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## **The Hakyadan of Froilan Havana: Ritual Obligation in Manobo Religion**

Augusto B. Gatmaytan

*The literature reflects confusion regarding the meaning of the Manobo terms hakyadan and hakyad stemming from an apparent failure to consider the larger cultural context. Understanding these terms requires that the concept and practice of ritual obligations in Adgawan Manobo religion must first be explored. Doing so allows for a better appreciation of the richness of a hakyadan ritual described in this article. This exercise enables us to reflect on how a seemingly minor ethnographic error has obscured an important aspect of Manobo culture. A critical appraisal of the inevitably flawed legacies of our ethnographic ancestors is needed.*

KEYWORDS: *Agusan del Sur, Manobo, Mindanao, religion, ritual*

I should trust only in a god who knows how to dance.

—Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*

### **In Search of the *Hakyadan*<sup>1</sup>**

The terms *hakyad* and *hakyadan* first appear in the literature in John M. Garvan's (1929) pioneering ethnographic description of the Manobo, one of the indigenous groups of Mindanao.<sup>2</sup> He defines "hakiadan" as the "goddess of the rice, and its custodian during its growth" (ibid., 191), honored in the Manobo rice-harvest ritual (ibid., 203). Of this ritual, he says:

The ceremony differs little from that to Taphagan. . . . The invocation to Hakiadan is most elaborate, lasting for several hours in the few instances which I witnessed. It is taken up by one priest after

another and every inducement is offered to Hakiadan to prevent the rice from being stolen, or destroyed by enemies, carried away by floods, wet by rain, raided by rats and ants or stolen by Dagau, that fickle mischievous spirit whose pleasure seems to be to bring hunger to humankind. (Ibid., 76–77)

Garvan's fragmented account of the "Taphagan" ceremony—which supposedly resembles the "Hakiadan"—includes lengthy supplications, making offerings, the sacrifice of a chicken or pig, the wiping of blood, and consultation of the animal's innards (ibid., 74).

In her account of Manobo religion and its rituals, Burton (1985, 15) classifies the "*Taephagan*" and the "*Hakyadan*" as "*diwatas* of agriculture." She adds that "(b)efore planting and during harvest, the *taephag* ritual is performed for all these *diwatas* in order to honor and thank them for their benevolence" (ibid., 15).

She subsequently describes a curing ritual (ibid., 20–22), the first part (*inapogan*) of which consists of offerings of chickens or eggs on the "angkaw" or altar, and the invocation of the "*abyan*" or spirit helper of the presiding "*baylan*" or ritualist.<sup>3</sup> Once manifest, the spirit lectures the audience on their obligations, and occasionally dances. The second part of the ritual centers on the killing of the sacrificial pig or chicken, the blood of which is smeared on the participants, and is sometimes drunk by the baylan.

Burton then discusses the third part of the ritual, which she calls the "hakyad." Here, "the deities" are offered cooked food laid on the angkaw or altar. Later, the pig's head is placed on the altar and jabbed with a knife by the dancing baylan, and its "rear end" is carved into a "binuada" or crocodile, and attached to a "binuka," the representation of a crocodile. This phase ends with the "*paiaa*" or sprinkling of water on the audience (ibid.).

The first volume of *CCP Encyclopedia of Philippine Art* basically paraphrases Burton's account, i.e., the "hakyad" is the third stage of the "binuya" or curing ritual, where a "diwata" or spirit is invited "to partake of the food offering of cooked rice, meat and eggs" (Tiongson 1994, 1:54).

However, the second volume of the same work gives a different nuance to the term hakyad. In its description of Manobo dances, the

“haklaran” is described as a “healing ritual performed by a male and female baylan.” “This dance,” it adds, “is performed around the *sankaw*, an altar bearing the sacrificial offering of a pig’s head” (ibid., 2:146). Unlike the previous entry, however, the source of this information is unclear.

Bauzon (1999, 28–29), whose account admittedly relies in part on material provided by the Manobo datu and baylan Teofilo E. Gelacio says that in farming:

(t)he Manobos worshipped such deities as *Hakiadan* (for rice-sowing); *Taphagan* (for harvesting); *Tagamalik* (for crops other than rice); and *Libtakan* (for sunshine and good weather).

This account reverses Garvan’s (1929, 73–74) assertion that the “Taphagan” is invoked by the Manobo at rice planting and during its growth, while “Hakiadan” is invoked at harvest.

Gelacio himself, along with two associates (2000, 47) defines hakyad as the “offer of cooked food to the spirits,” and “Hakyadan” as the “name of a spirit, the goddess of rice and other grain.” Interestingly, they (ibid., xii) cite Garvan as a source, bringing us back, full circle, to where we began.

Rather than clarifying the meaning of the terms hakyad and hakyadan, this brief review of the limited literature available presents us with a modest mystery. We encounter a cluster of meanings linking these terms with agriculture and the rice harvest; with a “goddess” or diwata of rice; with the offering of cooked food to spirits, particularly during a curing ritual; and with the healing ritual itself. The references to curing rituals in turn link the terms to an altar, to dancing, and to the offering of a pig’s head.

It is possible to construct links between these various ideas, but it risks imputing connections where none may exist. The better recourse is to go to the source: What do the Manobo understand by the terms hakyadan and hakyad?

### Confronting Our Ethnographic Ancestors

I am fortunate to have read Garvan’s ethnography of the Manobo and to have worked closely with Adgawan Manobo communities,

which are among the "Manobos of Mindanao" he described. In the process, I have gone from admiring his apparent meticulousness, to criticizing him, as I gradually discovered errors and gaps in his data.

And yet Garvan's work continues to be considered as an authority in the Agusan Manobo ethnography (cf. Yumo 1971, 18; Lebar 1975, 55). True, Garvan and other colonial ethnographers observed their subjects at a time when they were comparatively less entangled with "the outside world," but this factor does not guarantee the validity of their findings or interpretations. They—like us—were burdened by limitations, and, in reading them, we must be conscious of such limitations and be more critical of the material they present (following Geertz 1988).

It is in this spirit of critical reappraisal of our ethnographic heritage that this article is presented. We need—to borrow a phrase from Nietzsche—to anthropologize with a hammer, to shatter the idols into which we have turned Garvan and our other ethnographic ancestors, and accept them in all their humanity.<sup>4</sup>

This process demands more than an ideological or anticolonial posturing. It requires us to challenge and test their findings and conclusions. This article thus proposes to so test Garvan, particularly his understanding of the terms *hakyadan*, and its root word, *hakyad*.

This is not to make a fuss about ethnographic trivia. As I hope to show, Garvan's seemingly minor error obscured a very important aspect of Manobo religion and ritual. Rectifying this error in fact opens up for appreciation, discussion, and debate an entire dimension of Manobo and related cultures that at best has only been hinted at in the literature.

