

# Legends: Mirror of a People's Mind

Doris Ogdod-Gascon, DALitCom

**Abstract**—The legends of Cebu need to be preserved through an ethno-literary critical anthology in order to keep alive its people's heritage and letters. Cebu is the province located at the middle of the archipelagic Philippines. This is where the oldest city (Cebu City) and ( Colon St. ) street in the country are found [1]. Furthermore, Cebu City is declared as the first City of Culture by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and has contributed to the Philippines' recognition as the ASEAN Culture Capital for 2010 and 2011[2]. The title allows the promotion of the region's arts and culture to other Southeast Asian nations [3]. This ethno-literary research anthologizes and analyzes the representative legends of Cebu in order to protect and uphold Cebuanos' cultural heritage as well as offer understanding on Cebuanos' collective psyché. Specifically, it focuses on the following: (1) the profile of the Cebuano tellers; (2) the legends of Cebu and their categorization; (3) their archetypal-thematic analysis; (4) the feminism revealed in the legendary characters, and (5) the collective Cebuano psyché reflected in the legends.

The method of research used in this study is ethno-literary research which involves interviewing the eighty-five (85) key informants who have retold the thirty-one (31) legends from the twenty-two (22) representative regions of Cebu. This study theorizes that the legends of Cebu, through their archetypes and themes, signify the collective Cebuano psyché. This research assumption is supported by the formalistic, mimetic, and feminist literary theories in the analytical approach toward delving into the legends focusing on their archetypal and thematic dimensions.

The results of the quantitative analysis on the profiles of the respondents and the legends as well as the qualitative discourse analysis are these findings: (1) The profile of the oral literary tellers shows women as the cultural storytellers; (2) The legends of Cebu reveal the following: (a) They can be categorized into three: Living Human Beings, Mythical Creatures ( subdivided into: human-looking creatures, animal-looking creatures, and mysterious matter), and Dead Souls; (b) Majority of the legendary characters with identified gender are female (71.43%), which may suggest a gender bias with the negative portrayal of women; and (c) Nature (such as trees and rivers) is the common abode of mythical creatures; (3) The legends' archetypes signify killer of the unborn, killer of the children, evil force, animal's involvement in humans, strength of supernatural beings, kindness of supernatural beings, dead's involvement in humans, vulnerability of women, magic and power in humans, with the themes: the protection of the young, and defenseless, the existence of other forces-good or bad, the inevitability of life after death, and the acquisition of powers by humans; (4) feminism is at play in the construction of the legends, as evidenced in the reported

legendary characters' women-as-witches stereotypes and the women-as-dead victims; and (5) The collective Cebuano psyché reveals the traits of being judgmental, inclined to hearsays, protective of their children, superstitious, believer of the dead and supernatural beings' presence among the living, fearful, ritualistic, sin conscious, and gender bias.

The new concepts that this study has contributed to the field of regional studies and literary traditions are: the generation of categories of the legends and the idea of feminism's involvement in the Cebuano psyché as reflected in the legends.

**Keywords**- *legends, Cebuanos, ethnography, Philippine literature, Asian culture, Asian beliefs, Cebuano psyché, Asian Literature, ethno-literary research, Superstitious, life after death*

## I. INTRODUCTION

Cebu has many legends that have been told orally, but have not been recorded in print. These oral traditions have contributed greatly to Cebuanos' culture. As time passes by, these legends are at risk of loss if not preserved. Therefore, this research intends to save these oral literatures by making printed documents of the legends.

As a result, it preserves the oral tradition of literature and becomes a means of preserving "life" that is handed down by their ancestors. This oral lore of the pre-colonial Filipinos bore the marks of the community. Lore is a story that has been told from one generation to the next about supernatural phenomena. Basically, these oral literatures of the early Filipinos reflect the common experience of a group of people such as farming, fishing, and hunting as well as their beliefs, practices, attitudes, emotions, ideals, or wisdom [4]. Through the centuries, native literatures came to be developed as a result of the collective desire to express the thoughts, feelings, and ideals on certain matters that touched the community's interests [5]. Before, oral literary tradition had been used to groom the conduct and mold the moral fiber of the children of the Filipinos. These oral traditions served as "artistic capsules" in which their ancestors preserved their social beliefs and values and handed down to their succeeding generations [6]. Therefore, oral traditions apparently shape the culture of a certain people.

Thus, the anthologizing of the different legends is a legacy to the next generations of Filipinos. They will be able to have a good look on the richness of the Philippine culture by appreciating the literature of a certain region in a convenient way – through reading the stories on paper. Insights will be developed as a result of the studying of these legends. Consequently, improvement of Cebuano culture is at hand when there is knowledge of the existing oral literary traditions. They will understand themselves more by studying the archetypes and themes that govern the legends that reflect their collective psyché.

## II. OBJECTIVES

The goal of this research is to put into record the oral literary traditions which are the “legends” of Cebuanos. Moreover, this research also analyzes the psyché of the people of Cebu through archetypal-thematic categorization and mimetic analysis of the legends. The theme is the main concept or idea of the legend. Themes describe the lives, human nature, and elements of the society. Identifying the themes allows the viewing of the people’s beliefs and values. The mimetic theory believes that stories are created out of the unconscious feelings and sentiments of a group of people. People’s attitudes, beliefs, feelings, values, and behaviors which form a certain culture in a region, are expressed by stories, such as legends that have been passed on from one person to another. These legends and stories may root from the society’s unique mores, norms, and traditions.

