Appendix I Notes on the Mamanwa concept of the human soul, the spirit world, and the layers of heaven and earth

164–172
Appendix I

Notes on the Mamanwa Concept of the Human Soul, the Spirit World, and the Layers of Heaven and Earth

1. The Human Soul

In the world view of the Mamanwa trees, plants, and animals have souls which are said to be made of the same stuff as the soul of a human being. In comparison to the soul of a human being, animals such as dogs, pigs, and monkeys have only a small soul, which cannot be exchanged with the soul of a human being. The Mamanwa view holds that every living person has seven souls. Fruit-bearing trees such as the coconut palm and papaya are said to be analogous to a person and his seven souls. The point of comparison being that reproduction of the species is the function of the fruit of a tree, just as it is said to be the primary function of the seventh soul of man since the father is believed to be the source of the soul of his child.

In appearance, the seven souls of a human being are like shadows (lambong). Following the burial of the dead, Mamanwas show great anxiety and preoccupation in regards to the soul of the dead because they believe that an offended soul has the power to cause illness and death. The expression kalagen ko is a warning to a careless person that he might get sick and die as a result of offending the soul of a kinsman who has died.

The generic terms for soul are kalag, ispirito, omagad, omalagsad, and olampay. Mamanwas in the interior and the older generation in Pangaylan use the latter term. There are no particular names to distinguish the seven souls of man, and they are ranked in value from the seventh soul (ikapiuong kalag) downward. The lower six souls are referred to corporately, e.g. enem nga ka kalag ‘six souls’.

1.1 The seventh soul

1.1.1 Location - head
1.1.2 Source - child’s father
1.1.3 Function

1.1.3.1 Core or vital principal of man’s life.

Aniton ya nagadara ka kantang hinawa/kinabo hi ya ikapiuong ispirito.\(^5\)

The seventh spirit, it is that which is responsible for our physical breath/life.

---

\(^5\) No distinction is made between the seventh spirit and blood.
Ya ikapito, hinawa, kinabohi nagaparihas
The seventh spirit, physical breath, and life are the same thing.

1.1.3.2 Makes man aware of wrongdoing.
1.1.3.3 Source of thoughts, memories, and good dreams.
1.1.3.4 Guards us when we sleep.
1.1.3.5 Awakens us from sleep.
1.1.3.6 Warns us of danger.
1.1.4 Food - none
1.1.5 Departure

1.1.5.1 At death the seventh soul departs at the crown of the head, separating itself just like a snake sheds its skin, and becomes a good spirit being.

It is the only one of the seven souls that goes above the seventh layer of the sky at death (*makalangit gazed/mahilangit*). It is believed that the seventh soul walks about for three days after a person dies and, not finding any one who will listen to it's request for a home (*waray toong kasangpitan*), it goes up to heaven.

1.1.5.2 When stolen by sorcery the seventh soul is taken by Satan (*Ibol/Zawà*) deep inside the earth (*kamaritan/panarakipen*) where he is always cooking stolen souls in his cooking pot.

1.1.5.3 Because it is easily offended, the seventh soul can momentarily leave the body (*andalagan*) of a child if he's spanked, badly frightened, or shocked in some way.

Usually the seventh soul remains still within a person (*mahenek iton dalem*), not wandering about like the other six souls of a person.

1.2 The other six souls (all are weak)

1.2.1 Location

The sixth soul especially is a great wanderer (*masarang ampanaw*) and 'roosts' on the shoulder (*anhapon ka abaga*) when not wandering about. All six souls wander about when man sleeps.

---

6 In this function the seventh soul corresponds to *beet* 'the conscience, the will, the seat of rational or learned behavior which distinguishes man from animals'.

7 See section 3 for a visual representation of the Mamanwa concept of the layers of heaven and earth.
1.2.2 Source

The source of the six souls is from the sky, like the stars and birds are the children of the moon.