In the process, a contribution can be made to the growing literature by local scholars on religious values, beliefs, and practices (cf. Pertierra 1988; Magos 1992; McAndrew 2001) in historical and contemporary Philippine society (cf. Iletto 1979; Rafael 1988; Cannell 1990; Aguilar 1998; McAndrew 2001).

Finally, I hope to give the Manobo an indirect opportunity to comment on Garvan's representations of their culture.

One of my happiest memories of working with the Adgawan Manobo was when I brought my copy of Garvan's ethnography to their communities, and translated the text for them. They readily appreciated the photographs, but they reacted to the alleged lack of a

Manobo notion of a supreme being, his “classification of deities and spirits,” his notion of the *anit* and the hakyadan—to refer only to religion and ritual—and this gave rise to what I have witnessed as one of the richest discussions of their culture.

Whatever opportunity I have offered for the Manobo to comment on Garvan was of course tainted by my intervention, but it was nonetheless offered in anticipation of the day when the Manobo would themselves interrogate Garvan and other writers—myself included—on their representations of Manobo culture.

## Outline

This article will offer a description of the cultural context of the hakyadan and the hakyad which are necessary for the understanding of the practice.

It is followed by a description of a fairly typical hakyadan ritual performed last February 2004. While only one such ritual is described here, it draws on more than ten years of observation and participation in Adgawan Manobo hakyadan and Maasam Banwaon *hakladan*.

I should note that, since I rely mainly on my study of Adgawan Manobo culture and practices, my comments are specific to them. I thus present here the Adgawan Manobo notion of the hakyadan, without necessarily implying that this holds true for all other Agusan Manobo groups. Still, the fact that the notion of the hakyadan offered here differs from that “enshrined” in the literature should be sufficient warning against the assumption that whatever is stated in the literature is definitive or authoritative.

In the description of the ritual, I tried to separate the narrative account from my attempts at interpretation and from my notes on how the ritual differs from others I have witnessed over the years through the extensive use of endnotes. This strategy seems clumsy, but integrating interpretations and annotations into the narrative would probably produce a cluttered, interminable, and, perhaps, unreadable text.

The article will close with comments on the meaning of the hakyadan.

## Humans, Spirits, and Obligations

### The Adgawan Manobo

The Manobo are one of the largest indigenous peoples of Mindanao. They live in the Agusan, Davao, and Cotabato regions, and in Surigao del Sur and Bukidnon provinces. My remarks here are specific to the Manobo of the Adgawan river area, in Agusan del Sur province, northeast Mindanao. "Adgawan Manobo" is a geographical description, and does not imply any cultural difference from Manobo of other parts of Agusan del Sur.

Historically, the Manobo have relied on agriculture, hunting and fishing, and trade for their wants and needs. Agriculture, especially rice cultivation, is highly valued, though farm productivity is typically low. In the middle Adgawan area, rice is cultivated using traditional swidden techniques (Gatmaytan 1998). Other crops are corn and root crops. Hunting and trapping are waning but are still practiced. Fishing was very important in the past (Garvan 1929, 81), but has been adversely affected by logging. Traditional trade items included hemp, rice, maize, and beeswax (Urios 1891; Philippine Commission 1911, 71).

Logging began in the area in the 1950s. Mechanized, large-scale logging started in the 1960s, peaked in the 1980s, and declined thereafter. Much of the area is now logged-over. Corporate tree plantations began in the 1980s, replacing the logging firms that shut down as timber stocks fell. In the 1970s, rattan harvesting grew in importance as a source of cash. Most Manobo in the area now earn cash through rattan cutting, small-scale logging and tree farming, and farm or tree-plantation labor (Gatmaytan 2003).

Local communities are typically small, with populations fluctuating in response to socioeconomic conditions. Each community is autonomous, governed by various combinations of traditional leaders (male datu and female *ba-e*) and government officials (*sitio/purok* and barangay officials).

The social structure is patriarchal, centered on the male head of the family, who has much influence over his children and sons-in-law. As the general postmarital residence rule is the paternal uxorilocal mode (*pangamong*), sons "marry out" of their natal families and into their

father-in-law's. Unlimited polygynous marriages (*duway*) are allowed, but are rare. Arranged marriages (*boya*) are still contracted, but are on the wane.

Local values, such as reverence for old ways, respect for elders, strong kin bonds, respect for others' rights or prerogatives (*pagtahud*), and sharing are widely practiced.

Mainstream, globalizing culture has penetrated all Adgawan Manobo communities. Yet, and despite appearances, indigenous beliefs and practices are strongly evident in the area, in contrast to many other indigenous peoples in the country (Gatmaytan 1999).

### The Abyan

The Adgawan Manobo universe is populated not only by humans—whom the spirits refer to as “*kabilawan*”—but also by spirits of varying types. These include Magbabaya, the Supreme Being;<sup>5</sup> Inajow, guardian of the cosmic order; the diwata; the many tagbanwa and other nature spirits;<sup>6</sup> the *taphagan* and other agricultural spirits;<sup>7</sup> the *momomolig*<sup>8</sup> and other hunting or trapping spirits; the *tagbusow* and other warrior spirits; the *agkadagow* or *agkūy*, the spirit of sexuality; the *umagad* or the souls of the dead; the Visayan *dagatnon* or *kandila-anan* spirits; the evil *busow* and *engkanto*; and such other spirits as the *mande-it* or *tagun-onon* and the *binata* or *mana-ug*.

Belief in these spirits remains strong.<sup>9</sup> While Magbabaya is generally conceived of as a distant being, the Manobo interact intensively with the other spirits, and all their many rituals are addressed to them.

Some of these spirits or types of spirits are known as abyan. Abyan is a Cebuano-Visayan loan word;<sup>10</sup> the original Manobo term is “*tawagonon*” (from “*tawag*” or “call”; hence, “the ones called upon”). Abyan, however, is more current among the Manobo, and I am going to use this in the text.

As a group, the abyan are composed of different types of spirits. Among these are the Inajow, the Visayan *dagatnon*, the *tagbusow*, inampo and other warrior spirits, the *agkadagow*, and the diwata. Clearly excluded from the ranks of the abyan are the tagbanwa or environmental spirits,<sup>11</sup> the evil *busow* and *engkanto*, and the *umagad* or souls of the dead.<sup>12</sup>



Whatever their type or class, however, each abyan has a special relationship with a chosen person, usually referred to as its *diwatahan*.<sup>13</sup>

The abyan thus approximate the spirit familiars or helpers described in the literature on shamanism (see Townsend 1999; Harvey 2003). Note, however, that the term abyan refers to the spirit helpers of both baylan or shamanic healers, *and* non-baylan who have no healing abilities but nonetheless have spirit familiars.

Most abyan spirits are capable of, or are predisposed toward, taking possession (*yuna-an*) of their chosen diwatahan,<sup>14</sup> signified mainly by the trembling of the body of the possessed, and the utterance of a yawn-ing sound.

