" high on the mountain slope. He then crossed the mountain, and in the next village, Balatoc, remarried. There, too, he started work on a bridge in the same manner,

but when the bridge was half finished he was again frustrated in his work in the same way.

The water that comes from the spring in Pannaos is warm and sulphuric, and the flow-off is yellowish and odorous. Its color and smell are the same as those which are locally ascribed to semen.

In the Tulgao and Balatoc myths, the reference to sex organs is explicit; in the Banaw story it is not, unless the variant I collected was incomplete in this respect. In Tulgao and elsewhere in southern Kalinga, the people are hardly inhibited in their references to sex organs and sexual activity, both in their myths and epics and in daily conversation. In northern Kalinga, on the other hand, there is marked inhibition in this respect.

The process of pottery making was recalled because of the reference to a *lukung* ('concavity') in both the myth and pottery making. The successive steps of plunging an ovate, almost pear-shaped pebble into the ball of clay, followed by the forming of the outwardly extending rim of the pot's mouth, then interrupting the work for a day or two until the rim has set, before molding the pot's body — all this provokes sexual imagery involving intercourse, arousal of the male and female organs, and the later expansion of the uterus during the growth of the fetus. Regular sexual intercourse after pregnancy is considered advisable for the formation of a healthy fetus. The comment of one of the narrators that the concavity on the ledge is large enough for two people to lie in is further indicative of unconscious reference to imagery related to sexual activity with reference to the process of creating and molding of the first people by Talanganay. The Tulgao-Balatoc and Banaw myths, like the present Buntuk myth, refer to creative activity by High Gods, the only gods in their pantheon who are capable of it. The fact that the Buntuk myth is silent about the material that was used in the creation of the first people fits not only the Kal-uwan people's relative reticence about sexual matter, but also the fact that, for them, semen has a blood smell (*lang-os*), which is symbolic of human weakness (see De Raedt 1969b, 284-285 and 782-816 *passim*), a human quality which Talanganay transcends.

The Tulgao-Balatoc and Banaw myths are not commonly known in the Kaluwan area, but considering their origin from a common culture area, are supportive of the sexual content in the concept of the High God Talanganay that is already assumed here and will become more evident as the analysis of the myth proceeds.

There are two variants about one detail in the creation of plants from a human body. One, more common, version says that the God killed one of the three people he had made. The other says that he did not succeed in putting breath into one of them. Both variants go on to say that he dismembered the body and planted the head, arms and legs, which grew and became a coconut tree, sugar cane and betel nut palms,

and bananas respectively. The hands and feet grew into sweet potatoes and yams. The first two people thus had plants to live on.

Both variants about the cause of death are correct and support a single interpretation, and either one could be used as the basic text for the interpretation which follows. For methodological reasons, I will first analyze the variant that says that the God did not succeed in putting breath into that creature.

The God's failure in his attempt to put a soul into one of the three people – that is, to bring the creation of the third human being to a successful end – cannot be ascribed to some flaw in his creative ability. What we witness is a first sacrifice. The dismemberment of the body after it was completely molded as one piece is clearly a sacrificial act; and the interred body parts gave origin to plants or the subsistence and welfare needs of the first people.

If the failure to infuse a soul into one of the first people cannot be due to divine initiative and decision, and much less, we may presume, to divine error or *deus ex machina*, the reason must be found in the creature. What the myth says is that man's subsistence and welfare are not the result of a separate creation but come from man himself. This is an important notion in Buaya culture, to which we will have to return later in the analysis.

To the Buaya, not to have one's breath means either death, illness (one of whose symptoms is unconsciousness), or trance. In all three cases there is loss of soul ('soul' [*kadodwa*] and 'breath' [*angos*] being synonymous). Death and illness occur because of physical deterioration, death being a permanent and illness a temporary loss of soul. Trance is also a temporary loss of soul, but is not illness or physical deterioration. Since the first people were created free from illness and death, only trance could have caused the body's condition.

The Buaya know trance only in the context of sacrifice. During large sacrifices the medium sometimes goes into a state of trance after one of the offering rites. Her body becomes rigid and motionless, she falls over backward, and remains apparently breathless, and unconscious for about five minutes. She will 'recover' from this trance in the same manner that the patient for whom the sacrifice was made will recover from his/her illness.

The medium goes into this trance after she has completed any one of the three central sacrificial rites (see De Raedt 1969b, 617-618) during which the good spirits who then possess her bring metaphorical gifts to the leaders of the Beasts in exchange for the soul of the patient. The Beasts are evil beings, notorious for their greed. They 'eat' people. They do this by capturing the soul, resulting in the illness and eventual death of the patient. The medium's trance is explained by the people as a revenge of the Beasts. They take it out on her by temporarily capturing her soul. The event of her trance is seen as a sign that the sacrifice was

the combination of the sounds of gongs and the yelling of two or three dozen people packed in a small house is an expression of fear for the Beasts, and at the same time of aggressive behavior toward them which the people can afford at this time while the dwarfs offer the gifts, and in support of them. As the rite comes to its end, the prophetess may go into a state of trance. What happens here is that the dwarfs have left her, because the task for which they possessed her has been accomplished. The leaders of the Beasts, who feel defeated and could not do anything to the dwarfs, take it out on her who is defenseless. She is, however, expected to recover from this temporary loss of soul. The Beasts cannot go to the extent of actually killing her, since they have accepted the sacrifice from the dwarfs. The medium, in her trance, thus also represents the sacrificial state of surrender. This state implies the loss of what was offered and at the same time the survival (or other benefit) that was gained. The Beasts do not "rape" the medium, for that would mean permanent death. The Beasts already "raped" (speared) the animal earlier in the sacrifice. The trance expresses the sacrificial attitude of the celebrants or hosts of the sacrifice.

Before we consider how contemporary sacrifice relates to marital sexual relations, the other two members of the triangle (mythical sacrifice and death at the hands of the Beasts) need further attention. First, the mythical sacrifice.

The Buaya have both animal and human sacrifices. But the greater is the need, the greater the sacrifice. Food being a basic necessity for human subsistence and here representing human welfare in general, the sacrifice is of the highest order—a human sacrifice.

The sacrifice we witness in the myth is, however, of a peculiar nature and very unlike contemporary sacrifice. The mythical aspects of the event that led us to view it as a sacrifice should not obliterate the fact that the God is not sacrificing, i.e., destroying, this human being in the contemporary sense of sacrifice. On the contrary, he is trying to put a soul into that body as he did in the other two.

In Kal-uwan, sacrifice through self-immolation is equivalent to suicide and does not bring benefits. Suicides are not heroic acts, and heroic acts should never be suicidal or lead to one's death. A man who dies in battle during a headhunting raid or in defense of the village, and a woman who dies in childbirth, among others, are not given an honorable burial. Suicides are always destructions out of despair. Altruistic suicides, such as the Christian crucifixion, are foreign to their thought and not appreciated. The typical form of suicide is by jumping from a height, and not by raising oneself in the process, as in hanging oneself (or being raised, as Christianity views the crucifixion of Jesus Christ).

Suicides and sacrifices have in common that they are voluntary acts. The trance of the human body that turned into (i.e., created) the

plants, was also voluntary. Recall that for the Kalinga a person can be conscious and yet without a soul, eventually leading to death. The main difference between both types of sacrifices is in the attitudes of the victim and the sacrificer. In contemporary experience, the sacrificers are the Beasts. Before a man will actually stab a pig in the heart, there is a rite during which the medium is possessed by the leaders of Beasts. They (through her) hold a spear that is especially made for the occasion, and make stabbing motions toward the pig. The stabbing motion is an aggressive act which is resisted by the pig. The Buaya appreciate the din of the pig's squeals during these rites. It means that the Beasts are going for the pig and will leave the patient alone. We thus have a combination of aggression on the part of the sacrificers, met with resistance on the part of the victim, and leading to the latter's death in order to save the life or existence of that for which the sacrifice is made. The Beasts are invited to spear the victim in lieu of the celebrants. While the victim resists the onslaught of the Beasts, the celebrants exhibit a calculating attitude of surrender. They offer part of themselves (of their possessions) in the victim, as a vicarious act by which they are expected to profit.

In the mythological sacrifice, we also have a vicarious situation, and the sacrifice also terminates in the annihilation of the victim. Here, however, the giver and the victim are the same person, and the victim's attitude is one of voluntary surrender or abandon. The creation of the plants, which are needed for man's welfare, is the result of neither death resisted on the part of the victim, nor of calculation on the part of the giver, but of self-surrender or a refusal to live.

The attitude of Talanganay, the sacrificer who dismembered the body (a sacrificial act) and planted its parts, is not expressed in the myth. However, it cannot be the same as that of the Beasts, for Talanganay creates life while the Beasts destroy it. The action of the Beasts on their victim was compared to rape. Its reverse is a love relationship between the victim and the sacrificer. This latter opposition is temporarily postulated, but will become evident in the episodes that follow.

The original human sacrifice was not made to the Beasts. In fact, the Beasts did not yet exist. Part of the result of the drama that will unfold (though unstated in the myth) is a cosmos that is different from the one that pre-existed and in which the God created man. The present cosmos is one from whose center the God has withdrawn and in which man henceforth lives surrounded by the threat of the Beasts. The sky world in the present cosmos is populated by the chiefs of the Beasts, and not by good people as in the origin myth. The Beasts came into being as soon as human moral weakness became an established fact beside the pre-existing God and the initial attitude of total abandon in one of his creatures.

If the original sacrifice was not made to the Beasts, to whom was it made? In Kal-uwan, each sacrifice has mainly five characters: the victim, the giver, the recipient, the sacrificer, and the beneficiary. In contemporary sacrifices, the victim is usually an animal but sometimes a human being; the giver is the host of the sacrifice; the recipients are the Beasts; the sacrificers are the same Beasts (the actual later killing by a man — also by stabbing — does not have ritual meaning in Kal-uwan); and the beneficiaries are those persons or things whose welfare made the sacrifice necessary. In the myth, the victim is a human being; the giver is that same human being; the creature refused its soul; and the beneficiaries are the two other first human beings (or, mankind): the sacrifice will result in their subsistence and welfare. This leaves the recipient and the sacrificer. Who are they?

The God put a soul into the other two creatures, but the third refused its soul. It was “returned” to its origin, the God. Applying the model I have postulated, there is a complete response. In the situation of sexual intercourse, the condition of complete abandon on the part of the woman is induced by a male. This makes the God both the sacrificer and the recipient.