This research assumes that the legends of Cebu, through their archetypes and themes, signify the collective Cebuano psyché. This is supported by the theories of formalism and mimesis. In literary theory, formalism refers to critical approaches that analyze, interpret, or evaluate the inherent features of a text [7]. To view art basically in terms of the universe, in terms of what is imitated, is to follow the mimetic theory [8]. To determine the themes of the legends, formalism is employed; to analyze the archetypes to reveal the reality of human’s unconscious, the theory of mimesis is at work.

Particularly, it delves into the following: (1) the profile of the Cebuano legend tellers; (2) the legends’ profile and categorization; (3) their archetypal-thematic analysis; (4) feminism in the legends; and (4) the collective Cebuano psyché reflected in the legends.

## III. LITERARY RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### A. Method Used

This research utilizes the ethnoliterary research method in data-gathering, the Cebuano residents as key informants, the statistical analysis of the profiles of the Cebuano informants and the legends, and the discourse

analysis of literary texts using the formalistic and mimetic critical analyses for interpreting data. Ethnoliterary research is the study of the literatures of *ethno* (folk or people) [9]. In this research, a questionnaire is its main instrument in gathering data. Interviews with the respondents will also be done to supplement written instructions and clarify some questions and items.

### B. Sources of Data

There are eighty-five (85) respondents from twenty-two (22) representative cities and municipalities of Cebu who have participated in answering the questionnaire for the data of this study. The survey questionnaire includes two parts. The first part is the profile of the Cebuano tellers in terms of their gender and address. The second part includes the narration of the story that has been believed to be factual but has not been proven yet, which the informant has heard or has experienced himself.

### C. Data-gathering Procedure

Five phases are sequentially followed in the generation of data toward completing this literary ethnographic research: *profiling of the Cebuano tellers* ( phase one ), *compilation and categorization of the legends* ( phase two ), *archetypal-thematic analytical categorization* ( phase three ), *analysis on the legends’ feminism* ( phase four ), and the *investigation of the collective Cebuano psyché* (phase five).

## IV. FINDINGS

### *Phase One: Profiling of the Cebuano Legend Tellers.*

**Gender.** There is an even distributed between male and female in Cebu region. However, the male population in the region has been increasing at a faster rate compared to the female population [10]. Among the eighty-five (85) key informants in this research, 63.53% are women. This is almost twice higher than the number of male informants. This would imply that women are more of the cultural storytellers compared to men.

**Area.** Furthermore, there is not much of a difference in the number of those residing in the urban (48.24%) and in the rural (51.76%) area. This may mean that Cebuanos, whether in the urban or in the rural area, have an oral literary tradition to tell. It is also noteworthy that there is continuous movement of people from rural to urban area, and vice versa. Those from the far-flung places get education and work in the city, and those retirees return to their provincial address. Oral literary traditions have been passed on to people of Cebu from both urban and rural areas.

Table 1 shows the consolidated profile of the respondents as to their gender and address (whether in urban or rural area).

TABLE 1. THE PROFILE OF THE KEY INFORMANTS OF THE LITERARY ETHNOGRAPHY

Total No. Of Respondents	Gender		Area	
	Male	Female	Urban Cebu	Rural Cebu
85	31	54	41	44
Percentage:	36.47%	63.53%	48.24%	51.76%

### Phase Two: Compilation and Categorization of the Legends of Cebu.

From the eighty-five key (85) informants who have retold the legends, there are thirty-one (31) that are named and are subjected to profiling. Upon gathering the data, it is observed that there are common recurring elements of the legends. They can then be categorized into three: (1) living human beings, (2) mythical creatures, and (3) dead souls.

Table 1 presents the profile of legends under the category, living human beings.

TABLE 1. THE LIVING HUMAN BEINGS

Legendary Character	No. of Times Retold	Brief Description
1. Ang Ungu/Aswang 1 (Popular Female Witch)	6	The witch performs rituals to gain power, which helps her transform into another form and kill somebody
2. Ang Ungu /Aswang 2 (The Male Witch)	1	The witch prowls every night to look for a pregnant woman. It transforms into a big dog and is believed to be the cause of the death of the newly birthed twins.
3. Ang Wakwak/ Tiktik/ Manananggal ( The Witch-bird )	15	The witch-bird kills or eats the unborn fetus inside the womb of a pregnant woman. This witch-bird is actually the witch's transformed appearance.
4. The Shape-shifting Man	1	At night, the man transforms into a creature, with horns and a tail.
5. Family of Witches	2	The ability to become a witch is believed to be inherited; so there are witches that are associated to their family group.
6. Mambabarang/Daut/ Manikpik ( The Sorcerer )	3	The sorcerer uses black magic or curse to inflict harm against someone.
7. The Spirit of Rizal	1	Rizal, the Philippines' national hero, has "anting2x" or magic such that he will never be hit by a gun's bullet ( as what history tells); Rizal is believed to be alive and transforms into an animal.