In any case, the abyan's special relationship with its diwatahan or chosen one is framed by two characteristics:

*First*, all abyan are usually thought of as hereditary, having been passed down from one of the diwatahan's fore/parents, who in turn received it from his/her fore/parents, and so on, back to the time of the *min-una*, the first people. Most diwatahan expect that one of their children will "inherit" their abyan. In theory, therefore, it is possible to trace the abyan's passage in a given family through time, from one generation to another (compare with Cannell 1990, 125).

In theory, a person may be the first in his/her family to be chosen by an abyan to be its diwatahan, but most sources consider this possibility very rare.

It is held that, just as it was the abyan that selected the diwatahan from among others of her/his generation, the spirit also chooses from among the diwatahan's descendants the one to whom it will "transfer," at the eventual death or incapacity of the diwatahan. The diwatahan can try to influence the abyan's choice, but there is no certainty that the spirit will heed her/him.

The abyan's choice is based mainly on the prospective diwatahan's possession of a personality the spirit/s find/s appropriate. Thus, no amount of praying or offering will make one a diwatahan if the spirit/s do/es not find one suitable. Gender does not seem to be an issue; warrior spirits have chosen women, and midwife and seductress spirits have chosen men. Sometimes a spirit cannot find a suitable

person among the diwatahan's direct descendants, and would rather choose from the diwatahan's siblings or their descendants.

A person learns that s/he has been chosen by being told so by a baylan or shaman who is in contact with the abyan, through his/her own dreams, by suffering an illness diagnosed by a baylan as a sign of having been chosen, or by experiencing a first episode of spirit possession.

This means that not all Manobo have abyan, as usually—though not always—only one in each generation of a family will receive the abyan of a parent or grandparent. In theory, a person may have as many abyan of different types as those that find him/her acceptable.<sup>15</sup>

*Second*, all abyan demand that they be honored by their diwatahan in a periodically conducted ritual. Having an abyan, therefore, means having a *tulumanon* or ritual obligation to honor that spirit. The performance or fulfillment of this obligation is called *pagtuman*.

Ideally, one conducts the *pagtuman* every year, or at least every other year. Such ritual entails the offering of at least one domestic pig of appropriate color and size, and rice for the spirits and participants, along with other requirements. The rituals thus represent considerable costs, which family members and sons-in-law are expected to help defray. Where the diwatahan has more than one abyan, s/he may hold one ritual for all of them, provided the ritual for these abyan are of the same form.<sup>16</sup>

Failure to fulfill this obligation usually results in *pilit*, the infliction by the abyan of a serious illness on the spouse or, much more frequently, the children or descendants of the delinquent diwatahan.<sup>17</sup> It is their way of "reminding" the diwatahan of her/his obligations.<sup>18</sup> If the warning is unheeded, the sick family member may die; indeed, some abyan will "kill" one member of the diwatahan's family after another until appeased.

It may be that the diwatahan is so irresponsible or has behaved so unacceptably that s/he is directly punished with a serious illness by the abyan—a circumstance called *bodhi-an* or *mabodhi-an*.<sup>19</sup>

Most Manobo seem ambivalent about having *tulumanon* or ritual obligations. On one hand, they understand it as an obligation they must fulfill, but, on the other, they find the obligation burdensome, especially

since all of them are impoverished. As a result, most diwatahan perform their ritual obligations only when someone is already suffering an illness inflicted by the abyan.

### The Tulumanon

The ritual obligation or tulumanon for the abyan is thus imposed unilaterally by the spirit/s, often over the opposition of the diwatahan or chosen one (see Cannell 1990, 100–1).

In return for meeting their ritual obligations, however, the abyan are supposed to give assistance to the diwatahan.

For example, some abyan of the diwata type give their diwatahan the power to heal. Those diwatahan with such powers are the baylan, who, for the Adgawan Manobo, are people with one or more diwata-abyan with healing powers.<sup>20</sup> To note, many diwata have “healing powers” simply because they can contact and negotiate on the baylan’s behalf with the spirits who inflicted the illness the baylan seeks to “cure.” On the other hand, in *gũ d-gũ d* or soul-retrieval rituals held to recover souls captured by other spirits, the *gũ d-gũ don*—as diwata-abyan capable of soul retrieval are called—describe their travels, dealings, and battles with the captor spirits in the form of a chant (*tud-om*).

Baylan with powerful diwata-abyan are also reputed to have the power to see spirits or “read one’s soul” for traces of “ritual pollution” arising from illicit sex (*sawoy* or *sawajan*) or bloodshed (*kakuya-hagpahan*). It is said that if one stands beside a baylan when s/he uses such powers, one can share (*lambat*) his/her vision.

Other diwata lend their chosen one the power of invisibility (*tagulilong*); the power to wound an evil spirit (*ti-ũ m*); or, more frequently, a form of clairvoyance (*dali-mata*). Often, the diwata-abyan also sends advice or warnings through the diwatahan’s dreams (*taga-inũp*).

Ideally, the diwatahan personally performs the tulumanon or ritual obligation for her/his abyan or spirit familiars. There are situations, however, where another baylan is asked to perform or lead the pagtuman for the diwatahan, such as when the latter has not yet mastered the ritual procedure, or is too sick or old for the sustained effort demanded by the ritual.

The ritual itself must be conducted in the ancient (*kinara-an*) or customary way (*ang na-andan*). Thus, to perform one's own tulumanon, one must also remember how one's ancestors performed the ritual in their time. This means drawing upon knowledge of myths, prayers, rites, crafts, symbols, and arts, among many other things. All informants insist that unless performed in the ancient way—or at least in what is perceived to be the old way—the tulumanon would not be effective (see Cannell 1990, 126).

The appropriate way to celebrate a tulumanon varies with the type of abyan; each type requires a particular form and procedure. The ritual for the Visayan dagatnon spirits, for example, entails offerings of biscuits, cigarettes, store-bought wine and soft drinks, and uses guitar music, which are local ethnic markers for Visayan or lowland migrants. For the war-like *tægbusow* it features the offering of red or *bulaw* pigs and red-grained rice, use of red cloths, and crocodile images called *binuwaya* or *binuka*. The pagtuman for the Inajow, the sky-dwelling keeper of the cosmic order, requires the offering of white pigs, chickens, and rice from a farm plot specifically consecrated to the spirit (*yuba-an*), the use of white cloths, and is hedged about by numerous taboos or *pamalih*.

In the same way, the pagtuman for an abyan of the diwata type follows a particular procedure for its fulfillment, a procedure represented as unchanged since time immemorial. It features the laying of offerings on an altar, invocation through dancing, ritual sacrifice of consecrated animals, the “danced” offering of cooked food, and a shared meal.