The love relationship between God and Man, as the rest of the myth will clarify, does not have for its purpose the procreation of other human beings, but human welfare. The love relationship should make man blissful. But there is a snag, for it leads to self-destruction on the part of the man. The other two human beings did not respond with complete abandon, and they lived. This suggests a moral ambiguity in man to which we must return later, and which, together with his physical compositeness, is the subject of the entire myth.

We are now prepared to clarify the discrepancy between the two versions of this initial human sacrifice. Most narrators state that the first human sacrificial act was by killing. They make the reference to sacrifice conscious to the narrator and his audience, and translate it into the contemporary experience of what sacrifice is and how it is done. Contemporary sacrifices (animal or human), by completing an act that was already ritually posed, are performed by killing, and then only by males.⁵ Only men go for headhunts and stab the pig in animal sacrifices. Like secondary revisions of dreams, this conscious statement (of making it a killing) is a rationalization, and our first example in the present myth of conscious control over myth thought and content.⁶

Talanganay is a male but not a killer. The Beasts are the killers. The state of trance or sacrificial, and therefore creative, attitude of one of the first people corresponds to the state of trance of female sexual orgasm in which surrender, creativeness and bliss occur simultaneously.⁷ Trance, surrender, and self-denial are basically “female” traits in the Buaya world view, as opposed to the “male” traits of alertness, assertion and

dominance which are treated in another set of myths, featuring the headhunting culture heroes.

In both the mystical and contemporary sacrificial situation, the five characters can be reduced to three: 1) the giver and the victim; 2) the receiver and sacrificer; and 3) the beneficiaries. In the myth, giver and victim are the same human being; Talanganay is both the receiver of the returning soul, and the sacrificer; and mankind (the other two human beings) is the beneficiary. In present-day sacrifices, the victim is taken from the giver's property or acquisitions (eventually a hunted human head); the Beasts virtually stab (and kill) the pig and receive its soul; and the beneficiaries range from domesticates and artifacts to kinsmen and village mates. A sacrifice is always (meant to be) productive; it implies the surrender of a prized possession or part of oneself, and is induced by an external agent.

Three contrasting relations with the unseen have been investigated: self-immolation in the myth, death at the hands of the Beasts in the present cosmos, and the mediating situation, also in the present cosmos, in sacrifice. These correspond, as postulated, to three contrasting experiences in sexual intercourse: total abandon on the part of the woman in a gratifying amorous relationship, the ravishing situation of rape, and the intermediary relationship in marriage.

Of the three sexual experiences, the situation of rape, and its correspondence to death as caused by the Beasts needs further comment. The correspondence between rape and death by the Beasts is proper for several reasons. Rape is destructive, and in legal categories treated as robbery. It is one of the provisions in peace pacts between regions. The major provisions have reference to killing, stealing, rape, respect for the established territorial boundaries, and their equivalents. Common in all of these provisions is the agreement not to take away an important element in the life situation of the other partner.

Women who have been raped, like women, either married or unmarried, who have borne a child, or have been someone's public paramour, and the like, have lost a good deal of their prior eligibility as a marriage partner. Their social status has gone down. Their situation is not as bad as that of one (either male or female) who has been hacked—such persons are socially dead—but is akin to it. They have lost something of their social value that can never be restored. The physical and emotional experiences of rape, moreover, are such that they induce a state of shock often leading to unconsciousness (linguistically referred to as 'death'). Rape is often a painful experience (though also somewhat for the man), and is known in some cases to have led to the woman's death.

Typically, the relationship between the principals in rape is totally negative. There is no give and take as in marital relations, and the death or at least the loss of social value which results from it has no

redeeming value, in contrast to the human welfare that originated from the mythical death.⁸

In sum, for the Kal-uwan, death, on the conscious level and in the present cosmos, is conceptualized as a spearing by the Beasts, and sacrifices are substitutions of animal and occasionally human victims in a quasi-contractual exchange—a tit for tat, the exchange of the victim's soul for that of the beneficiaries of the sacrifice. What is exchanged is part of human possessions. In the mythical sacrifice, we have a case of self-immolation, a total surrender or abandonment of the self resulting in the welfare of all mankind. Death in contemporary experience by the hand of the Beasts, and the death of the human being in the myth share the property of a unilateral decision. When the Beasts kill a person (*pumatoy* means both 'to kill' and 'to spear'), it means that they could or would not be placated; and when the human being was *de facto* killed by Talanganay, it was the decision of that human being to surrender its soul in total abandon. Contemporary sacrifices, on the contrary, are bilateral transactions, with limited input (not total abandon) and limited results (the prolonging of life or the securing of other types of welfare for the time being).

Furthermore, contemporary sacrifices contrast with both the mythical death and death by the Beast in that the latter are spontaneous acts on the part of one of the partners, while the former is of the nature of a mutual gratification in which the Beasts (like the Buaya male) nonetheless have the final say. Sacrifices are not spontaneous acts. They are made because there is no other recourse. It is a trade-off between man and the Beasts, necessitated by the latter's invasions, as headhunters do into others' territories in order to principally take human lives, but also to loot heirlooms which are the traditional objects into which surplus is transformed and as such serve as a crisis fund.

One of the first three human beings died because of total response in a love relationship with the creator God, analogous to the "absence and abandon" experienced by the female as typical in a paramour relationship. The other two first human beings did not exhibit the same response to divine love, and they lived. They have the human nature, transmitted to their descendants, which the myth explores, and which will ultimately lead to divine withdrawal from any further relationship between Himself and the people, and the beginning of the present cosmos.

Human Nature

In the pristine sacrificial event, and throughout the myth, Man responds to his creator God. In contemporary sacrifices he responds to the Beasts. Man remains the creator of his own welfare—through sacrifice—but now by bargaining with the Beasts. He offers a deal, even a human

After death, people go to live in the bush and act very much like the unseen Beasts, whose proper habitat is also the bush and who threaten the life of the living. The dead are not beneficial to the living, and they can do harm. The ancestors often invade the gardens in the form of wild pigs. The association between evil spirits, the Beasts, and ancestors is so close that when conversing about the former, the latter are almost always recalled.

When man was created, he produced plants, i.e., subsistence and welfare; after his death he joins the world of the wild animals and retains only his ability to do harm. Plants are eaten and do not eat; animals eat and some of them, both wild and domesticated (the dog and to some extent the water buffalo), defile (causing death) when eaten. Some vegetation is actually poisonous, too, but this property is not part of the metaphor. On the other hand, all snakes are viewed as poisonous, including their meat.

During his lifetime, therefore, man, like the domesticated plants, needs to be protected against the evil forces that may annihilate him. But since man also has something of the beast in him, his behavior after his death resembles that of the Beasts. From that moment on, he is kept at a distance and ritually fenced out like the Beasts, because he has become dangerous in a manner analogous to domesticated animals that have lapsed into a wild state after a certain period of absence from the people with whom they have lived. Traditionally, the chief animal domesticated was the pig. Ancestors, as was said, turn into wild pigs when they invade the gardens. Wild pigs are actually the greatest menace from the forest to the gardens, whose chief production was root crops before the introduction of rice.

The brief look into the animal and plant concepts yields some important contrasts: domesticated animals, when untended, become wild and often aggressive; they can, in that state, like other animals roaming the wild, take care of themselves, and are always prone to predation. Dogs sometimes catch and eat chicks and piglets; chickens must be fenced in when the rice is in ear; pigs are fenced all the time; and tame water buffalos sometimes break their tethers and invade growing rice paddies where they cause considerable damage.

These contrasts form part of a general "male/female" contrast that includes the God/Beast and planter/hunter oppositions and many others, and which man straddles. Planting is a female task and hunting a male task.

The animal/plant contrast does not, however, apply universally, and the Buaya are aware of this. Weeds, in a sense, also suffocate the domesticated plants in fields and gardens, and not all domesticated plants, such as mature coconut trees and betel palms, remain weak and in need of protection and tending; conversely, not all wild animals are

actually harmful. Still, the generalization illustrates two important contrasting categories in the Buaya world view.

The plant/animal contrasts, like the other “male/female” contrasts, have reference to man’s moral and physical make-up. He shares with the plants and animals their bad physical and moral qualities respectively. Physically, like the plants, he is threatened by invasion and annihilation; and morally, like the animals, he is a predator and aggressor. Conversely, he shares the plants’ good moral and the animals’ good physical qualities. He has the capacity both to surrender, and to fend for himself and put up a fight.

The “male/female” contrasts is put in quotation marks on purpose. Males share female attributes and vice-versa. For example, women do the harvesting of plants, and gather edible vegetation in the forest, an activity akin to hunting, though limited to plants. Conversely, when a man decides to have a sacrifice made for his family’s welfare, he does this with the “female” disposition of surrendering part of himself to the Beasts.

Man’s capacity to surrender is the subject of the present episode of this myth, his capacity to put up a fight is one of the main themes of the epic songs. This contrast will be dealt with later in the analysis. His physical weakness being a creature, is already evident; his moral weakness or greed (*pawot*) will be the subject of the episodes that follow.

God, Man and Beasts

Returning again to the God and Beast¹¹ concepts, neither category falls under the cultigens. They have a simple physical nature. They are also simple in their moral attitude. The God is all-good and creative, while the Beasts are all-evil and destructive. The God produces and the Beasts devour. The God has the “female” quality of surrender, while the Beasts have the “male” quality of aggression. At the end of the myth, the God retreats in the face of an aggressive human attitude and does not put up a fight, in contrast with the heroes of the epic songs whose basic achievements are their headhunting exploits.

Man has a capacity for predation or greed, which he has in common with the predatory animals and the Beasts, and he has a capacity for its opposite—surrender and sacrifice—which he shares with the plants and the God.

Man was still in his creator’s hands when there was an initial total self-sacrifice that assured mankind of its food and welfare. The myth tells us that the gardens were small and so with the cooking pots; and yet there was abundance. The first people were not the voracious and greedy eaters that the Buaya consider themselves to be now.

The drama of the myth will be that man cannot make natural for himself what comes natural to his God. In spite of the God's (naïve?) expectations, man cannot live on that level without interruption. He is ambiguous as a moral being and eventually passes into the precarious existence of contemporary experience.

The God is neither physically fragile nor morally ambiguous. He has a singleness of nature in being physically uncreated, like the rest of the natural or uncreated world;¹² and he is morally unambiguous by being purely unselfish (and creative), in contrast to the pure greed (and destructiveness) that is found in the world of the bush. The God is physically self-sufficient and morally good. He is creative because of his moral quality, which is the source of his abundance and bliss. The Beasts, on the other hand, live in constant want, are morally evil, and maintain themselves by predation. Whatever wealth is obtained, notably by the chiefs of the Beasts, through their greed, does not satisfy it. Sacrifices are made to the Beasts, and never to the God. The God gives without losing, and the Beasts take without gaining. Both are bottomless pits.