The first category, which is the legendary living human beings, consists of stories of real people, with certain supernatural characteristics. These characteristics are associated negatively. The witches and sorcerers harm others. The common description of the witch is that it transforms into another form or are shape shifters [11], such as into the common "Wakwak" (witch-bird) [12] which enables them to have large, sharp ( like knives ) wings, or into a black pig, a giant dog, or sea creature.

Majority of the informants report on *wakwak*. **Ang Wakwak ( The Witch-bird )** is vampiric-bird which is a transformation of a woman witch whose body separates from the trunk toward the head, while the rest of her body, the legs remain on the ground. It targets a pregnant woman for their prey. One informant states that the *wakwak* does not normally eye on an ordinary person; rather, the *wakwak* has special liking for the fetus inside the womb of a pregnant woman. The husband is vigilant for any sound of a *wakwak*, especially noises from the roof. It is believed that the *wakwak* tags black cats with her to distract the husband, so that the *wakwak* can carry on her plan of cutting the abdomen of the pregnant woman through its wings, and finally taking out the unborn child. The unborn child serves as the *wakwak*'s food.

According to academics and westerners, witches of Cebu can be rationally explained in historical and sociological terms. Some say that when the Spaniards conquered the Philippines 400 years ago and brought with them the Catholic religion, they demonized those who refused to reject their pagan practices. Those who refused conversion to Christianity went up the mountains. This is the said root of the *ungu* or *aswang* belief. Up to the present, to ward off *ungu* or *aswang*, people keep garlic and sharp bronze tool s. Under their pillows, a knife or a Stingray tail whip is hidden, just in case, the *ungu* or *aswang* attacks [13].

Magic in Cebuano society is viewed as neither good nor bad. It would depend on the channel of this power. Sorcerers (*mambabarang/daut/manikpik*) get power from evil spirits to bring harm and illness. The sorcerer hexes (*barangon*) a person, at the request of someone or due to a personal vendetta. Some of them are also good with making poisonous concoctions (*manghihilo*) [14]. Sorcery is common practice among early Filipinos when they resort to chanting curses to inflict harm on their enemies. Sorcerers perform rituals that could put other people's lives in danger. They could cause the sores of a person's skin, the infestation of insects inside a person's body, pain in someone's body, or even death.

"Anting2x" serves as a charm or a shield, in the common form of a rock or a crystal, for someone under threat. Those people with such rock cannot be harmed physically, such as be hit with a bullet, wounded with a sword or a knife.

Sorcery and the belief of a charm as a shield are two practices brought by paganism and animism. These are strongly Hindu influences. Between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century, Cebu ( then Zebu or Sugbo ) was an island inhabited by Hindus, Buddhists, animists and Muslims[15].

Table 2 shows the list of mythical creatures, subdivided into: (a) Human-Looking Creatures; (b) Animal-Looking Creatures, and (c) Mysterious Matter.

TABLE 2. MYTHICAL CREATURES

Legendary Character	No. of Times Retold	Brief Description
<b>Human-Looking Creatures</b>		
1. <i>Di Ingun Natu/ Inkantantu</i> ( The Supernatural Beings)	11	The supernatural being can imitate someone's appearance and invade a person's home.
2. The Woman in the School	1	The woman in the school scares teachers and children because there is no record of her existence, and she appears without notice.
3. The White Lady	11	The white lady appears in the dark and inflicts illness to people who disturb her.
4. The Lady in the Mountain	1	The lady in the mountain always parties at night and has many party stuff, such as utensils, to offer the people who wish to borrow from her.
5. Mysterious Lady on the Road	1	This lady appears on the middle of the road at midnight, causing accidents to the drivers passing the way.
6. Maria de Cacao	1	An enchanted woman who is a chocolate manufacturer and merchant, travels around to sell using her ship, appears to certain people, especially those near the river.
7. The Quack Doctor and the Lady on the <i>Tartanilla</i> ( a horse-drawn carriage)	1	This quack doctor is believed to be a half "ingkanto" or supernatural being, and is the "king" of the spirit world. His daughter, the lady riding the <i>tartanilla</i> , is the "princess" of the spirit world.
<b>Animal-Looking Creatures</b>		
1. <i>Sigbin</i> ( Witch-pet )	3	The kangaroo-like witch-pet whose master is a witch, attacks the field and helps its master in killing somebody.
2. <i>Ang Kugita</i> ( The Octopus)	2	The monstrous octopus captures children who swim in the river.
3. <i>Agta/Kapre</i> ( Giant Black Man at the Tree)	8	This is a big, hairy, dark-colored man, with yellow and glaring eyes, usually smoking tobacco, and is residing at a tree.
4. The Midnight Dog	1	This humongous dog ( as huge as a bull ) appears at midnight and disappears when he nears a tree, which is believed to be its home.
5. The Snake Twin	1	A snake of a grandmother is believed to be her twin; every time the snake gets hurt, she also feels the pain.
6. <i>Ukuy</i> ( Merman in the river)	1	There is a merman (half-man, half-fish) in a river that kills two people every year, so the people give offers to the river to appease the merman.
7. <i>Oro</i> ( The Giant Fish )	1	This very huge fish has its head beneath the cathedral, and its tail in the sea nearby. It is believed that when the fish moves, the ground quakes.
8. The Crocodile in the Tunnel	1	This crocodile resides in the river of Brgy. Bu-aya (which the name is derived from), and it has a tunnel underneath the river, so the people could not locate it.
<b>Mysterious Matter</b>		
10. <i>Santilmo</i> ( The Flying Fireball )	3	This is a bouncing floating ball of fire that will attack a person who has seen it.