The pagtuman owed to a spirit familiar or abyan of the diwata type is what the Adgawan Manobo call the hakyadan.<sup>21</sup>

### The Hakyadan of Froilan Havana

In 1975, it was written:

The old warrior chiefs have disappeared, along with their vital roles in the political and ceremonial life, and it is evident that the pagan, hill Manobo culture described by Garvan has all but disappeared from the modern scene. (Lebar 1975, 56)

And yet here I will describe a recent ritual that bears witness to the vitality and richness of “pagan, hill Manobo culture.” I have noted elsewhere that while “culture change” is evident in all Manobo communities—the old warrior chiefs have disappeared, for one thing—the continuities are remarkable (Gatmaytan 1999). Even communities Garvan classed as “conquistas” (1929, 8), i.e., subjugated by the Spanish colonial order, today show the tenacity of some Manobo cultural ideas and practices.

Following is a description of the hakyadan of Froilan Havana, a Manobo baylan of some repute in the middle Adgawan river area. He is also known as Datu Manlarawan, and will be referred to as such in this text. Manlarawan is a married man in his 60s. He lives with the families of his two daughters and their husbands.

The ritual described here was celebrated from the night of 16 February to the morning of 18 February 2004, at Manlarawan’s home. The house, with its *nipa*-shingle roof, split-bamboo floor, and wood-and-bamboo walls, had been expanded in the months before the ritual to accommodate the expected guests.

Following is an outline of the hakyadan ritual’s procedure as a guide for the reader. It is based on data from more than ten years of interviews, observation, and participation in Manobo hakyadan and Banwaon hakladan. Thus, some of the component subphases mentioned may not be found in the descriptive account presented on p. 395.

## 16 February 2004

It was 8:22 P.M. when I was informed that the *sapat*—the formal opening of the ritual, signaled by the carrying up of the trussed sacrificial pig into the house—was about to begin. I proceeded to Manlarawan’s home.

As I entered Manlarawan’s yard, I noted that no *tawo-tawo* had been erected.<sup>22</sup> I went up the house stairs, noting the two pigs tied up, lying on the veranda floor.

On entering the door, I saw the *angkowan* or ritual altar to the left of the doorway. The house was dark, lit only by three candles. All

Ritual Phase	Time	Component Subphases
<i>Sapat</i>	Evening	<p>Sapat: The carrying up of the pig into the house, signaling the start of the ritual; offerings are arranged before the <i>angkowan</i> or altar (fig. 1)</p> <p>Opening prayers for the sapat: The <i>diwatahan</i> and other attendees offer prayers (fig. 2)</p> <p>Invocation: The <i>abyan</i> or spirit-familiar is invoked by the <i>diwatahan</i>'s dance (fig. 3)</p> <p>Interaction (<i>uboy-uboy?</i>): The <i>abyan</i> interacts with the audience; help may be requested of the spirit</p> <p><i>Inusiba</i>: Dancing for fun by a succession of individual or paired dancers (fig. 4)</p>
<i>Pagpilak/ Bukayas/ Pagbugwak</i>	Morning	<p>Invocation: The <i>abyan</i> is invoked by the <i>diwatahan</i>'s dance</p> <p>Interaction: The <i>abyan</i> and other spirits resolve the issues raised during the interaction in last night's sapat</p> <p>Pagpilak: The spearing of the sacrificial pig; may be preceded by <i>panugon-tugon</i> or <i>panimaya</i>; may be followed by manifestations by other spirits; <i>binuwaya</i> may be fed (figs. 5 and 6).</p> <p>Inusiba: Dancing for fun; often with a theme that celebrates human sexuality</p>
<i>Hakyad</i>	When the offerings of rice and pork have been cooked	<p>Opening prayers for the hakyad: <i>Diwatahan</i> stands before the altar, praying that the cooked rice and pork placed on the altar are accepted (figs. 7 and 8)</p> <p>Hakyad: The formal offering of cooked food to the spirits, done in dance mode; followed by symbolic cleansing of the audience (fig. 9)</p> <p><i>Panampanyot</i>: Meal shared between spirits and representatives of the <i>diwatahan</i>'s kin (fig. 10)</p> <p><i>Bu-tad</i>: Communal meal open to everyone</p>
<i>Panapos/ Himæ-ūs</i>	Morning	<p>Opening prayers for the panapos: The <i>diwatahan</i> prays</p> <p>Closing dance: A dancer performs comic dancing</p>



Figure 1. The *angkowan* or altar on the night of the *sapat*. Note the *manhow* or coconut leaf fringes decorating it, as well as the cane stalks and yam leaves. The sacrificial pig rests on the diagonal *bagubayan* frame directly under the altar, near the two chickens tied to the altar-posts.



Figure 3. Datu Manlarawan, with coconut-leaf fringe or *banuy* in each hand, invokes his *abyan* or spirit familiar/s through the dance or *sajow*.



Figure 2. Datu Manlarawan leads the opening prayers, seated at the head of the "table" formed by the folded sleeping mat, on which are placed the plates of rice, betel chew and coins, and the folded clothes. He seats facing the altar.

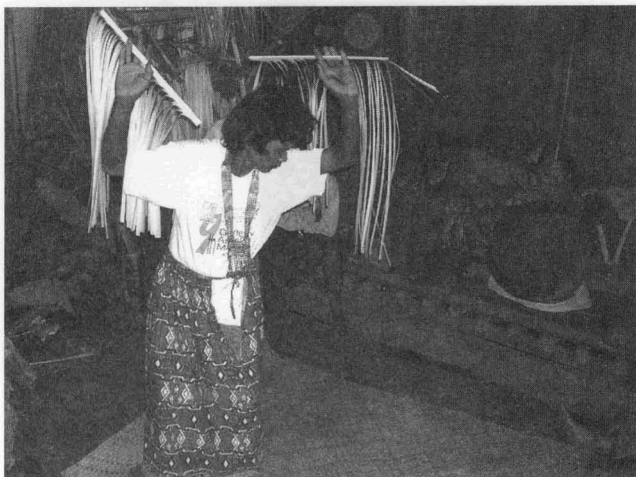


Figure 4. Genaro Mansumiya, wearing the beadwork necklace, and dance skirt and holding a coconut-leaf fringe in each hand, opens the *inusiba* or "social" dancing.



Figure 5. The *pagpilak* or spearing of the pig: Unfortunately, Fabian Dalasay covered the spearman at the last moment, though the spear shaft is still visible. To the right is the possessed Datu Manlarawan. To the left is the altar, with the medium-green *bagñybñy* cluster visible against the light green coconut leaf fringes of the altar. The man next to Manlarawan is his brother, Benito Havana, playing the *gimbæ* or drum.



