NOTES ON PHILIPPINE DIVINITIES

F. LANDA JOCANO

Introduction

THIS PAPER IS ETHNO-HISTORICAL IN NATURE. IT IS DESIGNED TO PUT TOGETHER REPRESENTATIVE PANTEONS OF DIFFERENT PHILIPPINE DIVINITIES. THE MATERIALS FOR THIS PURPOSE HAVE BEEN GATHERED FROM HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, ETHNOGRAPHIC MONOGRAPHS, AND FIELD OBSERVATIONS CONDUCTED BY THE WRITER AND OTHER FIELDWORKERS AMONG DIFFERENT INDIGENOUS RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN THE VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY.

No sociological analysis of these cosmologies or their manifest theologies is made except to point out that their persistence through time — from the early Spanish contact to the present — indicates they are closely interwoven with the lifeways of the people. The divinities described here are, as they were in the past, conceived as beings with human characteristics. Some of them are good and others are evil. Many stories about the workings of these supernatural beings are told. They participate in the affairs of men. These relationships reinforce local beliefs in the power of the supernatural beings, as those people who participate in community affairs witness how these deities, invoked during complicated rituals, cure an ailing patient or bring about success in hunting, fishing, and agriculture.

Some of these deities are always near; others are inhabitants of far-off realms of the skyworld who take interest in human affairs only when they are invoked during proper ceremonies which compel them to come down to earth. In this connection, the spirits who are always near, are the ones often called upon by the people for help. These supernatural beings are led by the highest ranking deity and not by any one supreme divinity, for each has specific and some independent function.

Luzon Divinities

Bathala or Abba

The highest ranking deity of the ancient Tagalogs was called Bathala or Abba.1 Like other divinities the world over, Bathala's origin

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was not known. He merely appeared one day and announced his lordship over mankind. So great and powerful was Bathala that no one ever dared question his demand for obedience and reverence from man. Because historians and writers often refer to this Tagalog deity as the god of the ancient Filipinos, Bathala gradually became the accepted representative deity of the whole nation.²

Bathala was said to be the creator of all things — the sky, the earth and all the vegetation around us. He dwelt in the highest realm of the eternal space called kawalhatian or sky. Just and merciful, he was said to be the sustainer, keeper, nourisher, and protector of mankind. Sometimes he seemed very human. He welcomed gifts from people with deep appreciation; and was pleased when men were helpful and obedient to his moral laws. He was lavish in his love towards those who kept his commandments and paid him homage. To a certain extent, however, his kindness made many of his favorites lazy — always depending upon him to do things for them, an attitude from whence came the dominant characteristics of the Filipinos — the bahala na or "Bathala takes care" philosophy of life. This forms the base of two outstanding character traits of the people — the tendency to be easy-going or resigned and the tendency to be venturesome or audacious in time of emergency.

While Bathala was said to be compassionate and forever understanding to contrite hearts seeking forgiveness, he was equally exacting in his punishments to sinners. He did not hesitate to send thunder and lightning to strike the transgressors of his laws. He presided over the lesser divinities who cared for the needs of the people and guarded the general welfare of the reverent families. His power and goodness were devoted to the interests of the people to whom he was the almighty protector.

**Lesser Divinities Assisting Bathala**

*Divinities of the sky.* As creator of the material world, Bathala has many minor divinities assisting him. Among these lesser deities who lived in the sky were Idianali, goddess of labor and good deeds; Dumangan, deity of good harvest; Amanikabli, lord of the sea; and many others. Idianali married Dumangan and they had two children. Dumakulem, a strong, agile hunter who became the guardian of created mountains, and Anitun Tabu, the fickle-minded goddess of the wind and rain.

Amanikabli, the husky, ill-tempered ruler of the sea, was said to have never married after his love was spurned by a beautiful mortal maiden, Maganda. In his frustration, Amanikabli swore vengeance against all

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mortal beings. This is the reason that even today, old folks say, he sends turbulent waves and horrible tempests every now and then to wreck boats and drown men.

The most beautiful divinity in the court of Bathala was Mayari, the goddess of the moon. Mayari had two charming sisters, Hana, goddess of the morning, and Tala, goddess of the stars. They were said to be the daughters of Bathala by a mortal wife who died after she had given birth to these three beautiful goddesses. Bathala took these three sisters to the sky and made them members of his celestial court.