1.2.3 Function

1.2.3.1 All six are responsible for sickness.

The soul is the twin of the body. When one is sick, the other is sick, too. When one of the six souls bumps into a tree the person gets a headache. When one of the six souls gets entangled in a thorn bush the person gets malarial chills or a fever.

1.2.3.2 All six souls are constantly looking for someone to help them, since they are always being chased by the pooy 'human-eating spirit'.

Whenever the pooy catches one of the souls he ties a rope about the waist of the soul and the person gets a backache. The souls are always wandering about, looking for someone to help them because the pooy is always chasing them. If he catches them he can kill them. If he kills all six souls, the person dies.

1.2.4 Food - none, that's why they're always wandering about.

1.2.5 Departure - at death the six souls are eaten by the human-eating spirit.

The six souls have always been troublemakers so cannot go above the seventh layer of the sky like the seventh spirit does after death.

1.3 Human-eating spirit

The disembodied soul of the dead is called pooy. The purpose of sacrificing a pig or chicken is so that the pooy will eat the sacrifice, rather than eating the sick person. See texts 21 and 27 for details of pig sacrifice ceremonies. The pooy rate highest as the theme of conversations associated with illness and death.

1.3.1 Source - at death the human corpse becomes a human-eating spirit.

1.3.2 Location - strongly associated with the graveyard.

An empty house, caves and rocky places on mountains, are special haunts of the pooy and are therefore tabooed grounds.

Visual representation of the six souls in relation to the human body.
1.3.3 Manifestations

1.3.3.1 Auditory

- baloon ‘pelting of house or person with rocks’
- korir "distorted call of a bird"
- kanaas ka dingding 'snapping, tapping or scratching of fingers on walls of house'
- magaagohoy 'voices like the groaning and weeping of human beings' (can be heard anywhere in the mountain or coming from a hole being dug for the corner post of a new house).
- magahozong 'rustling of twigs and leaves in trees or banana plants'

1.3.3.2 Visual

1.3.3.2.1 animals and birds

- Makay (wakwak) ‘winged creature with the face of man and having fangs and long ears’. The child of Makay is alok, who walks about day and night looking for a corpse in order to take it to Satan. His call is an omen of death. A chirping cricket indicates that the alok is near. Sometimes he comes in the form of a man and asks for tobacco. As a winged creature he hovers over the body of a sleeping person, resulting in stomach ache the next day.

- sigbin 'dog associated with sorcery and owned by Makay (wakwak)'

1.3.3.2.2 Nonanimal manifestations

- santilmo 'ball of fire or glow in the darkness'
- badiding 'ghosts of the very first settlers in the Asiga River valley that go upriver to live in the mountains during rainy season' (see text 19)
- kalaglambong 'shrouded figure of the deceased appearing to relatives at night'
- mga klas na mga bayho daw daked ka langii ya mata daw mga lawas mararag daw maitem. Magapanhenetan ya mga bekten daw diri mahingas 'many kinds of faces having eyes looking skyward and red and black bodies with outstretched immobile arms'

1.3.3.3 Tactile

- mahogam ya lawas ka katignaw 'a person being touched by something cold'
- impokaw 'being poked through the bamboo floor while asleep at night'
- minserang ya bohok ka tanggean 'hair on the back of the neck standing up indicating that the pooy is near'
1.3.4 Function

1.3.4.1 habay ‘physical illness resulting from any accidental encounter with the pooy’
- anhozop ‘illness resulting from the pooy blowing its breath on a person’
- panbetangan ka bato ‘illness (fever, severe localized pain, paralysis, sores or even death) resulting from the pooy putting stones inside a person’
- imboang na maonga ‘mental illness (less common than physical illness) caused by spirit activity’

1.3.4.2 nahabet na bahò na maonga ‘illness resulting from the pooy visiting a person who has no companion’