The category, Mythical Creatures, consists of legends of supernatural creatures and elements, those that one does not encounter normally. According to Maramba [16], a category of a folktale is the fantastic which deals with the

unseen world or the underworld and features odd, whimsical or grotesque characters- this is the "Mythical Creatures" fall into. Mythical creatures appear out of nowhere, and people tend to fear something they cannot explain. Although some mythical creatures, such as those that look humans, are not harmful, still, people fear them. The Mythical Creatures category is further subdivided into three groups. The first group is the Human-Looking Creatures ( such as the "di ingun natu" or supernatural beings, white lady, other mythological ladies, and "ingkanto" or male supernatural being ). Some reports say that these human-looking creatures usually offer something, like a food, a job, utensils, and etcetera. Those who refuse the offer are more likely to get some kind of an illness. The second is the animal-looking creatures ("sigbin", "kugita", "Agta/Kapre", the midnight dog, snake twin, "oro the giant fish, and the crocodile in the tunnel ). These creatures are commonly described as huge and are often harmful. The last group is the mysterious matter, in which "santilmo" the flying fireball, belongs to. This group includes any form of object that is deemed to possess power on its own and seems to have a mind of its own.

In this study, the most commonly told tales of mythical creatures are the *Dî ingun natu/Inkantantu* (Supernatural Being) and the White Lady.

*Dî ingun natu/Inkantantu* (Supernatural Being) is coined as such to mean as someone who is not like a mere human being. This is due to the fact that these supernatural beings cannot be seen, but their doings provide phenomena that are evident yet cannot be explained by human reason. They also have this "Spirit World". The early Filipinos' way of life was greatly influenced by their belief in the spirit world and remnants of this culture trait still persist. Numerous spirits, believed to be the shadows of ancestors, were also venerated. These were either helpful or harmful. The beneficial spirits were known as anitos; the harmful ones were known by various names in different areas. There were anitos who protected the fisherfolks and anitos in homes [17]. There have been many kinds of supernatural beings retold by Filipinos. However, the most common origin regarding where these supernatural beings come from is that they live in trees. This belief is closely connected with the practices of pre-hispanic Filipinos who believed in supernatural beings living in the nature. During the Pre-Hispanic era, the Filipinos had a religious belief in *nature worship* [18].

**White Lady** is one of the most popular figures of legendary Filipino oral traditions. This white lady appears to be a supernatural being with a feminine feature and one who has a long, white dress. Oftentimes, this lady is described to have long, black hair. People say that a white lady's face is blank or blurry. At other times, the white lady is described to be "*gwapa*" or beautiful.

The last classification of the legends of Cebu is the Dead Souls. Cebuanos, and Filipinos in general, believe that some souls are "lost" after they die. The haunting of

dead people to living people has no fixed reason. One reason for such haunting is justified by many people as those dead people who are brutally murdered and request justice for their death ( such as in the legends of the ghosts of rape victims and the wounded girls ). These victims may haunt their perpetrators or other people who may be able to help them seek justice. For other cases of haunting of a dead person to the living loved ones, it would indicate that the dead people may want to be remembered that their lives do not end through a physical death. They manifest themselves to the people they once lived with to signify that they are not totally detached to these people even after their corporal expiration. Table 3 shows the legends under the category, Dead Souls.

TABLE 3. DEAD SOULS

Legendary Character	No. of Times Retold	Brief Description
1. The Haunting Master	1	The dead master haunts his ex-slave by moving things in the house.
2. The White Cats	1	The dead relatives reincarnated into white cats to guide the living relative.
3. Ghost of the Rape Victim	1	At a secluded area at night, a woman appears then disappears. The woman is believed to be the ghost of
4. The Hanged Girl	1	In the middle of the night, the girl who is hanged appears, while the dog is barking (dogs are believed to see spirits).
5. The Little Girl in the restroom	1	The spirit of a girl is seen by students. The girl is in white and is filled with wounds and blood all over her body.
6. The WWII Woman Victim	1	A woman believed to be raped and killed by Japanese soldiers during World War II has caused the series of deaths of a certain town.
7. The Typewriting Ghost	1	At around 3am, there is someone, believed to be a ghost, typing on the traditional typewriter. It is believed to be the ghost of someone who used to type there.
8. Raped Girl Possession	1	A spirit of a girl who was raped possesses the body of a student that leaves the student harmful to self and to others.