Ikapati, goddess of cultivated land, was the most understanding and kind among the deities of Bathala. Her gift to man was agriculture. As the benevolent giver of food and prosperity, she was respected and loved by the people. Ikapati was said to have married Mapulan, the god of season. They had a daughter named Anagolay who became the goddess of lost things. When Anagolay reached maidenhood, she married Dumakulem, son of Idianali and Dumangan, with whom she had two children, Apolaki who became the god of the sun and patron of fighters, and Dian Masalanta who became the goddess of lovers.

From the union of these gods and goddesses came the order and regularity of the Tagalog world. However, as life became more and more complex as a result of the expanding social relationship among the worshippers, Bathala sent down to earth the ancestral spirits to help these different divinities administer to the needs of the people on earth. Each of these spirits had a special office. Some of them were assigned as guardians of those who fight in war and others were given the task of protecting men from illnesses. However, as time went on, these spirits became the interceding divinities between men and the gods. They were the ones to whom sacrifices were offered whenever the people desired something. These sacrifices were performed by the catalonan or priest.

Divinities of the lower world. Like the modern Christians, the early Tagalogs believed in the life hereafter. In fact, belief in transmigration of the soul was one of the chief reasons these people offered sacrifices and performed all sorts of religious rituals. The earthly belongings of the deceased person were buried with him because it was believed that the spirit of the said person would need these things during his journey to the other world. In some groups, slaves were said to have been buried with their masters, and in others, the dead man’s wife or captured enemies.3

The ancient Tagalogs also believed in the final judgment of men — punishment of evil and rewarding of the good. The souls of the good men were said to be brought to a village of rest called Maca, which resembled the Christian paradise, where they enjoyed eternal peace and happiness. However, those who deserve punishment were brought to Kasamaan, the village of grief and infliction where they were tortured forever. These souls were kept there by the chief deity named Sitan.5

Sitan was assisted by many mortal agents. The most wicked among them was Mangagauay. She was the one responsible for the occurrence of diseases. She wore a necklace of skulls, and her girdle was made up of several severed human hands and feet. Sometimes, she would change herself into a human being and roam about the countrysides as a healer. She could induce maladies with her charms.

If she wished to kill someone, she did so by her magic wand. She could also prolong death, even for a number of months, by simply binding to the waist of her patient a live serpent which was believed to be her real self or at least her substance.

The second agent of Sitan was called Manisilat. She was sometimes known as the goddess of broken homes. She was said to be restless and mad whenever there was a happy home within sight. Determined to destroy every happy home, she would disguise as a woman healer or an old beggar, enter the dwelling of her unsuspecting victims, and then proceed with her diabolical aims. With the aid of her charms and magic powers she would turn the husband and wife against each other. She was most happy when the couple quarreled and danced in glee when one of them would leave the conjugal home.

The third agent of Sitan was known as Mankukulam,6 whose duty was to emit fire at night, especially when the night was dark and the weather was not good. Like his fellow agents, he often assumes human form and went around the villages, pretending to be a priest-doctor. Then he would wallow in the filth beneath the house of his victim and emit fire. If the fire was extinguished immediately, the victim would die.

The fourth was called Hukluban. She had the power to change herself into any form she desired. In fact, some people said that she

4 Placencia, op. cit., pp. 185-196.
5 Note the striking resemblance of our present-day Biblical name Satan, ruler of the underworld, to Sitan of the ancient Tagalogs. [Sitan may be the Islamic Saatan, of the same meaning which indicates that at the time the Spaniards came to the islands, Islam had already gained a considerable foothold in the religious belief systems of the early Filipinos. [* Cf. the Indian goddess Kali, whose attributes are similar to this Mangagauay. Sometimes, Kali is identified with Yama, the regent of the dead, in Indian Mythology. Ed] 6 For some reasons, the Mankukulam never dared meet directly the gaze of other persons. Jose Nuñez, “The Mancocolam,” El Renacimiento. (Manila, December 9, 1905).
had greater power than Mangagayuan. She could kill anyone by simply raising her hand. However, if she wanted to heal those whom she had made ill by her charms, she could do so without any difficulty. It was also said of her that she could destroy a house by merely saying that she would do so.