1.3.5 Anti-pooy charms
- tawas ‘alum or a clear rocklike substance, which when melted (shape indicates the object causing the illness) emits a sweet odor’
- kamangzan ‘sap or resin stuck to top of child’s head’
- batobalani ‘magnetic rock worn on necklace’
- anting-anting ‘amulets which protect one from being killed’
- asin ‘rock salt scattered on ground around house, thrown directly at an apparition, or burned to rid of the presence of a harmful spirit being’
- lana ‘coconut oil (in bottles hung in the house or under it)’
- orasiyon ‘Latin chants’

2. The Spirit World

2.1 Diwata ‘essentially environmental spirits who own and guard the rivers, mountains, and crops’ (this meaning can be extended to include any preternatural being except the pooy ‘human-eating spirit’)

Diwata may be helpful or harmful spirit beings, commonly referred to as siran ‘they’. Mga taga laugì ‘those from the sky’ is sometimes the reply given to the question, “Who are ‘they’?”

2.1.1 diwata nga magazon ‘helpful spirit beings’

2.1.1.1 Location
- katabawtahawan ‘the atmosphere just above the earth’s surface’
- kabobongaan nga atas ‘high mountains’

2.1.1.2 Source
- katabawtahawan ‘(long ago they came from) the sky’
- kabobongaan nga atas ‘(were already in) the high mountains’

---

8 See section 3 for a visualization of the Mamanwa concept of the layers of heaven and earth.
2.1.3 Function

- Tag-iza 'spirit owner/guardian of crops, rivers, etc.'
- Mananabang 'cures sick people'
- Kasogoon 'messengers of Supreme Being to man'

2.1.4 Ranking

2.1.4.1 labaw nga diwata 'the highest ranking diwata'

- Si Ongli and Si Katolosan

Their names are taboo, being mentioned only by the shaman when he makes an offering to them. The following are the words of a shaman in Toyatoya when asked 'Who holds all things together?'

Iza nga nagahela daked ka sinarakan na aldaw ani gazed iza ya labaw. Iza say pangamozoan ta daw. Ini iza ya intahod na mga Mamanwa.

He who lives above where the day breaks, he indeed is the highest one of all. He is the one we pray and appeal to. He is the one revered by the Mamanwas.9

2.1.4.2 Panayyang 'lesser ranking environmental spirits'

- Tetedemen 'spirit owner of Mamanwa songs'
- Omalagad 'spirit owner of crops'
- Si Kalinas 'spirit owner of food that grows wild' (see text 12 s. 26,27)
- Si Lomod 'spirit owner of rivers and fish (Kataw - Visayan)'

Every river has a spirit owner, who resembles a fish from the waist down. He guards the fish. Sometimes he reveals himself to people. People make sacrifices to him.

- Si Bizi (Apo) Lantiben 'elderly midwife' (see text 4 for account of her teaching)
- Anghil and Manlolonda 'spirit messengers from Supreme Being'
- Makalpey 'spirit owner of seasons and harvest'

2.1.3.3 Ebè 'familiar spirit of a shaman'

2.1.3.3.1 Location - remains only briefly with the shaman, then returns to the sky or ground from where he’s been summoned by the shaman

2.1.3.3.2 Source - a shaman inherits the familiar spirit of his mother or father

2.1.3.3.3 Function - the ebè puts itself at the services of a single shaman

Prescribes the proper sacrifice which will appease an offended spirit and cure the sick person or victim of sorcery. Acts as a spy

---

9 The name for the Supreme Being is avoided in order to prevent the speaker from being cursed. This information is from the Mamanwa at Toyatoya, Surigao del Norte.
for the shaman. When a shaman arrives at the house of a sick person he summons his familiar spirit. The trembling of the shaman's body indicates that his familiar spirit has arrived. The familiar spirit speaks through the shaman during kahimonan 'a pig sacrifice ceremony' (see text 21). The familiar spirit can remain for as long as 1½ hours telling the shaman what sacrifice to make. During this time the shaman is not aware of his actions.