*The white cats* are three unusual white cats that are believed to be the three dead relatives of the person who is alleged to have seen these three white cats in her residence. When a person dies, it is believed that the person's soul may dwell in a form of an animal. According to oral lore, one of the most common animals that is associated with a departed person's place of indwelling is a butterfly. This animal transformation of a dead person signifies that a person continues to live despite the termination of the life of the person's body. This suggests that a human being has a soul or a spirit in addition to the human being's physical component. The concept of a soul or a spirit does not encompass the scientific logic that only involves observable evidence to explain a certain phenomena. The idea of a soul or a spirit of a person relies heavily on the role of religion.

It is noteworthy that the postmodern belief in the presence of the soul or spirit of the dead people here on

earth does not come from the Christian belief alone. Reincarnation or the belief that a person's soul will transform to another form after the person dies is a religious faith that comes from Hindus and Buddhists. According to Tuazon, in 1293 A.D., Hindu migrations came to the Philippines which brought new culture and religion to the people [19]. This new wave of culture and religion is expressed through the oral literary traditions of the ancient Filipinos.

The girl who was raped and died possessed a student reported to have a "weak spirit" because of her not being religious and not being good. It is inculcated in the psyché of the people of Cebu that it is dangerous when one neglects their religious duty.

One typical case of spirit-possession is that which a person is being possessed by a person who is once dead due to a brutal murder. The reason for this possession, according to the people, is that the dead spirit who takes control over the living person seeks help in acquiring justice for their death.

TABLE 4. LEGENDS ACCORDING TO GENDER, TIME OF APPEARANCE, PREFERRED PREY/VICTIM AND ABODE

Legendary Character	Gender	Time of Appearance	Preferred Prey	Abode
LIVING HUMAN BEINGS				
1. <i>Ang Ungu/Aswang 1</i> (Popular Female Witch)	Female	Night/Midnight	Fetus ( Pregnant Woman )	Own Place of Residence
2. <i>Ang Ungu/Aswang 2</i> (The Male Witch)	Male	Night/Midnight	Fetus ( Pregnant Woman )	Own Place of Residence
3. <i>Ang Wakwak/ Tikik/ Manananggal</i> ( The Witch-bird )	Female	Night/Midnight	Fetus ( Pregnant Woman )	Own Place of Residence
4. The Shape-shifting Man	Male	Night/Midnight	No Preferred Prey	Own Place of Residence
5. Family of Witches	Female (dominantly)	Night/Midnight	Fetus ( Pregnant Woman )	Own Place of Residence
6. <i>Mambabarang/Da ut/Manikpik</i> ( The Sorcerer )	Female	No Particular Time	Enemy of the Sorcerer	Own Place of Residence
7. The Spirit of Rizal	Male	No Particular Time	Not a Predator	Own Place of Residence
MYTHICAL CREATURES				
8. <i>Sigbin</i> ( The Witch-pet )	Not identified	No Particular Time	Enemy of Its Master	Forest/ Farm
9. Octopus	Not identified	No Particular Time	Children	River
10. <i>Di Ingun Natu/ Ingkantu</i> ( The Supernatural Beings )	Not identified	Night/Midnight	No Preferred Prey	Tree

11. The Woman in the School	Female	Night/Midnight	Not a Predator	Tree
12. The White Lady	Female	Night/Midnight	Not a Predator	Tree
13. <i>Agta/Kapre</i> ( Giant Black Man at the Tree)	Male	Night/Midnight	Not a Predator	Tree
14. The Lady in the Mountain	Female	Night/Midnight	Not a Predator	Mountain
15. The Midnight Dog	Not identified	Midnight	Not a Predator	Tree
16. The Snake Twin	Not identified	No Particular Time	Not a Predator	House of its "twin"
17. <i>Santilmo</i> ( The Flying Fireball )	Not identified	No Particular Time	The person who sees it	Forest
18. <i>Ukay</i> ( Merman in the river)	Not identified	No Particular Time	People swimming in the river	River
19. Oro ( The Giant Fish )	Not identified	No Particular Time	Not a Predator	River
20. The Crocodile	Not identified	No Particular Time	People swimming in the river	River
21. Mysterious Lady on the Road	Female	Night/Midnight	Drivers	Tree
22. Maria de Cacao	Female	No Particular Time	Not a Predator	River
23. The Quack Doctor and the Lady on the <i>Tartanilla</i> ( a horse-drawn carriage)	Male	Night/Midnight	Not a Predator	Forest
DEAD SOULS				
24. The Haunting Master	Male	No Particular Time	Not a Predator	Family's House
25. The White Cats	Either Male/Female	No Particular Time	Not a Predator	Relative's House
26. Ghost of the Rape Victim	Female	Night/Midnight	Not a Predator	Area where the victim died.
27. The Hanged Girl	Female	Night/Midnight	Not a Predator	Old House
28. The Little Girl in the restroom	Female	Night/Midnight	Not a Predator	Restroom
29. The WWII Woman Victim	Female	Night/Midnight	People in the town	Area where the victim died.
30. The Typewriting Ghost	Not identified	3am	Not a Predator	Classroom
31. Raped Girl Possession	Female	No Particular Time	Spiritually Weak	Classroom/ where she died.