Priests and priestesses of the Tagalog divinities. Among the priests and priestesses of the different Tagalog divinities were Silagan, whose duty was to tempt people and to eat the liver of all those who wear white clothes during mourning and take their souls down to the depth of Kasanaan. This was the reason the ancient Tagalogs usually wore vari-colored tapis or barrel skirt.

Silagan had a sister named Mananangal. This fiend could be seen walking along dark trails and lonely paths without her head, hands or feet, because her work was to frighten people to death.

The third minor agent of the environmental gods was Asuan. The natives swore that they had seen Asuan fly at night, murder men, eat their flesh, and drink their blood. He has four brothers, Mangagayuma, Sunat, Pangatahuyan and Bayuguin. All these five brothers were sent by the divinities to this world in the form of human beings, with special duties to do.

Mangagayuma specialized in charms. He made charms out of herbs, stones, and wood which, when used by lovers, had the power to infuse the heart with love. Thus he deceived people, although sometimes, through the intercession of good anito, his skill would not work. Sunat was a well-known priest. Pangatahuyan was a soothsayer; while Bayuguin's work was to tempt women into a life of shame.

Malayari

Among the early people of Zambales, it is recorded that Malayari was considered the highest ranking deity. Powerful and almighty, Malayari was said to be the creator of all things on earth. He was the master of life and lord of death. He was compassionate and loving. He granted satisfaction to the desires of his favorites. He sent rain for the fields of his worshippers, good health for those who follow his wishes, and wealth and good harvest for all those who faithfully observed his laws. However, like other gods, Malayari was also exacting and cruel in his punishment of those who ignored his command-

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ments. He would send down disease, famine, misery and destruction to the unbelievers, especially those who refused to offer him sacrifices.  

Divinities assisting Malayari

In administering the affairs of the universe, Malayari was assisted by several minor deities. These deities were called anito. Among these anito were:

Akasi. Sometimes considered as having powers equal to that of Malayari, Akasi was the celebrated god of health and sickness. Sacrifices for the immediate recovery of the sick were made to this god. No one had seen Akasi, although many of the priests claimed that they had talked to him.

Manglubar. Another deity serving Malayari was Manglubar, god of powerful living. His main duty was to pacify angry hearts. Hence, when anyone in the village had committed crimes, it was the priests of Manglubar who were sent to pacify the relatives of the offended party. The reconciliation, if ever such was considered by the offended party, consisted in the criminal's giving gold or something of equal value to the relatives of the murdered person, according to the rank of the latter. If the murderer could not pay the price demanded by the offended party, the priest killed one of the murderer's son or a very near relative. If the murderer could not do any of what the offended party demanded, he was killed.

Mangalabar. Often called the guardian angel, Mangalabar was the god of good grace. It was said that she used to accompany the priests wherever they went, especially when they went hunting. If the expedition was successful, sacrifices given to this deity was colorful, if otherwise, the ceremony was less elaborate. It is interesting to note that under no circumstances would the person who invoked Mangalabar's aid enter the house without offering some gifts. Although it was not explained very clearly why sacrifices had to be given, some people said that if they did not do so, they would be blessed with luck the next time that they embarked on an expedition.

Aniton Tauo. As god of wind and rain, Aniton Tauo was said to be superior to any of her associates. However, because of her conceit, Ma-

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10 Describing the ritual to Malayari, Father Perez wrote: "...These Indians (the Zambals) have their priests and priestesses, although such have no jurisdiction over the others; for here every one is master of his own will, and they alone recognize superiority in one in so far as he gives authority to the other priests and priestesses for some special sacrifice. This priest is called bayuc, and he dresses like a woman. He wears a tapis or apron and ties up his hair like a woman, although above the tapis he wears and girds his catan, on the left side and on the right side, an yuva or dagger." Domingo Perez, op. cit., pp. 300-306.

11 Some people considered Akasi superior to Malayari, as evidenced by this song: "Magyaman man a Malayari, Monagon si Akasi." (Freely translated: "Although Malayari is powerful Akasi gets the first fruits.") Domingo Perez, ibid., p. 304.
layari punished her by reducing her rank. The Zambales offered her pinipig\textsuperscript{12} of the best kind during harvest season. The sacrifices using these ingredients are called Mamiarag.