Comparing God, Beasts and Man, two intersecting sets of contrasts manifest themselves, as shown in Figure 1. Vertically, the simplicity (**natural**) of the God and the Beast (albeit on different and contrasting grounds) contrasts with the compositeness (**made**) of Man. Horizontally, the **destructiveness** and **selfishness** of the Beasts contrast with the generosity and creativeness of the God. Man takes up an intermediate,

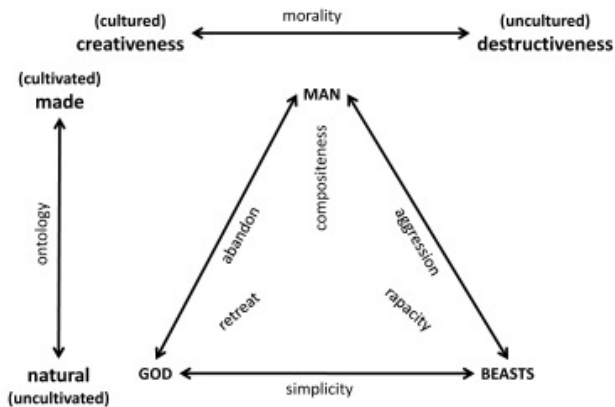


Figure 1. The Ontological-Ethical Triangle

yet distinct, position between them by sharing the attributes of both, and by differing from them in his ontological make-up.

This double, intersecting set of oppositions is not merely a matter of negations, as the terms 'cultured/uncultured' and 'cultivated/uncultivated' might imply. The terms 'creativity/destructiveness,' with their reference to made things (as the Buaya understand them), express the contrast more effectively. Similarly, the term 'natural' in the 'made/natural' contrast does not merely mean 'not made' (and much less, non-existent) but refers to an existence that is both originated and maintained by internal elan, and without external assistance or effort.

As three distinct categories, God and Man share abandon, in contrast with the Beasts' rapacity; God and Beast share simplicity, in contrast with Man's compositeness.

When, together with the Buaya, we view man outside time (or within the time sequence of the myth), his ontological and moral conditions are intimately related. Physically he is neither God nor Beast; morally he can act like either, but may not because it is self-destructive. The God can be totally good and not die; and the Beasts can be totally evil and not die. For man, total sacrificial surrender leads to death, and the Buaya maintain that all errors and misfortunes are ultimately caused by some moral wrongdoing. Man does not share the moral attributes of God and Beasts in their total force, however. He could not, because he does not share their ontological simplicity. Though, like both of them, he has an ontology and a morality, he stands distinct from them both morally and ontologically. His moral ambiguity is the direct result of his ontological dualism.

I have already referred to altruistic suicide as totally unacceptable for the Buaya mind, and the social status of persons who die a violent death. The infants of women who die in childbirth seldom survive. Perhaps on account of this, any woman who dies in childbirth is disgraced, and receives an ignominious burial. Her death is as useless to the survivors as that of one who was killed by an enemy. The corpses of persons who were killed are treated with the same disrespect. This notion also finds full expression in one of the rites during larger (and longer) sacrifices (De Raedt 1969b, 544-3). Briefly, some of the Beasts are delegated to come and verify if it is true that the pig that was sacrificed was so large that the people had to cut away the house walls so that it could be brought out. The implication is that their sacrifice is so large that it represents all they possess and means the end of their existence. The rite, in covert terms, reminds both the celebrants and the Beast that sacrifices ought to be of measured proportions, and that they should never be self-destructive on account of their size. They would then lose their meaning by, paradoxically, being ineffectual.

We now can resolve the apparent inconsistency and naiveté in offering things of lesser value for things of greater value. Not only may

man not offer his all, but – more importantly – contemporary sacrifices are offered to the Beasts who represent the evil streak in man, i.e., not all of man. In sacrifice, one offers a greater or lesser part of oneself, but not all of oneself. Such action would find support in neither his physical nor moral nature.

Two of the first three people lived because they did not refuse their soul, and so did their descendants. Their basic attitude toward, and relationship with, their God will be explored in the rest of the myth. As the story develops, the evil dimension of man's moral nature is viewed as the cause of an ultimate state of physical helplessness (illness, hunger, death) that is the natural result of an initial physical condition that is not remedied by a moral attitude that equals, or at least approaches, that of the creator God. Throughout the myth, man is neither God nor Beast, but it was the God's hope that man would act as the God does. Man's physical nature limits or compromises his moral options.

2. The First Sexual Encounters

Siblings, Spouses and Paramours

The first man and woman – those who survived the act of creation – lived in pristine sexual innocence. The God had to instruct them (in fact, the woman) that they should procreate, and how.

The myth does not state that these two were siblings, but some of the narrators later asserted that they were.¹³ At any rate, their children were siblings and the same divine advice applies to them – and need not be repeated in the text.

On account of their initial reluctance and the God's advice, the act seems not to appear improper to the narrator and his audience. The myth completely passes over the fact that their children are also siblings, to state that two of these married and that the third sibling, a male, committed adultery with the married man's wife.

Leaving the problem of incestuous union and the 'sinfulness' of the adulterous union for a later section, the first couple's reluctance to copulate contrasts with the desire and adulterous union between the single man and the married woman. This reveals the base of the contrasts in the present episode, constraint vs. license, mediated by marriage. The present episode introduces us to the institutions that regulate human sexuality: sibling relationship, marriage, and romantic liaisons.

In Buaya kinship terminology, the term for sibling (*sunud*) ranges in meaning from true sibling to kinsman, either consaguineal or affinal. Its reference is primarily structural and is measured by clearly marked degrees of personal kindred. A first degree of relationship is that between ego and his direct ascendants and descendants. A second degree is

Siblings express and maintain their fraternal relationship through food exchanges and spouses establish their contractual ties through a balanced amount of expenditures on the part of both the man's and the woman's side. Siblings and spouses make substantial exchanges, supported by and in support of their structural bonds. Spontaneous and anti-structural as they are, originated by mutual sexual attraction, paramour relations are nevertheless accompanied by certain minor, standard exchanges. In a licit relationship (with an unattached woman), the man must give her a blanket at the start of the affair. The blanket must be given 'to cover the woman.' We may see in it a recompense for the injury the woman always sustains in the relationship. (Notwithstanding this degrading aspect, the woman fully engages in it.) The other standard exchanges (between either licit or illicit paramours) are of little value. These mainly consist, on the part of the man, of betel leaves and cigars. Tobacco planting and tending is a male activity; and betel leaves are gathered by men by climbing the trees on which grow the vines whose leaves are used in the preparation of betel nut quids. Women usually prepare rice cakes for their dates. Most of the work surrounding rice, notably planting, weeding, harvesting, pounding and cooking, are female activities. The cakes are made of glutinous rice and dipped in coconut oil. They are called *inandila* ('made like a tongue').

Because of the absence (or distance) of structural relations, either consanguineal or affinal, as well as the absence of sentimental ties of the Sibling kind, the love affair is viewed and experienced as more adequate as a sexual experience. Spouses and Siblings share items of substance, while paramours share tidbits. The things exchanged and consumed during their dates are of little value but are expressive of the spontaneous and erotic nature of their relationship. The male and female erotic symbolism in their respective gifts is quite evident.

We may then distinguish three degrees and categories of sexual intimacy: 1) its suppression between Siblings; 2) its flowering between Paramours; and 3) its presence with certain constraints, as will be shown shortly, between spouses.

Within the category Man, we thus have a replica of the initial triad (Figure 1). These three major human institutions that revolve around intimacy contain two that are "natural" (Sibling and Paramour) and one that is "made" (Spouse).¹⁴ Sibling closeness is experienced as natural insofar as there is no structural distance and a high degree of identification. The sexual aversion is not experienced as a repression, but an expression of identification. Paramour closeness is experienced as natural insofar as it is not the result of pre-existing, compelling structures, for any existing structural relation between them is a very weak one, but of a free association driven by the natural drive of romantic interest. The Spouse relationship is "made" insofar as a structural

relationship is created through the successive steps of the marriage contract, and sexual attraction is not supposed to be prior but eventually subsequent to their life together. The two “natural” forms of relationship contrast in their moral qualities of constraint (Sibling) and license (Paramour), while the third category (Spouse) takes an intermediate position between both. Marriages are not “natural” relationships but are forged, and exhibit the extremes of neither sexual constraint nor license even as there is something of both.

The nature of marital relationship needs further explanation. The presence of sexual activity between spouses is obvious; but it is accompanied by an amount of constraint.

That constraint normally exists between spouses finds emphasis and expression in the strict rules of public behavior between them throughout the Cordillera. Spouses are seldom seen sitting together and never give any public expression of intimacy, even in small circles. Such behavior would invite critical comment. Spouses doing their work at close distance are ridiculed as over-sexed. Their behavior is viewed as immature. To these strict rules of public behavior correspond habits of rather restricted private sexual behavior. Free and spontaneous exploration between couples (usually focusing exclusively on the genitals) most probably exists to any extent only between paramours. Despite the general cultural sanction for the desirability of paramour relations, a few have been heard to label paramours as licentious because they have sexual intercourse during daytime, ‘like animals.’ Using the marital code as a model, these few claim that the proper time for copulation of human beings is during the night under a blanket, and not spontaneously at any time or place. It is a controlled behavior.

Marriages are contracted through parental engagement, either at an early age or immediately before the marriage, although a few do result from a brief period of courtship — the relation then being converted by the parents, as soon as detected, into a contractual one. The culture disapproves of premarital relations, and children who were contracted by their parents exhibit an extreme avoidance pattern out of a sense of shame (*ba-in*). They are seen to play with each other much less than with other age mates, and are periodically teased by the latter about the fact that they are ‘spouses.’ This avoidance carries on up to the day of marriage, which is followed by a period of sexual avoidance that may last for months. It is not surprising then that these strictures on behavior, both before and during marriage, lead to the culturally approved post-marital behavior of paramour relations as a sexual and emotional outlet. Extra-marital affairs are not infrequent, often occur soon after marriage, and most often do not last for more than a year or two. But, the way they are talked about, they take place in a more relaxed attitude of both partners, and are maintained by sentimental bonding. Prostitution, on the other hand, is unknown in Buaya, even to the extent that if a woman

exceptionally accepts more than one lover simultaneously, i.e., over the same period of time, she is cheating them all and is severely criticized for it.