Table 4 presents the classification of the legends according to their gender, time of appearance, preferred prey/victim, and abode.

Gender. Twenty-one (21) legends have been identified with gender. Fourteen (15) of them are identified as female

(71.43%), while the rest, six (6), as male (28.57%). With the high percentage of women stereotyped as witches, mythical creatures, and lost souls, feminism is assumed to play a role in the creation of the oral literary traditions. This is discussed further in *Phase four*.

Time. Seventeen (17) or 54.8% of the legendary characters are reported to be active at night or midnight. One reports the typewriting ghost to work at 3:00am. In Cebu, it is believed that the "time" of these mythological creatures begin at 6pm, while others begin at 3:00am. Generally, darkness brought by night fuels fear among the people. Dark is mostly associated with danger or death.

Abode. Excluding the real human beings and the dead souls, mythical creatures have their alleged abode in trees, forests, or rivers. This belief is closely connected with the practices of pre-hispanic Filipinos who believed in supernatural beings living in the nature. During the Pre-Hispanic era, the Filipinos had a religious belief in Nature Worship. Based on Ogdock's research in Samboan, Cebu, the people there believe in "tawhanun", which are the "earthly beings" [20]. These "tawhanun" or earthly beings are believed to live in trees. . Scholars have frequently commented on the paradoxical survival of animistic notions in a supposedly Christian society. Efforts to explain the cause of the coexistence of primitive and advanced religions are part of the contribution of sociology to the understanding of the interaction between religion and society [21].

Prey. Those legendary characters who attack people have: unborn fetuses, children, and spiritually weak, as their preferred victims. Witches and witch-birds' attack on fetuses may imply the protectiveness to the young in the psyché of Cebuanos. Moreover, stories on mythical creatures may have been told to warn children to avoid going into the river for possible accidents.

#### *Phase Three: Archetpal-thematic Analysis of the Legends*

The thirty-one (31) legends are then subjected to analyses of the archetypes that they contain as innate literary components of their fictional narrative constructs.

The ethnographic significance of these archetypes relate to the ethnicity of meaning that they express in legends, explaining superstitious beliefs, behavior patterns, values, and societal idiosyncrasies distinctly of Cebuanos.

Archetypes, thus, are analyzed as objects or images or *signifiers* of a societal message that distinctly exists in a local culture [22] in these regions of Cebu. Their *signifieds*, therefore, are the realities existing in society. The varied *archetypes* in the legends are identified and analytically discussed based on their local and cultural significance. Archetypes, thus, are *signifiers* of existing local and cultural realities of the Filipinos (the *signifieds* ).

These are synthesized in Table 5.

TABLE 5: ARCHETYPES OF THE LEGENDS

LEGENDARY CHARACTER	
Signifiers	Signifieds
<i>Ungu/Aswang 1</i> (Popular Female Witch Version)	Killer of the Unborn
<i>Ungu/Aswang 2</i> (The Male Witch)	
<i>Wakwak/ Tiktik/ Manananggal</i> (Witch-bird )	
<i>Kugita</i> ( Octopus )	Killer of the Children
Family of Witches	Evil Force
Shape Shifting Man	
<i>Sigbin</i> ( The Witch-pet)	
<i>Di Ingun Natu/ Ingkantu</i> ( The Supernatural Beings)	
The Woman in the School	
The White Lady	
<i>Agta/Kapre</i> ( Giant Black Man at the Tree)	
The Midnight Dog	
<i>Santilmo</i> ( The Flying Fireball )	
<i>Ukuy</i> ( Merman in the river)	
The Crocodile in the Tunnel	
Mysterious Lady on the Road	
The Snake Twin	Animal's Involvement in Humans
Oro ( The Giant Fish )	Strength of A Supernatural
Maria de Cacao	Kindness of Supernatural Beings
The Lady in the Mountain	
The Quack Doctor and the Lady on the <i>Tartanilla</i> ( a horse-drawn carriage)	
The Typewriting Ghost	Dead's Involvement in Humans
The Haunting Master	
The White Cats	
Ghost of the Rape Victim	Vulnerability of Women
The Hanged Girl	
The Little Girl in the restroom	
The WWII Woman Victim	
Raped Girl Possession	
<i>Mambabarang/Daut/Manikpikay</i> ( The Sorcerer)	Magic and Power in Humans
The Spirit of Riza	

The archetypes of the legends of Cebu signify the following: killer of the unborn, killer of the children, evil force, animal's involvement in humans, strength of

supernatural beings, kindness of supernatural beings, dead's involvement in humans, vulnerability of women, magic and power in humans.

From these archetypes, themes are derived and classified into: the protection of the young, and defenseless, the existence of other forces-good or bad, the inevitability of life after death, and the acquisition of powers by humans;

#### *Phase Four. Feminism in the Legends*

The portrayal of women as witches that are the “evil forces” of the society; as those possessing black magic; and are physically and spiritually weak are reflected in the legends of Cebu.

This woman-as-witch stereotype in Cebu has been shared by other countries such as those in Europe [24]. In Europe, it is said to be mainly caused by the hegemony of Christian theological and demonological speculations and treatises, which targets women, the weaker vessel, both physical and spiritual.