Dumagan. As god of good harvest, Dumagan caused the rice to yield better grains. Dumagan had several brothers helping him. All these were equally powerful as he was. Kalasakas was responsible for the early ripening of the ricestalks, Kalasokus, for turning the grains yellow and dry, and Damulag for keeping the flowers of the rice plants from being blown away by hurricanes. These gods had many priests and priestesses serving them.

Lumawig\textsuperscript{13}

Among the Bontok and Kankanai groups of the Mountain Province, Lumawig was described to be the creator of all things and the preserver of life. He had a wife called bugan with whom he had two children — Bugan and Obban. Bugan grew to be a lovely goddess of romance while Obban became the goddess of reproduction.

There were also many inferior gods serving Lumawig, among whom were Kabigat, Bugan, Balitok and Wigan. These deities held close relationship with mankind through the anito and other ancestral spirits. The powers of these anito were, in turn, declared to men by the different priests and priestesses. Some of these anito were good, some were evil, and others were neutral. They were represented by carved idols.

Kabunian\textsuperscript{14}

The Ifugao, like the rest of the ethnic groups in the Mountain Province, called their chief deity, Kabunian. This deity dwelt in the fifth region of the universe. Incidentally, the Ifugao world had a region above the skyworld where the important deities lived. These deities however recognized Kabunian as the highest ranking deity among them.

The minor gods assisting Kabunian in the performance of his work were divided into groups, namely,\textsuperscript{15}

Bulol, gods of household who were held to be the souls of ancestors long departed, resembling the Roman lares. They were represented by little statues, carved out of hardwood in the form of human beings.

Gatui, divinities of practical jokes. These deities correspond to the “harpies” of the Greeks. Unless given sumptuous offerings, they were

\textsuperscript{12} Young rice grains pounded thin and brittle. In the Bisayas, it is called ubas or limbuk, in the Ilokos, iniuban.
\textsuperscript{14} The mythology of the ethnic minorities of Mountain Province is difficult to study. To the Benguet group, Apo was the acknowledged highest ranking deity. The Ifugao have Kabunian as chief deity; while the Bontoks, Lumawig is the worshipped head.
said to feast on the souls of the villagers, especially those of the unborn. To a great extent, miscarriages among the Ifugao mothers were attributed to these deities.

_Tayaban_, god of death. Like the _Gatui_, these gods feasted on men's souls. They revealed themselves to the world in the form of tiny, flying monsters covered with shiny scales, so that they look like fireflies during nighttime.

_Kikilan_, two-headed monster serving as bodyguards of _Tayaban_ and _Gatui_.

_Munduntug_, evil spirits of mountain. These divinities were called mountain ghosts because they haunted hunters in the forests, causing the latter to get lost in the jungle.

_Makalun_, messenger of the gods. They had wings. Their duty consisted in running errands for the superior deities of the skyworld and summoning other divinities to attend the various ceremonies performed by the priests of the village.

_Bakayawuan_, good spirits of the mountains. Unlike the _Munduntug_, they were friendly and helpful to the hunters.

_Mahipnat_, great spirits of sacred places. They dwelt in the downstream regions and were sometimes referred to as spirits of deified heroes.

_Bibao_, spirits of ordinary places. They were found in the cliffs, in the house-roofs, in the boulders and in the streams. They were almost everywhere. Stealing souls and causing sickness were among their mischievous acts. However, when bribed with a sumptuous feast, they become very kind and helpful, giving the celebrant prosperity, peace and happiness.

_Halupi_, spirits of remembrance. These spirits were responsible for reminding villagers about what their priests wanted them to remember. They pestered the debtors with recollections of debts, calmed the controversants to accede to the demands of their creditors, and had a wide field of usefulness in commercial transactions and love affairs.

_Fili_, guardians of property. These deities kept watch over the property and belongings of their favorites to prevent their being stolen or destroyed by thieves and trespassers.

_Libligayu_, spirits of sickness. Sometimes known as “liverspearsers” the _Libligayu_ were responsible for causing abdominal pains. In order to exorcise these spirits, the priests when dancing swung their spears in front of the patients, at the same time singing: “Libligayu of the mountains, please, we entreat, remove your spear from the liver of this man, your friend. Remove it, _Libligayu_, and use it to spear the deer in the forest.”