2.1.2 diwata nga maonga 'harmful spirit beings'

Are commonly referred to as mga maonga and occasionally as mananap. In text 21 sentence 18b they are referred to as diri kon angay a 'those who are not in good relationship with us'. They are said to be very many in number and omnipresent. Satan (Ibol/Zawá) is the owner or leader of all harmful spirit beings. They are his servants/messengers.

2.1.2.1 Location - omnipresent in trees, caves, unoccupied houses, the ground. Because they live in the ground the Mamanwas have an aversion to pit toilets, lest they anger the evil spirits living in the ground. In the event of burial when Mamanwas dig a grave, they drive off the spirits living in the ground. Using branches of a tree they drive off the spirits saying, “Tabi naa kami, pasayloha kami.” ‘Please leave this place, please excuse us.’ They have ladders from the bottom of the grave to the top for the egress of spirits.

2.1.2.2 Source - Satan (Ibol/Zawá)

2.1.2.3 Function - reprisal (magabà, madaet) for things we do to their world unawares

- imbaloy ‘turn to stone (see text 3 s. 126 for the example of the old woman who is turned to stone for disobeying the familiar spirit)’

2.1.2.4 Appearance - many different forms and shapes

2.1.2.5 Some harmful spirit beings

2.1.2.5.1 Tagbanwa/Talabobong 'spirit owner of the forests'

It is necessary to ask his permission before passing someone on a trail through the forest or in the area of a baliti tree or large rock. It is said that a person who fails to ask his permission before cutting down a tree will get a fever.

- Ingkanto ‘human-like creatures that live in baliti trees’

They lure people to their haunts and also cause physical and mental illness. They have a social structure parallel to that of humans. They also have fields, bodegas, and eat a kind of black rice known as tapel. See text 7 for account of a young girl possessed by an inkanto.
Appendix I

- Tamà ‘spirit owner and ruler of wild pigs’
  He has large feet and lives in a big cave-like rock called *kakeb nga bato*. He has a deep, resounding voice which comes from the ground. It is said that unless a sacrifice is made to him he will not put a wild pig in a pig trap.
- Gim-aw ‘spirit owner of the ground’
  He lives in caves. His voice sounds like a cow. His body is like a horse, and his blood is like that of a human being.
- Annagyasis ‘spirit owner of the *baroy* plant, which is used for making sleeping mats’
  He can cause *andiyasay*, an illness characterized by a prickling sensation over the entire body followed by death.
- Agtà ‘spirit owner of the rivers’
  He has a very black body and lives in the rocks near the water. He causes people to drown.
- Agtay ‘forest spirit person who works sorcery’

2.1.2.6 Diwindi ‘guardians of unoccupied houses’

They are small human-like creatures that wear large shoes and hat and have voices that sound like wasps. Because of their large shoes they are sometimes referred to as *higanti*.

2.1.2.7 Homonhon ‘a class of notoriously evil messengers of Satan’

They come to shamans and cause him to kill a person, and also to drink human or animal blood. These actions are not blamed on the shaman, but on the *homonhon*.

3. Layers of heaven and earth

Mamanwas view the atmospheric heavens (*katahawtahawan*) as seven layers which are occupied by environmental spirits, familiar spirits, and the six souls of a deceased person after a limited time of their wandering about with the human-eating spirit on earth.

---

10 Noay Yubos, now deceased, contributed most of the data in Appendix I in 1975 when she was in her forties. She had no formal schooling and spoke Mamanwa and Visayan. A questionnaire titled ‘Understanding the world of the supernatural’ (adapted from Loewen:1965) was used to elicit the data. Other residents of sitio Pangaylan who contributed details were Julian Purogoy, Lucia Amosway, Lolita Day-on and Julita Monos. Their biographical information is on p. vi. Some data was also elicited from Flora Bag-o of Toyatoya, Claver, Surigao del Norte.
There are seven layers of earth until you reach Satan's place. These layers are thought to be necessary so that people don't accidentally fall down into Satan's place (*kamaritan*), which is a very deep and wide place within the earth and is sometimes referred to as a lake.