As Linda C. Hulst clearly puts,

“The discourses and practices surrounding

The persecution of witches were linked

to men's efforts to gain power and status,

which were informed, after all, by

contemporary ideals of masculinity; the social

forces that came into play as witches were

accused, tried and executed were informed

by gender at every level (the village, the

local court, the state); and the psychological

and social impact of this extraordinarily

negative female stereotype, although difficult

to isolate, was surely enormous.”

In this research, although the cultural storytellers are also women, they continue the spreading of the idea of women as evil and their vulnerability.

Renowned Psychologist Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961) proposed four main archetypes of women that are based on the recurrent patterns of thought and action in human beings. He theorized that archetypes govern a person's psyché. Female archetypes, are categorized into four: the mother (nurturing), the virgin (pure), the witch (dangerous), and the queen (strong) [24]. In the legends of Cebu, the archetype of the mother (nurturing) is revealed by the mythical ladies who are generous to let the common folk borrow their belongings ( such as the Lady in the Mountain and Maria de Cacao ). However, the most common female archetype in the legends is woman as the witch ( dangerous ).



The cultural image ascribed to the woman told in literature is her capability to poison food, to flutter on broomsticks and pitchforks, to make livestock sick and crops shrivel, to cast spells and to curse people and places. As Antonio has said, "History can attest to the persecution that these women, called witches, have endured. The kind of ill-treatment they received from society heightened even more since the advent of Christianity." [25].

#### *Phase Five: Collective Cebuano Psyché Analysis.*

The fifth phase in the ethnographic analyses of the legends involves a synthesis of the *themes* and the *archetypes* with the end-in-view of producing an analytical *collective psyché* of the people of Cebu through the significance of the legends. A collective unconscious, which refers to a storehouse of images and patterns, vestigial traces of which inhere all human beings and which find symbolic expression in all human art, is a reservoir of the experiences of Filipino species. This *collective psyche* is conceived of as a set of behaviour patterns and attitudes of superstition that characterize the Filipinos as revealed by the categories of themes and the significations of archetypes distinct to the ten oral tales.

Jungian psychoanalysis distinguishes collective unconscious from the personal by associating the collective unconscious with archetypal criticism. The collective unconscious, or the objective psyche as it is less frequently known, is a number of innate thoughts, feelings, instincts, and memories that reside in the unconsciousness of all people [26]. Based on the archetypal-thematic analysis, the collective psyché of the people of Cebu reveals the traits of being judgmental, inclined to hearsays, protective of their children, superstitious, believer of the dead and supernatural beings' presence among the living, fearful, ritualistic, sin conscious, and gender bias.

In the legendary characters of witches from real human beings, those people who just appear queer are judged as the evil in the society, thus, are outcast. From this theme, Cebuanos are seen as judgmental and inclined to hearsays. Cebuanos are also protective of their children as revealed by the creatures that prefer fetuses or children as their victims. The dead souls and other supernatural beings are believed to get involved in the lives of humans. Cebuanos' collectively think that "other beings" exist. Evil forces and spirits are therefore in Cebuanos' thoughts. They are fearful and are ritualistic in counteracting these evil forces. People also use "power" given by evil spirits or by some supernatural being. Those who are "spiritually weak" have the tendency to be possessed by a Spirit. Thus, Cebuanos are sin conscious. Finally, based on the female archetypes of witches, Cebuano collective psyche reveals a gender bias on women as the culprit of the unexplained tragedy or as the ones who spread fear in the community, as they are portrayed as witches, sorcerers, supernatural beings, or dead souls scaring people.

These behaviors have their historical root dated in the pre-hispanic period when paganism, animism, Hindu,

Buddhist traditions, and beliefs dominated Filipino culture. The Spanish system of inculcating Christianity plays a role as well in the stories of witches, as these witches, stereotyped as women, are those that reject the Christian faith and are deemed as "evil".

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author wishes to extend her gratitude to the following literature academics who have reviewed and made suggestions on this research: Dr. Angel O. Pesirla, Dr. Edwin A. Pilapil, Dr. Reynaldo A. Caturza, Dr. Glen M. Pesole, and Dr. Leonora T. Dotillos.