_Libligayu_ were related to _Hibalot_, spirits of sickness which caused ulcers of the intestines, and _Dadungut_, spirits of the tombs, which bit
those who entered the graveyard of the dead ancestors without proper permission.

Makiubaya, spirits of the gates. These divinities kept watch over the gates which the villagers built at the various approaches of the villages.

Binudbud, spirits of the feasts. They were invoked to check on men’s appetite during festivals. When so implored they would descend to the village and tie up the stomach of the guests so that even if little food and drinks were served, the guests would be satisfied. These deities were also called upon to neutralize the passion of men so that there would be no trouble, no fight and no untoward feelings among the guests.

Imbagyan or Lingayan, messengers of death and guides of souls. One of the imbagyan was named himpugtan who had the power to terminate anything that displeased him or his favorites. He was the one to whom the people pray to spare them from death; whom they invoked to end famine, to cause death to any enemy, and to end almost anything they desired.

Banig, ghosts that permanently haunt the hillsides, caverns and uninhabited houses. They were the cousins of kolkolibag, the spirits of birth, which caused, unless propitiated with proper sacrifices, difficult labor to delivering mothers by blocking the birth canal with their magic wand, and inidu, omen spirits, who concoted omen and auguries, especially from birds, snakes, insects and trees.

Hidit, gods of rituals. They are the ones who saw to it that proper punishments for those who broke taboos were meted out. To this family of gods belonged puok, god of wind. The puoks were the ones responsible for wrecking the dwelling of the sinners and destroying the crops of those who refused to pay them homage.

Hipags, spirits of war. Ferocious and cannibalistic by nature, these deities were the ones invoked by the fighters before starting any expedition. The hipags were believed to furnish the men-of-war with courage and valor in the field of combat. Some images representing the hipags were in human form, some in cock or wild boar, while others were plainly fragments of human jaws and hard river stones. They roam about the river-banks, hillsides and springs.

Bisayan Divinities

Tungkung Langit

The Sulod of Central Panay, in Western Bisayas, conceived of the universe as divided into three regions: Ibabawmum (upperworld), Pag-tung-an (Middleworld), and Idadaluminun (Underworld).16

The *Ibabawnun* was divided into two dominions—one occupied by the male *diwata* and the other by the female *diwata*. The most powerful male *diwata* was called *Tungkung Langit* which name means "pillar of the skies." His origin was not known. He merely appeared in this realm one day and proclaimed his power. He was assisted by other less powerful deities, viz., *Bangun-bangun*, the deity of universal time who regulated the cosmic movements; *Bahulangkug*, the *diwata* who changed seasons; *Ribun-linti*, god of lightning and thunderstorms; *Sumalongson*, god of the river and seas; *Santonīyo*, the deity of good graces, and *Munsad Burulakaw*, the god who had direct power over men. The latter was the most respected and feared among the deities of the Upper-world.

The all-powerful female *diwata* was *Alunsina*. She was assisted in her activities by many lesser divinities, among whom were *Muropuro*, goddess of the spring, rivers and lakes; *Labing Daut*, goddess-in-charge of rain-clouds; *Tibang-Tibang*, goddess whose charge was to keep the balance of earth and maintain the succession of night and day and so many other heavenly chores.

The powerful deity of the *Pagtung-an* is *Paiburong* and his wife, *Bulawanon*. Where these two came from was also not known. They had five children: *Ginbitinan*, who became the wife of *Munsad Burulakaw*; *Matanayon*, goddess-wife of Sulod culture-hero, *Labaw Dungun*; *Layang Sukla*, goddess of beauty, *Surangaun*, god of the sea, and *Tugang Tubig*, the god of rivers, streams, and lakes. The lesser divinities of *Pagtung-an* were headed by *Pabuaya* and his wife, *Durunumun*.

The Underworld of *Idadalmunon*, also swarmed with different *diwata*. The highest ranking *diwata* was *Panlinugon*, the *diwata* of earthquake. He was assisted by his brother *Tungkung Langit* (not the same deity from the Upperworld) who supported the world as his name denotes, and his wife, *Luyong Kabig*, the *diwata* who controlled the stream of snakes at the entrance of the Underworld. *Luyong Kabig* had a sister named *Luyong Baybay*, the *diwata* who controlled the rising and falling of tides. She married *Paigrab*, an unknown *diwata* and they had one child *Magsanladung Biday*.