The relationship between spouses is ideally contractual before it is sexual, and is initiated and often terminated (even after the birth of children) on the basis of the general relationship of their respective parents and other close and influential kinsmen. The spouses' personal feelings play a minuscule role. These are neither cultivated nor expected to focus on the romantic. Emotional bonding between spouses is not a prerequisite to either the origin or perdurance of a marriage. It is incidental and should not be overdone.

All human institutions are man-made, hence their internal contradictions. The main contrast between the Sibling and Paramour categories is between (sexual) constraint and license, but they share an ambiguity. The Sibling relation is ambiguous insofar as sexual avoidance exists in the presence of a high degree of identification and sharing, based on an enduring structural bond. [. . .]

Spouses take an intermediate position where the structural bond is strong though breakable, is not sentimental but contractual, and sexual relations are present but not necessarily, and commonly less than fully amorous. The Spouse relationship thus combines an amount of both (kinship) structure and sensuality, but has neither in pure form. Both in its structural and sexual aspects, it forms a compromise between constraint and license: it is breakable and not romantic. Its contractual nature contrasts with the sentiment that is common to both the Sibling and Paramour relationships. Marriage combines the advantages of structure and sexuality to a large degree, but disregards sentiments or love.

The Buaya are aware of these ambivalences, although they are least willing to consider them in the Sibling and Paramour relationships. These two are experienced as natural, in contrast to the Spouse relationship. The ambivalences in all three human categories of sexual intimacy relate to the creativeness/destructiveness contrast which Man straddles (see Figure 1), and will be taken up again in the third section of this chapter when human and divine notions of sexual intimacy will be compared. The common properties of each of the pairs of the triangle of human sexual intimacy, and their contrasting features with the third member of the triad are shown in Figure 2. The triple contrast is between sentiment and contract, structure and sensuality, and avoidance and spontaneity.

These contrasts were again not immediately based on the myth's text. The myth does not say that the wife-husband relation was unfulfilling, but the love affair with the third man suggests it. The myth does not speak about a random couple, but about the first people and therefore about Man. The paramount consideration in myth analysis

remains the people’s experience (belief and practice), i.e., the cultural context, to which we must return anew.

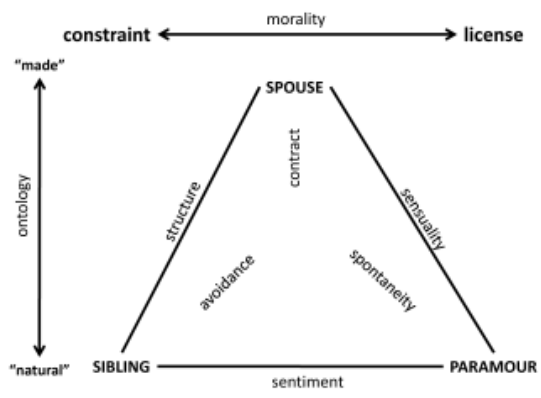


Figure 2. The Triangle of Human Sexual Intimacy

Household, Political Ties, and Friendship

The Sibling-Spouse-Paramour triangle of human sexual relations exists in, and is paralleled by, a wider and more encompassing triangle of social relations, namely, the household, political ties, and friendship. A rather detailed comparison of the categories of items of consumption in Buaya, and the contexts of their exchanges and consumptions, will allow the categories of human sexual intimacy the myth refers to in this episode to be placed in a wider context, and give firmer base to this initial triple categorization.

All items of consumption, with the exception of rice, which is the staple, and which will be discussed later, can be brought into four categories: the things consumed as side dishes in daily household meals; two distinct classes of consumptions during ceremonial occasions; and the class of things that can go under the name of “sweets” or “knickknacks.”

Traditionally, fruit trees, except for bananas, were not purposely planted. They grow mostly in the bush, and those that spontaneously grow near residences are not owned either. Anyone is free to collect the fruits. Bananas are planted in the swiddens after the rice is harvested.

They are gathered unripe, mostly to be cooked as pig feed. When used as vegetables, they are also cooked. Some are kept over the hearth to hasten their ripening and turn them into fruits.

In the household and neighborhood, children have primary access to ripe fruits. Outside the household, fruits are shared and consumed in an atmosphere of friendliness between neighbors (maximum of 20 houses). For example, parents may call in their neighbors' children to come and eat fruits with their own. (All neighbors have some degree of kinship relations because of the residence rule. See De Raedt 1993). Or, when a neighbor arrives with a great quantity of fruits he/she has collected, the neighbors are called to the house yard and the fruits are eaten by whoever cares to eat. There are no restrictions on consumption. It is a sentimental occasion, ideally open to all neighbors, since neighbors should maintain good relations. Should there be some temporary friction with one of the other household, the adult members may refrain from coming, but may allow their children to join. (Permanent disagreement eventually leads to the relocation of either household to another settlement, where they also have kin.)

Fruits do not have commercial value, and are not viewed as nutritive, but are appreciated for their taste. They are not viewed as having substance (*bogas*). This category of consumer items, henceforth referred to as FRUIT (F), also includes tobacco, coffee and honey. These have commercial value when exchanged in large quantities. They are sold outside the region, normally in the nearest lowland town, Tuao, in Cagayan Province. One or two leaves of tobacco (for smoking or chewing) or a cup of coffee are freely shared with others in a gesture of neighborliness. Other items in this category are a stick of sugarcane, molasses, young coconuts, one or two pieces of rice cake, etc.

These are also the tidbits that are shared between lovers. Oranges, lime, papaya, bananas, grape fruits, tobacco rolled into cigars, and rice cakes dipped in coconut oil can have conscious, erotic meaning, as indicated in their presence in erotic tales. They always have erotic meaning when shared between paramours. When sugar cane is eaten as a fruit, it is cut into short sections at the nodes, and peeled with an axe or machete. It is eaten by biting off small pieces to be chewed for their juice. Sometimes, sugar cane juice is jokingly referred to as an aphrodisiac in that it is said to give the eater *kussit* ('male semen, female vaginal fluid'). (The Buaya believe that a man should not stay away from his wife during her pregnancy because he has to help form the fetus through intercourse.)

The Buaya also know personal friendship. It is same-sex, non-erotic, mostly with a single, non-related or distantly related individual, and it normally lasts a lifetime. You can have many friends, they say, but you always have a best friend. The pair always seek each other out to work, hunt, gather fruits or vegetables, to travel together, or to simply

In number of attendance, marriages come next. Again, no one is excluded from attendance, provided a token contribution of about 2.5 kg. of pounded rice is brought per household irrespective of its size or the number of the household members who attend. Attendance in peace pact celebrations have the same provision for co-regionists. Next in importance are religious sacrificial rituals, which vary in the size and number of animals that are butchered (pigs or chickens) according to the need of the occasion and the wealth of the household. Wealthier households, when the male household head has political ambitions or status, sacrifice larger pigs. It is thus, in part, also a prestige feast. Attendance, in proportion to the size of the sacrifice, is restricted to kinsmen and the inhabitants of the settlement, or cluster of settlements not exceeding 20 households in all, who are all related.

Also well attended are funerals, depending on the size of the kindred of the deceased and his political prominence if a male, or the respect she has gained if a medium (priestess). Participants again carry a standard contribution in rice; they also bring funeral gifts, called *adang*, in the form of textiles, animals and wine.

All these occasions during which meals are served to guests are occasions for the initiation or strengthening (or termination, in funerals, as we shall see) of political ties. In peace pacts and marriages (and the steps that lead to them) this is a very conscious purpose, but has the same effect in all occasions on the political relationship between the host and the guests. Ceremonial occasions, through the attendance, consumptions, contributions to the occasion, and share in surplus food, establish and maintain structural relations between kin as well as non-kin. The success of a celebration is measured by the attendance and the expenditures it entailed.

All kinship relations, including those between siblings, have political overtones. Elder siblings exercise influence over younger ones, parents over their children, notably their marriage and divorce; and all first cousins are not of equal rank and influence. At the second cousin degree of relationship, kinship solidarity, a political relationship along kinship lines, begins to weaken, and becomes somewhat selective. It may become non-existent at the third cousin degree, the boundary of kindred as a category.

Kinship solidarity, as well as relations with non-kin need to be maintained through reciprocal, behavioral acts. Among the formal occasions we have religious and secular ceremonials accompanied by the direct exchanges of food and other contributions to these occasions, contributions to the payment of indemnities; and the shares received from surplus food after ceremonials and upon the collection of indemnities. These contributions and redistributions follow kinship as well as geographical patterns in the application of the flexible and expandable "neighborhood" (see De Raedt 1993) according to the size

of the occasion. Collections and distributions of indemnities, however, are limited to the kindred, and the size or amount are more or less in proportion to the structural closeness or distance of the kinsmen. (Households with a special relationship of V exchanges contribute more and receive a larger share in the distribution of surplus meat and rice because of their sentimental, fraternal bonds with the celebrants.)

Kinship solidarity is based on marriages through the generations, but is rather selective beyond the first cousin degree of relationship, and thus needs to be nurtured. The above mechanisms seem to be the chief means of maintenance of solidarity, but there are others such as work exchange during the agricultural cycle, or the construction or repair of a house or granary. Kinship relations outside the household are therefore partly contrived. Political relations with non-kin are purely contrived, the chief instances being peace pact, marriage and leadership. Leaders (see De Raedt 1993) regularly give feasts open to the public, especially when an important visitor from another region is being entertained. Being contrived, these relations need to be cultivated periodically by expenditures.

As already stated, half of the marriages are the culmination of a series of ceremonials hosted by both parties. In all cases, the bride's parents host the wedding feast, while the groom's parents pay a dowry to the bride's parents. During the wedding feast, the groom's parents collect a modest cash contribution from the guests. All together, this results in equal expenditures on both sides. Similarly, peace pacts are celebrated in both regions, also resulting in equal expenditures. Leaders expend time during deliberations of disputes, but are compensated through the advantageous commercial deals they can close with their dependents. A leader, like a kinsman, always acquires property at a cheaper price.