#### REFERENCES

- [1] Anonymous. *Cebu*. Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia, 7 November 2014. Web. 19 November 2014. <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cebu>>.
- [2] B. Cupin. *Cebu declared ASEAN City of Culture*. GMA News Online: GMA Network Incorporated, 2014. Web. 19 November 2014. <<http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/story/226882/news/regions/cebu-declared-asean-city-of-culture>>.
- [3] Philippine News Agency (PNA). *Cebu named 1st ASEAN City of Culture*. The Online News Portal of TV5: Interaksyon, 12 July 2011. Web. 19 November 2014. <<http://www.interaksyon.com/article/8295/cebu-named-1st-asean-city-of-culture>>.
- [4] B. Lumbea and C. Lumbea. *Philippine literature: a history and anthology*. Pasig City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing, 2005. P. 2. Print.
- [5] T. Agoncillo. *History and Culture, Language, and Literature: Selected Essays*. Manila, Philippines: University of Sto. Tomas Publishing House, 2003. pp. 81-82. Print.
- [6] T. Agoncillo. *History and Culture, Language, and Literature: Selected Essays*. Manila, Philippines: University of Sto. Tomas Publishing House, 2003. p. 82. Print.
- [7] Anonymous. *Formalism (literature)*. Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia, 22 September 2014. Web. 23 September 2014. <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Formalism\\_\(literature\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Formalism_(literature))>.
- [8] W. Harmon. *A Handbook to Literature*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc. 1996. p. 124. Print.
- [9] Anonymous. *Ethnography*. Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia, 22 September 2014. Web. 23 September 2014. <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnography>>.
- [10] Anonymous. *Cebu*. Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia, 7 November 2014. Web. 19 November 2014. <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cebu>>.
- [11] Anonymous. *The aswang vampire demon from the Philippines (Philippine Ghoul)*. Cryptid Chronicles: On the Search for Cryptids and Mysterious Chronicles, 18 July 2012. Web. 19 November 2014. <<http://cryptidchronicles.tumblr.com/post/27535264502/the-aswang-vampire-demon-philippines-ghoul>>.
- [12] Anonymous. *Wakwak*. Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia, 7 November 2014. Web. 19 November 2014. <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wakwak>>.
- [13] Anonymous. *The aswang vampire demon from the Philippines (Philippine Ghoul)*. Cryptid Chronicles: On the Search for Cryptids



and Mysterious Chronicles, 18 July 2012. Web. 19 November 2014.< <http://cryptidchronicles.tumblr.com/post/27535264502/the-aswang-vampire-demon-phillippines-ghoul>>.

- [14] Gino. *Paganism in Cebu, Philippines*. The Witches' Voice Inc., 2014. 8 June 2014. Web. 19 November 2014.< [http://www.witchvox.com/va/dt\\_va.html?a=phxx&c=words&id=15706](http://www.witchvox.com/va/dt_va.html?a=phxx&c=words&id=15706)>.
- [15] Anonymous. *Cebu*. Wikipedia:The Free Encyclopedia, 7 November 2014. Web. 19 November 2014.< <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cebu>>.
- [16] A.D. Maramba. *Early Philippine Literature from ancient times to 1940*. Pasig City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing, 2006.p.3.Print.
- [17] C. Hunt., *Sociology in the Philippine Setting, 5<sup>th</sup> edition*. Quezon City: SIBS Publishing House, Inc., 1998.p.227.Print.
- [18] T.D.C Tuazon and B.S. Medina Jr., *Philippine Literature: from ancient times to the present*. Quezon City:Philippines Free Press, 1964.pp. 5.Print.
- [19] T.D.C Tuazon and B.S. Medina Jr., *Philippine Literature: from ancient times to the present*. Quezon City:Philippines Free Press, 1964.pp. 6.Print.
- [20] D. Ogdod. The folktale of the “binisaya healer” and the spiritual chants and practices of the local people in Samboan.,Cebu City:2010.p.33.Unpublished.
- [21] C.Hunt, *Sociology in the Philippine Setting, 5<sup>th</sup> edition*. Quezon City: SIBS Publishing House, Inc., 1998.p.227.Print.
- [22] C.G. Jung. Archetypes and the collective unconscious (Vol.9). Ed. R. F. C. Hull. Princeton, NJ:Princeton University Press, Aug 1, 1981.p.6.Print.
- [23] I.T.F. Gonçalves. *The woman-as-witch stereotype in early modern England, Continental Europe and New England*. USA: Scholarly Resources In., 1998, xiii.p.1.Web.19 November 2014.<<file:///C:/Users/Doris/Downloads/tadeuepaper-libre.pdf>>.
- [24] C.G. Jung. Archetypes and the collective unconscious (Vol.9). Ed. R. F. C. Hull. Princeton, NJ:Princeton University Press, Aug 1, 1981.p.6.Print.
- [25] G.R. Antonio. Archetypes of women in Philippine fictions. ProJournals:Open Access Journal: Advances in English Language and Literature. 21 July 2014.Web.19 November 2014.< <http://www.projournals.org/AELL/1620140702.pdf>>.
- [26] C.G. Jung. Archetypes and the collective unconscious (Vol.9). Ed. R. F. C. Hull. Princeton, NJ:Princeton University Press, Aug 1, 1981.p.6.Print.

#### AUTHOR'S PROFILE



**Dr. Doris Ogdod-Gascon** has finished her Master's degree in literature in 2012, and has recently earned her Doctorate degree in literature and communication at Cebu Normal University last March 2015. Moreover, her dissertation entitled, Doris Ogdod-Gascon's Novelette, *Yeshua in Yolanda*, which is a creative work in novelette narrating the stories of the survivors of the Super Typhoon Haiyan of 2013, also locally called Yolanda, was awarded BEST DISSERTATION. Currently, she is a university instructor at a state college in the Philippines: Cebu Technological University. She is handling subjects for postgraduate studies (MA.Ed in English Teaching) and undergraduate program of the Bachelor of Arts in English major in Applied Linguistics. She is also the Chairperson for Publication of the Journal on Arts and Sciences of the university.