*Kaptan* and *Dialaon*\(^1\)

The ancient Bisayan world was divided into three parts: *Kahilwayan* or the skyworld, *Kamariitan* or the earth, and *Kasakitan*, the underworld.

*Kaptan*, who was the principal of the important deity of the early Bisayans, lived in *Kahilwayan* and, whenever he wanted to go down to the world, he passed through the Madyaas mountain in Panay. There were many minor deities under *Kaptan*, among whom where: *Makliumsa-

\(^{1}\)Miguel de Loarca, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
twan, lord of the plains and valleys; Maklium-sa-bagidan, lord of fire, Maklium-sa-tubig, lord of the sea; Kasaray-sarayan-sa-silgan, lord of the streams; Magdan-durunuum, lord of the hidden lakes; Sarangan-sa-bagtiw, lord of storms; Suklang-Malayon, guardian of happy homes, and her sister Abyang and Alunsina who became goddesses of the sky after the great deluge.

Kamarititan was ruled by Sidapa, goddess of death, and her husband, Makaptan, god of sickness. Makaptan was considered by the natives as an evil god because he went out frequently to send disease to ravage the village during lean seasons. He did such diabolical acts because, according to some old folks, he had not eaten anything of this food or drunk any pangasi (rice wine). And so in revenge, he made the people suffer.

The court of Sidapa and Makaptan also abounded with many minor divinities. These divinities were under the supervision of a powerful deity, Danapolay. Makaptan had two brothers, Magyan and Sumpoy, who became the lord of the Underworld or Kasakitan. Magyan was charged with the task of carrying souls of the dead to the infernal regions. When he had thus carried them there in his boat called balanday, Sumpoy would rush forward and would take these souls to a region called Kanitu-nituhan. There another deity took over the responsibility over these souls. This deity’s name was Sisiburanon. Good or bad, Sisiburanon treated these souls on equal terms. He was assisted by two huge kuruntang (giants) — Simuran and Siguinarugan, guards of the Kanitu-nituhan gates.

It must be noted that in the case of the poor people, their souls remained forever in the Underworld should no one of the living relatives offer sacrifices for their redemption. Sisiburanon kept these unredeemed souls in virtual slavery and, after years of staying there, these souls were fed to Simuran and Siguinarugan.

It was also believed in those days that when a man died, his soul would have to pass the infernal regions before it could be admitted in Kahilucayan if any one of his relatives would offer sacrifice to Pandaque, Sidapa’s spokesman.

Mindanao Divinities

Pamulak Manobo

The Bagobos of Mindanao believed in the highest ranking deity named Pamulak Manobo. Sometimes known as the plant person, Pa-
mulak Manobo was said to have created all things on earth. Like other
gods, he was the giver of good harvest, the source of rain and wind, and
above all, he was the master of life and death. As the highest rank-
ing deity, he lived in the highest realm of the sky where he observed
the doings of men on earth. Gifts for this god should always be wrapped
with white and should be placed in the center and above the offerings
intended for other spirits.

In his capacity as administrator of human life, Pamulak Manobo
was assisted by many divinities, among whom were: Malaki t’ohu K’waig,
hero of the head of the waters who destroyed sickness; Toglai and his
wife, Toglibon, deified spirits of the Bagobo ancestors who gave the
people their language and custom. They were also the ones who took
charge of births and marriages; Tulos-ka-balat, spirit of sacrifices. He
was considered the spirit-intercessors with the higher divinities for the
Bagobos. It was to this deity that a yearly sacrifice was made; Buso,
evil spirits who ate the flesh of dead persons. These were described
as huge beings with curly hair, big feet and long nails, small arms, and
possessed two big, pointed front teeth. Mandaragan and his wife Dar-
rago are patrons of the men-of-war. They lived in the depth of Mt.
Apo. It was said that the smoke and fire which come out of the sum-
mit of this mountain come from the stove of this couple. Tigyama were
protectors of families. Although kind and understanding, these spirits
harm those who did not obey the rules of the family life and those who
were disrespectful to old folks as well as to the other spirits. The most
mischievous spirits working for Pamulak Manobo were the Sir’ing. These
beings lived in caves, cliffs, and other dangerous places. They often-
times disguised themselves in the human form and abducted women and
children whom they fed with snakes and worms in their mountain abode.