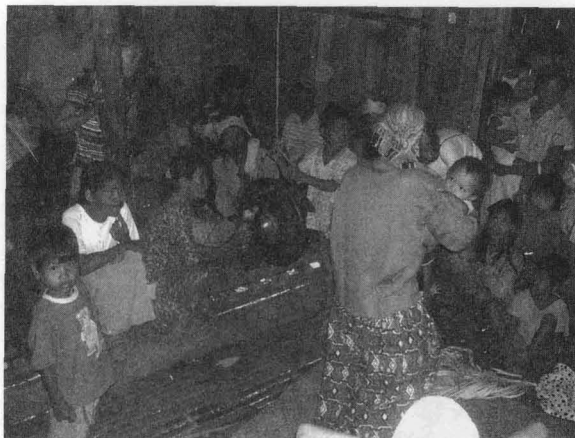


Figure 6. Datu Manlarawan, possessed by his *agkadagaw*—spirit of sexuality—dances with a child in his arms. The *agong* is visible in the background, with the main melody played by Eli Havana, with another woman providing a secondary melody by beating on the boss of the gong. A boy holds the gong steady.



Figure 7. The offerings on the *angkowan* prior to the *bakyad*. In the foreground are the candle, six plates of cooked rice and pork, and jar of water. To the back are the feet and heads of the sacrificed pigs, draped in strips of their skin and stomach lining. The whitish patch on the pink lining on the left-most head is a lizard-image or *ginibang*. To the right is a dark-green bamboo tube carved into a crocodile image (*binuwaya* or *binuka*), over which are four skewers of pig liver.

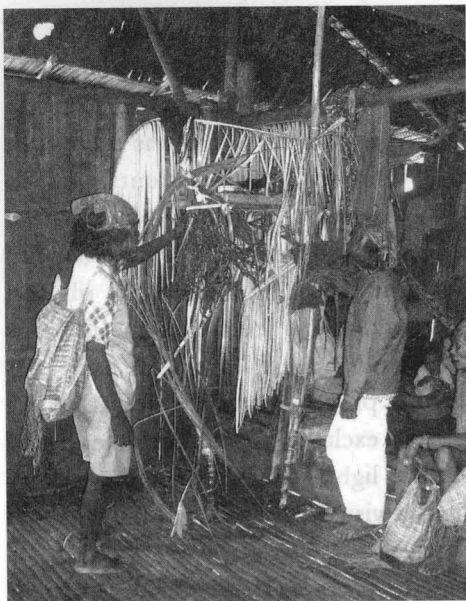


Figure 8. Datu Manlarawan and an elderly relative stand at the two posts of the altar, saying the opening prayers for the *hakyad*.



Figure 9. Datu Manlarawan performs the *hakyad*, the 'danced' offering of cooked food to his *abyan* or spirit familiars of the *divata* type.



Figure 10. The *panampuyot*: male kindred of Datu Manlarawan share the same food offered to the *abyan* during his *hakyad*-dance.

around the space before the altar were sleeping relatives of Manlarawan who had come to witness the ritual.

The altar was made of wooden boards forming a square platform between three to four feet on each side.<sup>23</sup> Its rear edge was set against a wall of the house, about six feet from the floor. Its front edge was supported at both corners by a pair of eight-foot bamboo posts.

The altar was decorated with *mænhow*—immature coconut palm fronds taken from the tree's crown, unfurled, split down the rib, and cut to appropriate size—running around above the altar along the tops of the bamboo posts, so that the long fringe of leaves fell like a curtain around it. There were *mænhow* pinned along the edges of the altar. Traditionally, *mænhow* are used exclusively for decorating ritual structures or paraphernalia since the light green color is thought to attract spirits;<sup>24</sup> they are thus a major visual cue for both humans and spirits that a ritual is being performed.

More "decoration" was provided by poles of sugarcane and their leaves, yam, or *gabi* stalks and leaves tied to the base of the posts, *bagüybüy* hanging from one corner of the altar, and a lighted candle.<sup>25</sup>

Two pairs of *banüy* were tied to the *mænhow* hanging from the edges of the altar. *Banüy* are short segments of *mænhow*, only about 6 to 12 inches in length, with leaf fringes from 10 to 24 inches long. Dancers in *hakyadan* rituals hold one in each hand.<sup>26</sup> Like the *mænhow*, they are so closely associated with ritual use that they signal its performance.

On the floor under the altar were two live native hens,<sup>27</sup> each tied by a leg to one of its bamboo posts. Directly under the altar-platform was a simple triangular frame of wooden poles called the *bagubayan*.<sup>28</sup> It was set so that its apex was lifted off the floor. A native pig with its head-up, grunting and occasionally screaming,<sup>29</sup> lay on its side on top of the *bagubayan*.

Sources assert that only native strains of domestic chicken and pigs can be used in rituals, as these are what the spirits have become used to receiving over the generations. Animals raised or purchased for ritual use are consecrated (*sinugbahan* or *ipu*) to the spirits for whom the ritual is to be performed; in theory, making them the latter's property. They

may not be used for purposes other than the ritual; or, if this cannot be avoided, they must be replaced immediately.

On the floor in front of the angkowan was a large, unornamented woven *banig* or sleeping mat,<sup>30</sup> folded to form a rectangular "table," with one of the shorter sides facing the altar. Arranged in a row on top of the "table" were six plates; four of enameled tin, and two of ceramic of nonmatching designs.<sup>31</sup>

Each plate held a layer of uncooked rice grains;<sup>32</sup> betel chew ingredients<sup>33</sup> set in the middle of the plate, on top of the grains;<sup>33</sup> and a coin (*bulawan*).<sup>34</sup> Beside the plates, also on the folded mat, were folded clothes, a necklace of plastic beads, and a handful of unlighted candles.

On both sides of the length of the mat, lighted candles stood, affixed to the floor. To the right of the mat when facing the altar was an *agong*, a deep-bodied brass gong with a boss.<sup>35</sup> Beside it was a *gimbæ*, a drum between 1 to 2 feet high, with a cylindrical wooden body traditionally topped by a python- or deer-hide head secured by rattan or cords. Most drums today, however, have canvas heads, as in this case. A betel quid was laid at the center of the drumhead. A carved wooden drumstick lay on the floor beside the *agong*. A *hapak*—a sword consecrated for ritual use—in its scabbard lay on the floor on the opposite side of the folded mat.

Manlarawan sat cross legged on the floor facing the altar, with the folded mat lying lengthwise between him and the altar. Participants and observers were loosely arranged around the mat, sitting on the floor or among the sleeping people.

Manlarawan began the ritual with a prayer. As in all Manobo rituals the prayers were spoken out, never silent, as the participants literally called or talked to the spirits. In his prayer Manlarawan alluded to the story of Palagsulat and Palamgowan,<sup>36</sup> locating thereby his hakyadan within the struggle to uphold indigenous culture called for by the tale.

Datu Manlumibay, a visiting Banwaon datu sitting to Manlarawan's left, joined him in the prayer. Napoleon Pablo, to the left of Manlumibay, began his prayers shortly after. Towards the end of his prayer, Manlumibay offered self-effacing apologies for his contribution, eliciting kind hearted laughter from the group. Then a man across from them, sitting to the right of the altar, contributed his own prayer.

They were each asking for various blessings, such as good health for everyone, protection for the children, and good harvests. The effect was a rather monotonous drone as those praying began and ended, and sometimes began again, their prayers.