Purely political relations, as in the peace pacts, create an enduring obligation, but not the "closeness" generated by Sibling relations. The ties that are made are of a rather negative nature; they have a rather "taming" effect to the extent that there is an agreement not to do harm to each other. This recalls to mind the balanced relationship that results in sacrifices (both animal and human) between the hosts of the sacrifice and the Beasts to whom the animals or human head are offered (see De Raedt 1989). It has, or is supposed to have, for effect that the Beasts' 'greed' is held at bay. The Beasts receive the soul of the animal in an animal sacrifice, or the soul of the human whose soul follows the head in a human sacrifice, in return for the soul of the diseased, which they had captured (resulting in the illness). The most adept of the mediums once compared the effect of a sacrifice to that of a peace pact, with both having a balanced relationship and taming effect. All illness is traced to a sin (*litug*) against the 'unseen' (*agsa maila*), i.e., the Beasts. The sacrifice makes up for the transgression in the same way that

indemnities do in a peace pact. When a person dies, this balanced relationship between him and the Beasts is broken. The Beasts have taken ('eaten') the soul never to return it again.

Intra-regional political ties, such as leadership and marriage, have a positive nature. These relations create interdependence between leaders and their village mates, between the affinals and between consanguineals. The relationship is one of deference on the part of village mates toward their leaders, and of the spouses toward the spouses' parents and latter's kinsmen in the same and upper generations up to the second cousin degree of relationship. This is reciprocated by the leader's concern for his dependents (they can go to him for counsel and he represents them in disputes), and by the co-parents-in-law's concern for their children-in-law and future grandchildren. As in the peace pact, the relationship is not one of closeness in the sentimental sense, in contrast to the closeness that exists, or is supposed to exist, in a household and between Siblings. Once grandchildren are born, a sentimental tie is developed, to the extent that they go and live eventually with one of their children and babysit their grandchildren when the parents are out to work. Upon the betrothal of their children, the co-parents-in-law initiate a fraternal (Sibling) relationship through regular V exchanges, and observe a sex taboo. Similarly, spouses observe a sex taboo with their spouses' kin up to the first cousin degree of relationship, and household members of peace pact holders cannot marry their counterparts, much less have paramour relations. It is then clear that marriages, although created through a purely political act, generate a relationship akin to the Sibling relationship between consanguineals and their spouses, centered in the sentimental bonds that develop in the new household, especially when children are born. Individuals acquire more than one kind of relationship to others simultaneously.

Marriage is neither supposed to result from a romance, nor result in a romance. That there is sexual interest is obvious, but it exists mainly for the purpose of procreation and permanence, unlike the fickleness of paramour relations. Romances that may spontaneously occur between young adults who were not betrothed during infancy are discouraged by the parents if they are not politically feasible, i.e., if they are not contributory to the extension of ties with kindreds with whom relations have become structurally distant, or between non-kin, i.e., the fourth cousin degree or beyond. Hence the high frequency of marriages between their cousins (40%) and unrelated individuals (also 40%), based on actual headcount. Parents can also induce divorce, even if a romantic relationship has developed between the couple, e.g., after years of childlessness, or after the development of grave conflict between the spouses' kindreds.

"Kinship solidarity," a famous anthropological expression, thus has both political and sentimental bases.

The consumptions during ceremonials (M, W and rice), because of their commercial value, contrast with those in both the household meal and those between friends and neighbors. Neither V nor F have commercial value, and neither are offered during ceremonials.

Rice for home consumption does not have commercial value. Only surplus rice, like surplus animal domesticates, is sold. The rice consumption in the household meal, though of substance like the side dish (V), is of little quantity and is not considered as having commercial value. A household plants rice mainly for home consumption. Those with much rice for sale are few. Others exchange a couple of cups for matches, a small tube of toothpaste or a can of sardines and the like.

On account of their ingredients, the meals in both public occasions (ceremonial) and private occasions (household meals) have substance. They are food. They are consumed in the context of structure (the household and political ties), and so contrast with the context of spontaneity (friendship) in the consumption of F. Food is consumed for its nutritive value. F and W are not viewed as having substance. They are not food. Food is associated with structure; W and F are associated with sensuality. The place of consumption of these items will further illustrate this contrast later on.

All items in the M category are obtained from domesticates, and are butchered and consumed during ceremonials only, either secular or religious, all of which have a political nature. V items are obtained mostly from soulless plants (vegetables) and soulless animals (game animals and fish) or from raw meat obtained as a small share of surplus meat after a ceremonial (by then without commercial value and without its soul). In all ceremonials, including sacrifice (De Raedt 1989), there is a close association between the items in the M and W category and the host, to the extent that the meat and the wine offered during funerals are not consumed by kinsmen and friends who feel sentimentally close to the deceased. These kinsmen and friends obtain their side dish from one or more coconut trees that are cut down for the pith at the top of the tree from which the leaves sprout. The cutting down is symbolic of the loss of the deceased kinsman or friend. Those guests feel sentimentally close to the deceased and comment that eating the meat would amount to eating the corpse, because, for them, the meat has a blood smell (*lang-os*), which is repulsive (and a basis for food taboos regarding certain kinds of meat and fish). They further say that the smell of the *dalong* ('effluence from a decomposing corpse') goes to the wine.

During ceremonials, M and W are consumed with restraint. The portions are measured and no seconds are offered. There are, however two important exceptions. During funerals, the meat portions, for those who wish to eat it, are large. Young men may eat meat exclusively. The

people recall that in the past the hosts often had to throw considerable amounts of meat away, since it spoiled, because the household would not eat it and it could not be shared with those who normally share in meat surplus, because of their sentimental closeness to the deceased. Wine is also served liberally. The same category of participants who refuse the meat also do not consume the wine. They either spit out their serving or pour it on the ground.

The second exception to the above rule applies in the headhunting feasts. While the meat that is served is measured (it is a part a political affair), the wine is not. Headhunting feasts traditionally resulted in orgies of drunkenness and sexual excesses. Wine is served liberally, without restraint, to the point that the participants, especially the men, vomit from over-satisfaction or induce vomiting to relieve discomfort, so they could start drinking again. The house yard becomes muddy, as in funerals, because of the spilled wine. Wakes are mournful events, while headhunting feasts are eminently joyful ones. During headhunting feasts, the captured head is raised in the middle of the house yard, placed on top of a bamboo that is split and woven into the shape of a basket. Conversely, during funerals, a coconut tree is cut down. Coconuts, which originated from the head of one of the first human beings, which was sacrificed, are symbolic of the human head. Headhunting feasts and funerals thus exhibit a contrastive relationship: joyfulness and mourning.

The unlimited consumption of meat during funerals seems to be related to an alteration in the relationship between the deceased and the visiting mourners. As stated earlier, those who attend funerals mainly on account of their political ties do not make a conscious identification with the meat and wine and the corpse. On the unconscious level, however, we can see an identification, though of a negative nature. The wake they attend, of their now defunct host, is also the occasion at which their mutual ties and obligations are terminated. The soul of the deceased has not yet departed to its new habitat in the bush, and is present at the wake. The breaking of ties, which had their restraints, as expressed in the restrictions on consumption during other celebrations (except for wine during headhunting feasts), is now expressed by the liberal consumption of both meat and wine. The relationship is no longer a measured and calculated one. The ties are broken and there is license.

The unrestrained consumption of wine during headhunting feasts expresses an atmosphere of bursting out of daily life's constraints. Some informants commented that it is similar to a temporary return to primordial times that did not have today's cares and limitations. From the Buaya's point of view, it is a licentious affair. Women openly invite the headhunter to a secret affair later, and some couples unmarried to

their own by persons between whom structural relations are either absent, or who find themselves together for reasons other than eventual structural relations. These are lovers on a date, neighbors who share a basket of fruits or invite each other for a cup of coffee, or a household member who picks up a piece of fruit from above the hearth at any time of day or night.

The most valued consumptions, M and W, are served during those occasions that celebrate relationships that are not "natural" but "made." These occasions recur frequently, at regular intervals. In contrast with the other occasions for consumptions, these are expensive to the point of depleting the celebrants of their disposable wealth, or bringing them into debt. Typical of such ceremonial occasions are wedding feasts and peace pact celebrations, where contracts are established. These and other public celebrations, like periodic peace pact renewals, are political in nature in that they either establish or nurture ties that are neither of a fraternal (Siblings and the household) or friendship (erotic and non-erotic) nature. Political ties are created and maintained through expenditures. They are, in a sense, "bought."

The W category, whose context of consumption is the ceremonial occasion, needs further comment. Sugar cane wine is of commercial value and is rarely offered outside the context of ceremonial occasions. The cakes, made of glutinous rice and coconut oil, are produced in large quantities at such occasions, and thus acquire a commercial value. The same is true for coffee, a cash crop, and the great quantity of sugar that goes into its preparation. All these items are consumed for their pleasure quality, which they share with the F category. Coconuts, when eaten as fruits, rice cakes and coffee, when prepared in small quantities, belong to the F category, considering their context of consumption. [...] M and W are cooked — a human intervention — and are served in a context of contractual relations. They are offered by celebrants to their guests, with whom the feast serves to establish or maintain structural relations of the contractual ("made") kind.

Regular food exchanges between "close" kin are usually given raw, but subsequently cooked for household consumption. Their cooked state contrasts V, M and W with F, which is ripe. V, M and W, as opposed to F, thus exhibit a structure vs. spontaneity contrast.

M and W (and rice), during ceremonials, have commercial value. They contrast with V and F, which are never traded but freely given away. M and W taste good, are served in measured quantities (except with the noted exceptions during the extreme conditions in funerals and headhunting feasts), and thus straddle the constraint vs. license contrast.

Political ties, either external or internal, are contrived, "made." In weddings and peace pacts, they are the result of negotiations. They are of a contractual nature and need periodic cultivation. In contrast, the

solidarity, loyalty and identification, supported by sexual avoidance, in the household and between Siblings on the one hand, and friendly relations, characterized by spontaneity and unrestrained engagement either in the immediate neighborhood or with unrelated or distantly related individuals, either as same-sex friends or paramours, on the other, are viewed as "natural." They are not cultivated through expenditures in public celebrations. Household relations are a daily constant, political ties are frequently reinforced, and friendly relations manifest themselves whenever the occasion arises.

While household relations have a political undertone, insofar as they originate from a marriage, which is a political act, the bonding is structure at its strongest. As was said, it is sensed as natural. On the other hand, household members, especially with the arrival of children and the eventual co-habitation of a member of the grand parental generation, develop and maintain a sentimental bond, which is similar to the sentimental bonding between neighbors and personal friends.

This long digression about the four consumption categories, with due recognition of the value of rice as the staple, has enabled us to place the Sibling-Spouse-Paramour triangle of sexual intimacy in a wider context of human relations that basically exhibit the same contrasts: sentiment vs. contract, structure vs. spontaneity, and avoidance vs. sensuality, based on the intersecting oppositions of constraint vs. license and "made" vs. "natural."