The god of agriculture was a huge, hairy being named Tarabumo.
He lived on the slopes of Mt. Apo. He was the guardian of the crops
and it was for him that shrine known as parobanian was erected in the
center of the rice fields. The patron of blacksmiths and brass workers
were brothers Tolus ka towangan and Tolus ka gomanan. These two
deities had a sister named Baitpandi, a kind goddess who taught the Ba-
gobo women how to weave.

Tagbusan

Among the Manobo of Mindanao, Tagbusan was the most power-
ful. He ruled over the destiny of both gods and men in the Manobo
world. He was assisted by many divinities, namely; Benevolent de-
ties — Umlî, a class of higher beings who on special occasions, through

19 God of war.
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the intercession of the divata, succor mortals; Divata, deities whom the priests propitiate during ceremonies for impending dangers;

Dangerous deities — Panaiyun, a class of fierce deities who make men mad; Pamidiya, deities who initiate war and incite men to fight; Busau, dangerous spirits who caused the destruction of men; Tagbanua, spirits who inhabit the gloomy and solitary places, and Tame, huge deities who guard the untravelled jungles and misled the travelers to their doom. These were very kind deities if respected but most ferocious when aroused. The mischievous rice thieves were called Dagau. Anit or Anitan was the powerful guardian of the thunderbolt.

Deities of lust and love — Tagabaya, dangerous goddess who incites incest and adultery; Agkui, deities who urged men to indulge into sexual excesses.

Divinities of agriculture — Kakiadan, the goddess of rice; Tagamaling, the goddess of other crops; and Taphagan, goddess of harvest. She guarded the rice during its storage in the granary.

Divinities of celestial phenomena — Inaiyau, manipulator of the winds and storms. He also wields the thunderbolt and the lightning; Tagbanua (different from one mentioned above) god of rain and supervisor of forest deities; and Umouui, the god of clouds.

Other spirits — Sugudun or Sugujun, the god of hunters and trappers; Libtakan, god of sunrise, sunset and good weather; Mandait, the spirit of the souls; Yumud, watergod; Ibu, queen of the afterworld; Makalidung, the founder of the world; Mandayangan, a harmless giant whose home was in the far-off mountain forest; and Apila, god of wrestling and sports.

Other divinities

Magbabaya. Among the Bukidnon, Magbabaya was considered the highest ranking deity.21 He lived in a house like those of the Bukidnon themselves. He had lesser spirits working for him. Some of them were: Domalongdong, deity of the northwind; Ognaling, deity of southwind: Tagalombung, deity of eastwind; Magbaya divinity of the westwind. There were two other deities who served as special agents to Magbabaya. There were Tagumbanwa, guardian of the fields and Ibabasag, patroness of pregnant women.

Among the numerous deities of Magbabaya were: Ipamahandi, goddess of accident; Tao-sa-sulup, god of material goods, and Tigbas, was the most respected among the minor deities serving Magbabaya. god of good government. Tigbas, was the most respected among the minor deities serving Magbabaya. Busao, god of calamity, was the most

feared. It was this last god whom the Bukidnon offered sacrifices regularly.

Manama and Tigianes. The Gianges of Cotabato worshipped two principal gods — Tigianes and Manama. Tigianes was the creator of the world and Manama was her governor. Todlay was god of love. He married Todlibun, goddess of marriage. Diwata was the protector of the house and she was the one whom frequent sacrifices were made.

Subanun divinities. The Subanun of upper Zamboanga believed in the following deities — Tagma-sa-dagat, lord of the sea; Tagma-sa-yuta, lord of the earth; Tagma-sa-mangga-bungud, lord of the woods; Tagma-sa-uba, lord of the rivers; Tagma-sa-langit, god and protector of the sick, and Diwata-sa-langit, god of heaven. This last deity was considered the most powerful and the almighty lord of all.

Concluding remarks

Thus far we have described the structure of the representative pantheons of Philippine divinities. This hierarchical arrangement of positions and functions of the different gods and goddesses provides a convenient conceptual framework against which Roman Catholicism was accepted with relative ease.