The atmosphere was quiet, but not solemn. There was even a joking invitation to contribute my own prayers, and maybe solve their problems with the "black bug" infestation that devastated their rice crop these last two years.

When the fourth man began praying, a man from Liwangwangan began cupping his right hand around the flame of one of the candles on the floor. When he joined the praying he raised his right hand as if taking an oath, while his left hand covered his abdomen as he sat on the floor.

While these prayers were being said, the pig defecated onto the floor.<sup>37</sup> A woman tore an old calendar off a wall and passed it on to a man near the altar, who scooped up the excrement and carried it out. They laid a piece of cardboard on the floor beneath the pig's rump to catch any more excrement.

Genaro Mansumiya, one of Manlarawan's sons-in-law, then said his own prayers, initially holding up his right hand like the man from Liwangwangan but getting tired, eventually, lowered his hand. A seventh man then offered his prayers. After some coaxing, Fabian Dalasay, another of Manlarawan's sons-in-law, also said a brief prayer. The prayers wound down about then.

About an hour had elapsed.

Napoleon Pablo moved forward to squat before the folded mat. He performed the *pagbayow* rite using one of the ceramic plates. He murmured prayers, rotated the plate to the right as it lay on the mat. This gesture is called *bilik sa silatan*, symbolizing the turning of the people to the east, the source of light and goodness. After a while, he rotated the plate to the left. This is *bilik sa sayupan*, symbolizing the turning away of sin and temptation back to the darkness of the west. Then he lifted the plate a few inches above the mat, held it up for a few moments, and set it back down. This is *pagbayow* or *pagbadaw*, symbolizing the lifting up of the people, away from sin and hardship. He finished his prayers shortly after.

Ernesto Havana, Manlarawan's son, came forward to take the plates and hapak and set them on the altar. The candles on the floor were put out and laid on the altar as well. Manlarawan gave the beadwork necklace to Genaro Mansumiya after which he wore the clothes on the mat—a long cotton dance-skirt,<sup>38</sup> a new red cloth jacket trimmed with plastic beads, and a store-bought headscarf. He was given a pair of *banŭy* from the altar's mænhow. Meanwhile, the agong was hung up and the gimbæ set near it. The mat was unfolded so that it lay before the altar, with one of the shorter edges facing it.

The *lis-ag* or ritual music was played on the two instruments. The melody was set by the agong, which was played with two sticks on one side of the gong's mouth as it hung from the ceiling.<sup>39</sup> Sometimes another player provided a secondary melody by beating on the boss with one or two sticks. The beat on the drum or gimbæ was played with the right hand holding a short wooden or rattan slat, and the palm of the left hand. The music was deafening.

Holding a *banŭy* in each hand, Manlarawan danced barefoot on the mat, which defined the ritual area before the altar or angkowan, and protected the dancers' feet from splinters or from stepping or even slipping through the floor. Except for the music and some low conversation, the room was quiet.

After some three minutes, Manlarawan displayed the signs of spirit possession by one of his abyan or spirit familiars; he made a moaning or yawning sound,<sup>40</sup> and his body started to tremble.

Manlarawan spoke in *tud-om* or chant form.<sup>41</sup> Napoleon Pablo responded, and there was an exchange. I believe this is a conventionalized dialogue during which the abyan is formally informed that a hakyadan or ritual celebration is being held in its honor.

Then Manlarawan chanted for about four minutes, lecturing the people on their obligations to the spirits and to each other. This may be a veiled criticism of Manlarawan's children and sons-in-law, who have neglected to assist him in his pagtuman, such that Manlarawan has not performed a hakyadan in many years.<sup>42</sup>

Napoleon Pablo replied, affirming the spirit's teachings, but also offering excuses for lapses due to human need and frailty, and promising in behalf of those in attendance to live a more upright life.

At a signal from Manlarawan, the *lis-ag* or music was played again, and he danced. He shook hands with a ninth man, who had all this time sat quietly watching the proceedings. Manlarawan put both *banŭy* in his left hand, and set his right hand palm-down on top of the man's head. This gesture is called *pagtampuk*, which allows the *baylan* or healer laying his palm on another to either induce possession by the latter's *abyan*, or to confirm that such possession has in fact occurred.

Datu Manlumibay and Manlarawan's sister, Rosita, called out, encouraging the ninth man's *abyan* to manifest itself. Apparently, the ninth man had long neglected his *abyan* spirits, resulting in an illness in his family. Manlarawan's *abyan* was trying to summon these spirits so a reconciliation could be arranged.

Manlarawan circled the edge of the dance area, chanting as he shook hands with Napoleon Pablo, Manlumibay, myself, Genaro Mansumiya, and the ninth man.<sup>43</sup>

He stopped before a woman (another sister?) and placed his right hand on her head. She spoke to him and he replied in chant. She pointed to a sleepy, newly awakened boy. The woman was asking the *abyan* to diagnose the illness of the boy, to see if it was caused by an offended spirit and provide advice. Manlarawan chanted as he looked at the boy who sat and looked silently back.

Manlarawan then shook hands with the man who had played the *agong*. Then he shook the hand of a woman in the audience. He gestured to another woman to take over in playing the *agong*. She complied and, at his signal, played the *lis-ag* or ritual music. The drummer followed her lead.

Manlarawan danced again. As he did, he moved towards the ninth man and again put his right palm on top of the man's head. Then he danced over to Genaro Mansumiya and repeated the gesture.

He danced back to the ninth man, who stood up and was given another skirt and a pair of *banŭy* from the altar. The ninth man danced. As he did, Manlarawan danced up and swung his right, and then his left *banŭy* in an arc over the man's head. This gesture is called *tampŭyŭ-ŭn*, intended to induce spirit possession in the one over whose head the *banŭy* sweeps over.

After about two minutes of dancing, the ninth man stopped. The

lis-ag ceased. Manlarawan's hand again went on top of the man's head as he chanted. He asserted that the ninth man was possessed by an abyan or spirit familiar and informed the latter that the ninth man wanted to make amends.

After Manlarawan had finished, he signaled for the music to resume. The ninth man danced again, and, after around three minutes, stopped. The music also stopped.

Manlarawan again put his right palm on the man's head. Napoleon Pablo and some others called out, encouraging the man's abyan to manifest itself through possession. Manlarawan chanted, confirming that the ninth man was possessed by a second abyan spirit, who was also informed of the ninth man's desire for reconciliation.

When the music started again, the ninth man danced once more. After about two minutes, his body shook, and he walked off the dance area. He took off the skirt, folded it, and placed it on the altar. The lis-ag continued.<sup>44</sup>

Manlarawan had meanwhile danced towards the seated Genaro Mansumiya and set his right hand, palm down, on the latter's head. The music stopped and he chanted for about two minutes. Then Manlarawan took one of his banüy and laid it on top of Genaro Mansumiya's head for some moments. The spirit ratified Datu Manlarawan's decision to designate Genaro Mansumiya as his successor in heading their extended family.