A last item of "consumption" is the betel nut quid. It is a stimulant consisting of a section of a palm nut together with lime and some tobacco (when available), wrapped in a leaf obtained from a vine. The chewing produces a red saliva that is spat out, but the stimulant is absorbed through the mouth's membranes. The exchange of quids, or their ingredients, was not discussed as a separate category of "consumption," since it occurs in all six types of social relations. It thus encompasses all of them, and its meaning is specific in each context. It also figures during religious rituals, as an exchange with the spirits, but is not offered to the creator gods, who are otiose. When offered to the 'unseen' (*agsa maila*), it is intended to either placate or ask for help, or both. The betel nut quid is a most condensed symbol.

It should be noted that a single individual can have any or all of these relations. In the secular sphere, foremost are those of marriage and descent. Next comes the bonding in a single household. Then come the Sibling relationships, which are of a fraternal nature, supported by kinship structure. Next, we have relationships between leaders and their dependents. (Leadership is reinforced through ceremonials and legal advice. A poor man, who cannot host large ceremonials, does not qualify for leadership.) Then, relationships with other regions through the peace pact. Lastly, we have friendship, either erotic or non-erotic, which are purely sentimental and anti-structural.

The categories of consumption discussed above are not empirically neat categories. All the items consumed as V in the domestic meals are not vegetables, and not all the items in the F category are raw. What was important was to see how definite categories of consumption accompany specific kinds of human relations. All the V items are exclusively used in household meals, used in ceremonials, and all the items in the F category are tidbits of little value.

Incest is Divine

The Buaya recognize the possibility of opportunism and abuse between Siblings. Fraternal feelings and behavior are not always fully reciprocated, and may be manipulated to the advantage of one party. The same can be said of marital and paramour relations. One example of manipulation in paramour relations may be mentioned here. Men who neither have the courage nor the means to obtain redress for a crime or some other injustice or injury often find satisfaction in 'fooling' a kinswoman of the offender. This is not accomplished through rape, for then the actor becomes an offender, but by initiating a love affair with the woman. If the woman is attached (engaged or married) they must both keep it a secret, and he is quite safe; his conquest may be publicly known, however, if she is not attached, and his satisfaction is not a secret. Women obviously, because such a relationship is always somewhat degrading to them, cannot have such motivations, but can be manipulative in their own way.

More important are the behavioral consequences of the institutions themselves. One cannot divest oneself of an unpleasant consanguineal, and marital ties usually break up only on account of major abuse, if at all, because of the grave economic consequences. Paramour relations must be pleasant and gratifying for both partners if they are to last. As previously mentioned, these romantic affairs are usually of short duration and it is fair to say that the danger of being found out, when the liaison is illicit, is not the main reason for their early termination. These romances are generally not longer with unmarried than with married women. Nor must the men generally fear criticism from their wives — unless she is, of course, a nagging wife or has become totally neglected. Paramours look for pleasant company beside the sexual gratification it brings. They have to be real lovers toward each other. The fundamental reason for the short duration of these romances is the presence of greed in the absence of a structural base. Their vulnerability to greed is their safeguard against it. In this and the liberation from structural constraint, i.e., the opportunity for spontaneity, lies their attractiveness and value. But still, by the sheer nature of the institution, they can be destructive in important respects. A married woman who engages in an illicit affair is an accomplice in endangering her lover's

life. That danger is very real and traditionally most of the intra-regional killings have been in revenge for adultery with the killer's kinswoman. On the other hand, a man who initiates a romance with an unmarried woman provides little security for her. He makes her practically ineligible for a future marriage if she becomes pregnant and, by custom, gives only a minimum amount of property (by local standards) to the woman as the future inheritance of the child from its father's side. Romantic liaisons are an escape from, and revolt against, structural constraint, but nevertheless contain important destructive elements.

As human, man-made institutions, Sibling, Spouse and Paramour reflect human nature. All three categories are at the same time creative and destructive to an extent. Fraternal love brings security and cooperation on account of its structural and sentimental referents, but requires sexual restraint.

When the paramour relationship was described in the section on human intimacy, it was noted that human paramour relations have an ingredient of greed. This was in turn related to man's ambiguous moral nature. In the preceding section on the broader categories of human relations, structure was again seen as the main basis for, and mainstay of, human relations. Perhaps the emphasis on structure in conjunction with the admitted human moral ambiguity is best understood (together with the Buaya) as a statement that man cannot live without structured relations, that he cannot be really free. Or, at least, he cannot be at his best all the time. This moral weakness makes him unpredictable and postulates the need for external, structural control. He is born into structures (e.g., consanguinity) and creates his own (e.g., marriage and new political relations). He needs a frame or skeleton that carries, and around which he can build, his relationships. He differentiates, sets up divisions and demarcations, so that he may organize and create order.

The present episode introduces us to a fundamental difference between God and Man in their conceptions about social relations, and more specifically about human sexual intimacy. The God advises the reluctant siblings to eat a certain fruit. In other words, by divine standards, incestuous relations are perfect.

The fact that the God permits—or rather, advises—incestuous union cannot be a mere *deus ex machina* in the myth. The internal organization of such myths (when well told) is generally so perfect that each event has its significance as a necessary building block. If the adulterous union contains a message, then the incestuous union should also contain its own—and preferably in contrast with that exhibited in the former, given the dominant mode of expression (through contrasts) in the myth.

The myth's silence about incest is not surprising, for it deals with a topic that is unconscious to the narrator: that incest is desirable and advised by the God. This episode (like the rest of the myth) can be

understood only if we accept that God and Man have different notions about sexual intimacy. Incestuous relations would be fine and proper if it were not for the fact that man's moral nature requires the regulation of sexual intimacy (the prototype and favorite symbol of human relations—and of man's relations with the divine—in the myth) through the institutions of marriage, incest taboo and paramour liaisons.

The reluctance of the siblings to have sexual relations thus reveals, as strongly as the adulterous union, man's moral weakness and ambiguity, and introduces the progressive division between humans and between man and his God that we shall witness as the events of the myth take their course. It reveals a most fundamental (and initial) division—that between siblings—even though sibling unity is paramount in Buaya experience. The sibling relation is the common metaphor for all positive human relations, to the extent that regions that have made peace address each other as siblings.

When the first two people, as well as their son and daughter, initiated sexual intimacy, they acted and viewed each other as spouses; and the unmarried siblings, whose relationship was altered through the intervening marriage of the woman, acted and viewed each other as paramours. The God wanted the categories to collapse through the sexual intercourse of siblings. It would be more accurate to say that he does not recognize the categories which man has put up. The union of siblings should be eminently sexual (like that of paramours) beside its permanency (because of their consanguinity) and devoid of greed. In the God there is unity without division. He is incestuous and knows no greed.

The myth presents adultery as a corollary to the institution of marriage. In temporal sequence, sibling avoidance, marriage and adultery followed each other in that order. Marriage became the intervening event and relationship before sibling avoidance turned into its opposite, paramour (or adulterous) relationship. In the sibling relationship structure is at its strongest, while in the paramour relationship it is at its weakest. Institutionally, the opposition is resolved in marriage while, on another level, the God resolves it in the sexual relationship of siblings. As will be seen in the next episode, the God represents the ultimate, semantic resolution of the sibling/paramour contrast, while at the same time, in psychological terms, being the projection of sexual repression under structural constraint.

We now also understand why the initial adulterous act of which the myth makes mention is not an offense against the God, but purely secular. In Buaya experience, the woman's husband (together with his kin) is offended (it becomes a sin) only when the act becomes known to him (and his kin). His contractual rights over his wife have been violated by both the third person and his wife. The adulterous pair pays equal damages to the woman's husband. As a human offense against a human

The model that underlies the ladder event seems to be *coitus interruptus* due to female sexual inadequacy. The God lies in a supine position; the towering stone structure is his phallus. Ladders are raised when in use, and later laid down again; house ladders are wider at the upper end than at the base. When the household is absent, they are placed in an inverted position as a sign that no one should enter the door in their absence. The door is locked and should not be forced open. In traditional houses this could easily be done, and is often done by passers-by who want to take a drink of water, but an inverted ladder signifies an explicit prohibition. The possible metaphorical implications are rather obvious.

Talanganay intended to make the trip a success and took the necessary precautions. He placed springs and resting places along the way, thereby making it into a leisurely and pleasant experience. The obstacle of fright was remedied by providing the woman with a blindfold.

But the attempt fails. By the time the God has led the woman, who represents all mankind (she carries her baby on her back), halfway up, she becomes self-conscious and is panic-stricken. The God's attempt is foiled. His partner is unresponsive and the tower collapses.

The fault lay not with the God. It had not been a rushed affair, as the springs and resting places indicate. The God was patient in bringing her to the top—the climax—by stages, and had seen to it the best he could (by blindfolding her) that she would forget herself and the world.

Nor was the failure due to a defect of the ladder itself, which was the God's part. The fault was with the woman, who looked down (and back). By the time the blindfold was accidentally removed, she had not forgotten herself. The white bark cloth is the main symbol by which the sacrificial attitude is expressed during sacrifices, and is in meaning very close to that of the Talanganay representation itself. The God can thus be viewed as enveloping (and embracing) the woman with his own attitude of selflessness and abandon. His supine position further expresses the "female" role of surrender which he invites the woman to share. Self-surrender and the absence of self-consciousness are notions closely related to self-denial. Successful sexual union brings trance and fulfillment. Translated into the belief expressed by the ladder event, self-denial (or trance in the sacrificial sense) brings welfare.

The woman did not reach the state of trance in spite of the blindfold and the distance they had already gone. Her state of mind was still that which was hers at the start of the adventure. She had never left the world, her ordinary existence. Her first reaction, when the blindfold was removed, was to look back. The woman was inhibited. When the blindfold was removed, i.e., when she realized what was going on, she was startled at the distance they had already traveled, and insisted that they return. Upon their arrival on the earth, the tower collapsed. The scattered stones are permanent testimony to this initial failure—the

inability of man to live up to divine expectations; the deficient human response to divine invitation.

The reluctance of the woman in the ladder episode parallels the initial avoidance between the first two people, with this difference that in one case we deal with intra-generational incest (between siblings) and in the other with the equivalent of inter-generational incest (between the God and the woman).