Napoleon Pablo reiterated the substance of the abyan's chanted speech.

On Manlarawan's signal, the lis-ag resumed. After some three minutes, he made a coughing sound, and his body shook. The music ceased.

Manlarawan spoke, this time possessed by an abyan who did not speak in chant form.

He walked to Fabian Dalasay and shook his hand, speaking of what the first abyan had said, and then alluding to the tale of Baybajan. This is part of the *Oyaging* epic of northern Mindanao, where the pure-hearted Baybajan struggles beside his kin until he gains the privilege to be drawn up (*batun*) to heaven aboard the sky-vessel *salimba*. The tale seems to be meant to remind Fabian Dalasay—the son-in-law



who was not designated as Datu Manlarawan's successor—to emulate the virtuous Baybajan, and respect Manlarawan's decision.

Manlarawan circled the dance area for about five minutes, lecturing the audience on the need to remember and comply with their duties and obligations.

At his signal, the music started again. After some two minutes, he staggered, shook his head as if to clear it, and walked off the dance floor. The *lis-ag* pounded on as he took off the skirt and gave it to Genaro Mansumiya, along with his *banŭy*.

This signaled the start of the *inusiba*,<sup>45</sup> and the mood of the gathering lightened. During this phase, men, women and children dance singly or in pairs for fun, in contrast to the dance of the *diwatahan* meant to invoke the *abyan* or spirit familiar. Sometimes, however, a dancer is possessed by her/his own *abyan* while dancing in the *inusiba*, requiring the intervention of the elders or a *baylan*.

Genaro Mansumiya stood up, put on the skirt, and danced before the altar. There were appreciative comments from the audience. After around four minutes of dancing, he laid one *banŭy* on one of my shoulders, danced away and back, and then laid the other *banŭy* on my other shoulder. The audience cheered. The *lis-ag* stopped as I put on the skirt.

I danced for about two minutes, to the good-natured heckling of the audience. I gladly passed on the *banuy* to Napoleon Pablo. There was some laughter at this, as he did not know how to dance. One of his sons, however, took up the *banŭy* and skirt and—wearing his baseball cap—danced in his stead for around three minutes. In turn he passed on the *banŭy* to another man, whose performance elicited cries of approval.

I took my leave of Datu Manlarawan, who sat to one side watching the dancing. It was almost eleven in the evening when I returned to my quarters.<sup>46</sup>

17 February 2004

I had looked in once or twice at Datu Manlarawan's home earlier in the morning, only to find men and women performing the *pahayad-*

*hayad*, the festive dancing before or during breaks in the course of a hakyadan, performed to drum and agong music as a way of inviting people and spirits to attend.

I also noted that the two pigs on the veranda had been slaughtered sometime in the early morning, and were then being prepared for cooking at the back of the house.

The summons to the next part of the ritual came late. I arrived to find the house crowded with spectators and participants. Pushing my way in, I saw that the only vantage point from which I could watch the proceedings was from the top of a long bench running along the wall to the left of the altar. The people were excited and there was lively chatter forming a background to the thunder of drum and agong.

Manlarawan had already danced into possession by one of his abyan spirits. This meant I had missed the morning's episodes of spirit possession, during which the ninth man's relations with his abyan, the boy's illness, and Genaro Mansumiya's status, among other things, were resolved.

Now Manlarawan stood, again dressed in the skirt, jacket, and headscarf, swaying at the far end of the laid-out mat, gesturing towards the altar with his *banüy*. A young man, assisted by Fabian Dalasay, stood by the altar holding a spear or *bangkaw*.<sup>47</sup> The chickens had been taken away.

At a signal from Manlarawan, the young man turned to the altar, raised the spear and jabbed it down through the pig's heart.<sup>48</sup> The animal screamed. The music pounded on. Another young man placed a plastic basin under the dying animal to catch its blood which would then be used in cooking. The spear was placed behind the altar, leaning against the wall, with its bloodied blade to the floor.

Manlarawan danced forward. The people clustered around the pig parted before him as he bent forward to drink of the blood gushing from the animal's spear wound. This suggested that the spirit possessing him was a *tægbusow*, the spirit of warfare, which traditionally fed on the blood spilled in fighting and the liver of slain enemies.

Manlarawan whirled about and circled the dance area, his face a mask of blood, dancing. He paused when someone gave him a plate of the pig's fresh, clotting blood. He licked the blood on the plate, returned the plate, and continued dancing.

After a brief while, he paused, trembling, giving his sister Rosita a chance to wipe the blood off his face with a cloth. Manlarawan danced again. I believe that at this point another abyan—this time his agkadagow, spirit of sexuality—took over his body.

He stopped before a woman seated on the floor, holding a small child in her arms. Manlarawan set down his banŭy, took the child from her, raised it above his head, and then cradled it in his arms as he danced once more. After less than a minute, he returned the child to its mother. He repeated this lifting and dancing with two other children. The lis-ag played on all the while.

The entire episode took about 30 minutes. I left soon after, leaving the people to begin another sequence of inusiba dancing.<sup>49</sup>

At around eleven-thirty that morning, I returned to Datu Manlarawan's home. It was still crowded, but not as densely as earlier in the morning. The atmosphere was still lively with people loudly conversing with each other. People formed a circle around the floor in front of the altar, though the mat had been taken away, leaving the floor bare.

The next phase of the ritual, called the hakyad, had not yet begun. Hakyad refers to the offering of cooked food, performed with a dance. Only in the hakyadan is the offering done this way. In other Adgawan Manobo rituals, the cooked food is simply formally offered (*das-ag*) to the spirits, often preceded by a pagbayow rite.<sup>50</sup>

I looked at the offerings on the altar. Apparently, after the pig had been killed in the morning, the six plates of rice grains had been taken down, cooked and returned to the altar. Now each plate held a mound of freshly cooked rice, topped with chunks of boiled, unsalted pork and fat from the sacrificed animal.<sup>51</sup>

To the back of the altar were the scorched heads of the three pigs. On top of each was laid a wide strip of the skin from their backs—bristles singed and scraped off—from the nape of the neck down, to include their tails. On top of these were laid a sheet of their stomach lining or *twalya*. In front of each pig head was one of its feet; at least one was a forefoot, another a hind foot.<sup>52</sup> On top of the stomach lining of the pig killed during the morning's dancing was a lizard-image or *ginibang*, cut from pig-fat.<sup>53</sup>

To the right side was a green bamboo tube about four or five inches in diameter. Judging from its fringe of *mænhow*, it was a *binuwaya* or *binuka*. This is a bamboo tube carved to represent a crocodile (*buwaya*), usually decorated with *mænhow* along its "belly," and sometimes a ribbon of red cloth near the jaws. The jaws of the image are kept apart by a slender wooden stick to prevent them from closing. The carving is symbolic of the warlike *tægbusow*, and embodies a prayer that their jaws will not bite down on the people.<sup>54</sup>

Laid partly on top of the *binuwaya* were four large bamboo skewers with chunks of roast liver on each. Beside these was a clear glass coffee-jar, uncapped and full of water. A lighted candle stood at the front edge of the altar, with all these offerings behind it.