This latest inference may sound gratuitous, but there is some ground. Beside conveniently filling a logical slot of incestuous relations and extending the contrast between these two sexual unions, I can refer to one narrator who actually believed that the first people were Talanganay's children. According to that version, the God killed 'his child' for the creation of man's food. This is a second instance of a narrator making awkwardly conscious (rationalizing) an unconscious category and relation in the deeper structure of the myth. The myth evolves on two levels of awareness, the unconscious and the conscious. A slip from the first level to the second, or rationalization (akin to the secondary revision in dreams), on the part of the narrator may produce awkward situations. Only the collection of as many variants as there exist within the same community can protect the analyst from following these narrators in their errors. But seen against the other variants, these "errors" provide important clues for analysis, and a confirmation of what sometimes may appear to be (or run the danger of being) pure speculation.

There is still a second argument to support this interpretation. Human beings create their own children. They reproduce their own kind and the God has no part in human procreation. When the God produced the first people, he did not reproduce his own kind. He made something different from himself but nonetheless performed an act that is analogous to human procreation, and can thus be viewed as a parent. The first people were his artifacts (*panday*), and shared part of his (moral) nature as much as human artifacts share part of man's (physical) nature by having a soul. The Buaya do not call Talanganay the father of mankind, just as they do not call inventors the fathers of their inventions. In neither case is there true procreation, but there certainly is a relationship of origin. Human beings, whether their origin is human or divine, are artifacts. The first people stayed with Talanganay in his house, where relations, as far as he is concerned, are incestuous.

The main foundation of the analysis is, of course, the community's custom. Two contrasts must now be viewed at the same time: that between Sibling and Paramour relations, and that between human and divine notions of these intimate relations. (The contrast of the divine with the third human category, Spouse, would be superfluous since it contains the properties of constraint and license of both along one axis,

and is even more human ["made"] than either on account of its contractual component.)

In the preceding episode, the woman of the second generation was sexually fulfilled in human terms: there was pregnancy in the marriage and there was romance outside it. Here, a named woman (the same woman, or perhaps a woman of another generation) is invited to a romance in divine terms. The purpose of the ladder event is not procreation (she already carries a baby on her back), but an orgasmic experience that symbolizes the elevation and transfer (or transport) to a blissful existence: heaven.

Of the three standard forms of human intimacy, only marriage aims at procreation. For that reason, childlessness is a frequent cause for divorce. The Sibling relationship obviously does not aim at procreation, but the paramour relationship needs further comment.

A paramour relationship generally does not have procreation as its aim. One exception occurs when a couple is childless, chooses not to divorce, and the husband, with the wife's consent, fakes a paramour relationship with a single woman for the sake of creating an offspring that will subsequently be adopted by the married couple as soon as it is weaned. It also happens on rare occasions that a girl who no longer hopes to get married engages in a brief paramour relationship with a man until she is pregnant, for the purpose of having an offspring. In both cases, the paramour relationship is faked, and is not resumed after the child is born. On the contrary, in all cases of adultery by a married woman, she and her husband consider the eventual offspring as their own. All this shows that procreation and paramour relations are two distinct categories. When they overlap, this anomaly is resolved by either terminating the paramour relationship (when the woman is single) or considering the offspring as a legitimate child (when the woman is married). At the time of observation, there were two cases of public paramour relationships between a married man and single woman that were of long duration. Both women were conveniently barren.

Returning now to the myth, the union with the God is intended as pure romance on his part, but is impure from the human point of view and not successful, just as the union between siblings was viewed as impure by the first couples and as pure and desirable by the God. It became pure — still according to the Buaya meaning of purity — as soon as they began to look at each other as spouses or paramours. On the human level, romance is proper only when there is previous distance; on the divine level, it is the concomitant of an existing unity, either that of siblings or that of ascendants and descendants. (In the Buaya kinship reckoning, no distance is created by intervening generations between ascendants and descendant. For example, a grandfather's first cousin is as closely related to ego as ego's first cousin in his own generation.) The woman acts as an ideal "child," with the same aversion that exists

between siblings, while the God acts as an ideal “parent” from his point of view, with full sexual interest.

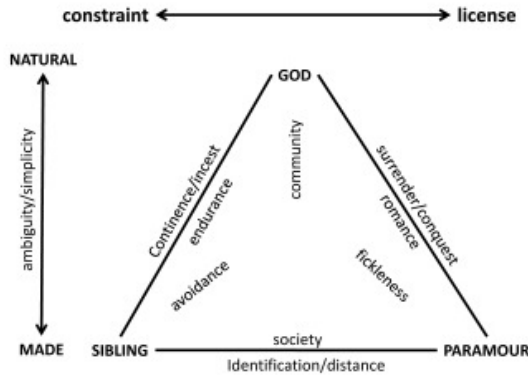


Figure 3. Divine vs. Human Sexual Relations

In contrast to the category Spouse in figure 2, the category God in figure 3 does not obtain its meaning in that it mediates the two others by sharing them in part, but instead by both embracing and transcending them. He stands above contract (marriage) or Spouse by containing the positive contents of the extremist sentimental counterparts, Sibling and Paramour, which Spouse mediates on the human level, and by excluding their negative components. He transcends them through the absence of ambiguity which characterizes both. These ambiguities, avoidance and fickleness, we remember, have their ultimate roots in man’s greed, which is absent in the God. When the woman refused (panicked), the tower collapsed, i.e., the God did not force his attentions upon her. The supine (“female”) position which he as a male took indicated from the beginning that it was not his nature to force his intentions upon his partner.

Human relations are ambiguous, even those that are felt as the most “natural” or the least “made” from the human (or Buaya) point of view, those namely of siblings and paramours as opposed to the mediating and more artificial or contrived relationship of spouses.

The God is both Sibling and Paramour, and is both in an eminent way. He is Sibling-cum-romance and a paramour-cum-endurance, because he transcends the constraint/license contrast by total simplicity.

Both the Sibling and Paramour relationships are consequences of division and order. Man, on account of his moral ambiguity, needs the crutches of order. He regulates his moral weakness by creating certain structures (or divisions). The incest taboo is man's response to the conquest or advantage motive; it safeguards the solidarity of sharing between siblings and other consanguineals. On the other hand, paramour relationships are a response to the neglect and repression of sexual needs in marriage. Marriage is in the first place a political institution, for Buaya is (what we used to call) a kinship-based society. The Buaya community, partly forged through intermarriages, is a political fabric.

Kinship structures (like other structures), however, are not all-encompassing. They have their boundaries and weaker fringes, thus allowing for escape from the structure — or license — but nonetheless preserving (or creating) a safe area of order that is most rigid at its center (in the present case, as far as ego's ascendants' first cousins and ego's first cousins and their descendants). The chief focus of the myth is man's sexual temperament, thereby perhaps affirming libido as man's strongest drive and therefore most in need of regulation and ordering — given the premise that kinship is an organizational tool. The human sex drive is further made the metaphor of aggressiveness or destructiveness. It is not devoid of greed, itself the chief metaphor of human moral weakness.

We thus find the incest taboo at the very center of man's institutional intervention (in Buaya), and its main force, with marriage permissible at the peripheries of kinship solidarity and flirtation beyond it.

Man thus stands in his own way, both by his inherent greed in his relationships and by the limitations he imposes upon himself in the order he creates for the purpose of controlling that greed. His existence remains ambiguous, whether outside (as a paramour) or within the structure (either sibling solidarity or the marriage contract) he has created. It has its limitations in all three alternatives. He cannot consciously accept the liberation the God offers in the myth, but instead dreams about it in the same myth.

Figure 3, shows the individual contrasts between God and Sibling, Sibling and Paramour, and Paramour and God along the respective axes of endurance (continence/incest), society (identification/distance) and romance (surrender/conquest) that have been discussed. The God is solitary and romantic by excellence, since he does not live in a society. He lives in a community with sexual surrender and incest because there is total absence of distance and division, the human prerequisites for society or order. There is no ambiguity in the God's relationship, but instead simplicity, because of his ontological nature. In him (in contrast with the Beast), there is no greed, only goodness or the 'female' quality

God and the people (and between the people themselves) has taken territorial form in that they have left his house to set up separate dwellings in villages, and in the divine withdrawal by neither permitting further access to his house nor entering theirs. The distance is analogous to that between paramours, who do not have (or consider) structural relations, do not cohabit, and develop mutual interest from that distance.

The new premise in the shift from sibling to paramour relations together with the reversal of the male and female roles seems to succeed. The divine household goes about its business and the bliss that reigns in the house, as evidenced by the music and witnessed by one man who was permitted to peep inside, forms a constant source of attraction. The situation is similar to the classic setting (in the epic songs) of the well-to-do nubile female whose attractiveness is underlined by her music and song.

By reversing the roles and mode of relationship, the God is apparently willing to give the people a second chance in which the initiative comes from them. It is a new formula whose net result—like so many second chances—is to make certain what until now was left in doubt. The result will be to make the division between man and his God complete. As a metaphor, the result resembles a romantic relationship whose frustration, now on the part of the female partner, leads to a complete break-up. Where in the preceding episode the woman, Ginipapan, could not respond to the God's advances because she viewed them as incestuous and therefore wrong, here we have an amorous relationship that lasts for as long as it remains without flaw.

The present episode is thus not a mere mirror image of the preceding. The initial situation is altered by the results of the ladder event. We start from different premises and the results will also be different. After the first refusal to enter into an incestuous relationship, the present inappropriate response to an invitation to a paramour relationship exhausts all the alternatives.

Subsidiary elements in the contrast between the two episodes are that in the first the woman refused to go up to heaven, while in the second the man is refused entrance to the house; that in the first the woman panicked, while here the God and his household panic; and that in the first the encounter takes place during the day and here at night. The real contrasts, however, is between incest avoidance, represented by female inadequacy in the first episode, and rape represented by male brutality here. The former is less offensive than the latter from the point of view of the God, insofar as the element of greed or the ultimate ground for sibling avoidance is quite remote from the immediate motivation for refusal, though present. The effect of surrender in the first episode would have been total bliss, equal to that of the God himself, while the maintenance of a paramour relationship with him in

the second would have meant the continuance of a plane of earthly satisfaction similar to that of the heroes in the epic songs, whose romances and headhunting exploits are the two main themes of the songs, and far above that which is now enjoyed by the Buaya in their contemporary experience.

Where the appropriate word for the God's perception of the human response in the first event is disappointment, here the word is offense. One man (in contrast with the woman in the earlier episode) breaks the rules of divine romance. He asks for a young vulva (or vagina), so that he may enjoy that rather than the music. Romance does not interest him: he wants raw sex, the kind that is equivalent to rape. His intention represents an instance of male brutality, insofar as it is totally impersonal. He asks for a woman's vagina, and specifies that it should be one that can bring him full satisfaction.

Buaya men express preference for copulations in which the penis is inserted with some difficulty, thus ensuring a firm fit which, they say, increase erotic stimulation and pleasure for the man. Elsewhere in Kalinga, where little inhibition is evident in public references to sexual matters and where the epic songs are sung by men (unlike in Buaya where they are sung by women), the texts frequently describe copulation and emphasize this desirable feature of the act. A firm and 'small' vagina is a compliment, nevertheless, to the woman in the epic songs as well in real life; and it is what the man specifies when he asks for a woman.

The man's request is met with total consternation in the divine residence. Silence is a reaction of grief on the part of the inoffensive, such as Talanganay. After an embarrassing period of silence, one member of the household speaks and suggests that they leave, but another also speaks and gives, as it were, a suspended sentence. The people should no more go and catch *palilong* fish within sight of the Gods and put them in their mouths. One version adds that they should be modest when they leave the water, and cover themselves. That the reference in the restriction imposed in this method of fishing pertains to sex is again fairly conscious in the latter version. Not any sex, of course — since the God, as we know by now, is eminently sexual — but what the English idiom calls raw sex.

The request and the subsequent action of the man are equivalent to rape: in the first case, male brutality (or what we usually term rape); and in the second case, female brutality (or female 'rape'). The theme of the fish's head in the mouth inverts the image of male brutality, and is isomorphic to a widely known myth in northern Kalinga and elsewhere in the Cordillera about a woman who killed all her consecutive husbands until it was detected that she possessed a *vagina dentata* that bit off their organs. In Kalinga, a man is not expected to survive when his phallus has been severed. Instead of pleasure, therefore, rape (either male or female) brings pain and eventually death.

The Gods referred to the fish in a mouth as eating “what is uncooked,” i.e., what is raw in the sense that it is not ripe and therefore needs some kind of cooking before it is consumed. Such people, the Gods further comment, might also eat their fellow human beings and the Gods themselves. Their greed knows no boundaries. The only cooking utensil left behind by the Gods when they left was a frying pan, aptly symbolizing a superior alternative (pure romance) to either plain boiling (sibling sexual avoidance) or raw food (raw sex).

The Buaya do not recall that cannibalism was ever practiced; if it had been a legitimate practice, it would contradict the myth. When the Gods therefore make the act of putting raw fish in the mouth equivalent to cannibalism, they refer to extreme greed, identical to that of the Beasts who do ‘eat people’, i.e., a lifestyle totally incompatible with theirs. Only animals eat raw food, notably the undomesticated ones. This brings us back to the first section and Figure 1, where the chief qualities of the God, and Beasts and Man were compared. The God-Man-Beast triangle compares with the fried-boiled-raw triangle. Man’s capacity for such greed makes him morally incompatible with the God. The latter’s character is defenseless against it. Unlike the epic heroes, the God does not retaliate when offended. At the end of the myth, he withdraws never to return again and it is not known where he is now. He is otiose—that is, he has nothing further to do with man.

NOTES

1. The name of that stone implement is *bubuntuk*, a duplication of the name of the major settlement, Buntuk, nearby, and was also used in blacksmithing before iron hammers were introduced.

2. The term for glans penis is also ‘tongue’ (*dila*).

3. There are also other ways in which the mediums are expected to suffer from (*tapilon*) their mediumship. They must frequently perform sacrifices for their own welfare, since the liver omens sometimes indicate that the illness will transfer to themselves or their household. The medium will be discussed more fully in the section on mediums and headhunters.

4. The Buaya have a single term, *uki*, for both vulva and vagina.

5. In Tulgao in southern Kalinga, for unknown reasons, all sacrifices have been reduced to mere skeletons (though of the same structure as those in the north), or ritual activity is being totally ignored (which is most often the case). Where mediums do not ritually intervene, the killing of the animal(s), also exclusively by males, is just the same intended as a sacrificial act.

6. This rationalization that makes Talanganay kill further relates to another important domain of contemporary experience. Some individuals are known (or suspected) to possess ‘poison’. Their motivation to kill is said to be envy. Those who wish to poison other people must first apply the poison to their own child (or sibling or other close relative in the absence of

a child) to make the poison effective. It is a perverse action but part of custom.

The poison is obtained from an herb held in the mouth or found in the stomach of a snake that has invited the user in a dream to come and find it on a stone in the river or brook near the settlement. All snakes and their entire bodies are considered to be poisonous and are the prototypes of the dangerous world of the bush. The symbolism that comes with poison inverts to a large extent the situation of creation and sacrifice, but should not detain us here, except to confirm, by inversion, the interpretation that has been proposed.

7. A joke told by Buaya men runs, in brief, as follows:

There was that man who was newly married. After some days of (customary) shyness on either the part of man or woman, there came the night of their first sexual intercourse. All went well, but when he disengaged himself and got up, his wife lay motionless. It frightened him. He jumped out of the house and roused the entire neighborhood. "My wife is dead; my wife is dead! I think I killed her!" They all rushed to the house. The commotion brought the wife to her feet, asking what the excitement was all about. "I thought you were dead, because you did not move," he said. The neighbors then asked what he had done. After some hesitation he told them that they had intercourse, and that she lay motionless afterwards, making him believe that she had died as a result. (Laughter.)

Buaya women describe female sexual arousal and orgasm as a tingling feeling, and compare it to an electrical current that pervades the entire body. Conception occurs, they say, when intercourse is most pleasant (*kaganasanna*), i.e., when orgasm is either achieved or intense. It is then, they say, that the uterus meets the penis, and opens up to suck in the semen.

8. These negative relations between the partners in rape, as well as other aspects of rape are well expressed in the following myth:

Once upon a time a demon (*alan*) kicked a rock.

A woman was planting yam there in Puyu, across from Kabbilan. That individual (the demon) looked at her as she was stooped all the time while planting yam. [She had her back turned toward him while planting on the mountain slope across from where he stood.]

"I cannot miss hitting that person who is stooped all the time," said the demon. [Her constantly bent over position makes her an easy and compelling target.]

He threw a bamboo spear at that one who was planting yam in Puyu. But he also kicked the stone [with one foot while throwing the spear], and it was cleft in the middle. The yam planter in Puyu was felled down, for the missile that killed her was a direct hit.

However, after a short while the mosquitoes gathered and were milling around him [pestering him].

One important element in the story is that the demon speared the woman from the back. I see in it the image of animal intercourse. The demons are 'animals' (*kakayap*, Beasts). Animal intercourse may be viewed as being as impersonal as rape. The image of rape also fits because of the fact that the woman dies. She was therefore approached from the back in an aggressive manner, leading to her death. The deep gap created in the rock he used as support while throwing the spear brings up the image of a wound, and more specifically of a raped vagina. The theme of the mosquitos who punish him for his action is very pertinent here. They retaliate by pricking him all over his body.

9. The Buaya are aware that all domesticates have wild counterparts, but quick to point out physical differences. They do not view the domesticates as having originated from the latter. The Tulgaos of southern Kalinga have a story that long ago the animals emerged from the earth at the edge of the village, the wild ones running for the forest, and the domesticates entering the village.

10. Man is viewed as primarily a vegetarian. There are folktales in which overindulgence in meat is punished.

11. The Beasts are not the only supernaturals that are conceived as influencing the Buaya's life today. Others are chiefly the village guardians, the benevolent characters in the ritual myths, and the helpful spirits that (aside from the Beasts) speak through the mediums during sacrifices—notably the 'dwarfs' (*maman*) who carry the offerings to the chiefs of the Beasts and assist the headhunters in the planning and execution of their raids. Their discussion, however, is not immediately relevant to the analysis of the myth. All these and other supernaturals share the qualities of either God or Beast, or of both, to a greater or lesser degree.

12. We now also understand why the God's creation does not include the natural or uncultivated world.

13. The flood myths of the Ifugao (Coronel 1967, 191-194; Lambrecht 1938, 450-551) state explicitly that the only two survivors were siblings, and that the Gods advised them to marry so that humanity may not become extinct. Similarly, a creation myth of the Kankanay, recorded by Vanoverbergh, states that the two first people were siblings, and that they were reluctant to have intercourse. The God told them: "Promise me to copulate, if I can make you laugh." He could make them laugh and they copulated.

14. The quotation marks in "natural" and "made" express the reference to human institutions here, as different from the earlier, ontological opposition between **natural** (God and Beasts) and **made** (Man).

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statement is hearsay. It will henceforth be omitted in the translation. Interruptions are also put in brackets.] Talanganay and Kabunyan made people. They made three people, but one of them could not be finished; his/her breath could not be put. The other two, those were the ones whom he [Talanganay] brought to life. Uh, he made them marry. Uh, they increased in number. They increased in number, but I do not know the names of all these; but they were the ones who stayed in the stone, for they had increased in number. And their offspring, for they had increased in number, they were the ones who multiplied in this village. For they did not become very many from the beginning, because that was a very long time ago. For truly, they [the gods] must have stayed there for a long time.

When they played music and sang — they sang the epic songs and played the [long] *paldong* flute, [short] *ullimong* flute and the bamboo harp; they played them inside the stone. Many of the ancestors went there to attend, and they made a scaffold along the flank of the stone here on the side of the village. They stayed there relating stories.

With regard to the stone structure below the entrance, the ancestors had no knowledge of how it got there. For example, that stone structure at its [the house's] entrance. The ancestors did not know, and we do not know, if those who went there to listen to what they were doing were the ones who made that. It has been there from time immemorial. The ancestors also saw the grooves on it [on one of the form flanks of the stone], and that was the entrance.

Returning now to the story — for there were people staying here; there in Sipat — they [the gods] went in the evening to borrow pestles to pound [their rice] with under the house shed of the stone. At dawn, when it began to clear downstream [in the east], they went to return the pestles; but no one ever saw them bodily, for all they could hear was the clanging of the pestles which they went to return.

One evening — for the ancestors went constantly to hear their playing; the ancestors went, and went repeatedly to go and attend what they were doing: all that was being played and sung; they also went to converse with them.

It was Talanganay's desire that the entire earth be flat, without all these mountains. But Patubog said: "Ah, that is difficult, because these creatures [litt., watered] — that is, the people — will constantly feud, for they have become many already. If they will be endlessly striking each other, that will be tough. It is better to have mountains as barriers, so that they will not be killing each other all the time." And he won [the argument].

What he [Talanganay] did again, he tossed a gourd into the river: "So that the dead will return [to life], if those whom I created should die," he said. But Patubog did not agree. He threw a whetstone into the water so that the people will sink down as they die, because "we will

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The photograph above, from the files of the Philippine Province of CICM, shows Jules De Raedt in Kalinga in the 1960s. Photo courtesy of Dr. Carol Brady.