Manlarawan stood before the altar, holding its right front post. An elderly man, who as far as I could tell had not participated in the ritual till then, stood holding the left post. Both prayed in quiet tones, asking the spirits to accept the offerings on the altar. Manlumibay and another man contributed similar prayers but remained seated among the audience.

After about three minutes, the prayers ended. Once more Manlarawan put on the skirt, jacket, and scarf; took up his pair of *banüy*; and signaled for the music or *lis-ag* to begin. He danced before the altar.

When two or three minutes had passed, he tucked his *banüy* into his rear waistband. He danced towards the altar. Genaro Mansumiya had been standing to the right of the altar, and at that point reached up to take down two of the tin plates, one in each hand. He gave the plates to Manlarawan, who then danced about with a plate in each hand, making inviting gestures to the audience.

After about a minute or so, he danced over and stood before Inalo Yawinhay who was seated at the far end of the room, facing the altar.<sup>55</sup> When Manlarawan bent and extended his arms to Inalo Yawinhay, the latter reached up to receive the plates, one in each hand, and laid them on the floor before him.

Manlarawan repeated the sequence, dancing with the pair of ceramic plates, the last pair of tin plates, and the two pairs of skewered liver chunks, always with one in each hand, handing them each time to Inalo Yawinhay.

Finally, he was given the jar of water. There was some murmuring and shifting about as the audience gamely prepared to be sprinkled with the water. This symbolic washing functions on two levels: For the spirits, the water represents a drink and the washing of hands after having "eaten" the food "danced" by the diwatahan; for the human audience, it is a washing away of their sins. Usually only a glass of water is used, but in this case Manlarawan was armed with a whole jar of water.

Instead of splashing the water at the audience, as is usually done, Manlarawan merely stood spinning around in the middle of the dance floor, shaking the bottle violently so that half of the water spilled onto the floor in a circle around him. He passed the bottle to Inalo Yawinhay who put it among the plates and skewers on the floor before him.

Manlarawan then walked off to one side of the altar and removed the skirt and jacket, folded them, and placed them on the altar. The *lis-ag* or ritual music stopped.

Green banana leaves were laid on the middle of the floor to form a mat, and the plates of rice and pork were set down on them. The chunks of liver were sliced off the skewers with a *sundang* or work knife and were arranged in mounds on the banana leaves. Additional servings of rice and pork from the kitchen were brought in and set on the leaves as well.

As these preparations were made, Manlarawan walked around the room, inviting some men in the audience to sit or squat around the banana-leaf mat. Most of these men were heads of families related to Manlarawan, with a few guests, such as myself.

Together, we shared in the *panampuyot*.<sup>56</sup> This is a meal where people symbolically share the same food offered to, and presumably consumed by, the spirits during the *hakyad*. The Manobo say that spirits eat only the smell or *baho* of the offerings, so while humans eat its physical form the invisible spirits eat its "essence."

We ate, making sure that we partook of some of the rice and pork from the altar.<sup>57</sup>

When all the food laid out for the *panampuyot* had been consumed, the space was cleared in preparation for the *bu-tad* or communal meal, which was to follow as soon as all the meat was ready for serving.

Visitors and observers would be invited to sit on the floor, on opposite sides of the long rows of banana leaves laid down on the floor, and eat the rice, pork from the slaughtered pigs, and other food arranged on the leaves.

It was almost twelve noon by then. I took my leave from the exhausted Datu Manlarawan.

The *panapos* or closing rites<sup>58</sup> for the ritual were set for the morning of 18 February. Usually someone is asked to dance comically with the sacrificial pig's head, pretending to comb his/her hair with its hoof, and to launder or wear its skin or stomach lining.<sup>59</sup> These antics have been described as protective, but it is unclear how; to date, I have been unable to determine the meaning and function of this phase of the ritual.

I did not witness the *panapos* for Manlarawan's *hakyadan* as I had to leave the village in the afternoon. In any case, people were saying that Manlarawan would merely pray over the pigs' body parts. Apparently, everyone was too tired to play out the final phase of the ritual in full.

## Meanings

### Denotations

The *hakyadan* is usually scheduled during the rice-harvest season—which coincides with the ritual season—only to ensure the availability of native rice.

The *hakyadan* is not an agricultural goddess or spirit, nor a rice-harvest ritual. Neither is it a curing or healing ritual. Its celebration *may* be compelled by an illness inflicted by neglected *abyan* spirits on the *diwatahan* or one or more of her/his family. If one asks what the ritual is for in such cases, the reply would usually be "to cure" somebody. But if one further asks why somebody is sick in the first place, we go beyond "curing," and find ourselves within a larger field of discourse defined by hereditary ritual obligations and the human struggle to perform them. The ritual celebrates one's bond with the *abyan*; or—much more often—the restoration of such bonds, resulting in the removal of any illness inflicted by the latter. To describe the ritual only as

“curing” or “healing” is to obscure the essential point of the ritual exercise.

The hakyad is a phase of the hakyadan ritual, where cooked food is offered to the abyan in dance mode. As the purpose of the ritual is to celebrate one’s relationship with one’s abyan, this offering may be considered the climax of the ritual. I have heard elders commenting during the dancing of the plates, “*napung’an on*” (“[the obligation is] fulfilled”). Given its centrality to the ritual, it is no wonder the hakyad phase gave its name to the entire ritual itself.

### Performing Identity

In [ritual] performance we come upon something quite basic about human beings—that we constitute ourselves through our actions. (Turner 1991, cited in Alexander 1999, 140)

This underscores the personal consequence of the performance of a ritual obligation by the diwatahan. In the hakyadan, s/he constitutes her/himself as an individual, located within an embracing kin group, and in a historical or genealogical chain that extends backward to the first of times and forward to the future.

The hakyadan is not a community celebration so much as one by the diwatahan’s extended kin group. After all, until relatively recently, one’s community was one’s kin group (see Manuel 1973); kin and community boundaries coincided. Non kin may attend, dance, and eat, but it is not “their” ritual. In essence, therefore, the actors and participants in a hakyadan are all kindred of the diwatahan.

It is the diwatahan’s kin that can appreciate the particular relationship between the diwatahan and his hereditary abyan, for they form the field from which the spirit/s made its choice. They are the ones with memories of the spirit’s previous diwatahan—a parent or an ancestor—and are the ones who expect the abyan to choose the next diwatahan from among their children, or their children’s children.

When the diwatahan honors her/his abyan through the hakyadan, s/he necessarily draws attention to the relationship between him/herself as a link in the succession of generations of her/his family, and of one or more immortal spirits. In remembering the spirit/s, s/he re-

members as well her/his own genealogy and history, tied as it is by a ritual relationship to the spirit/s.

This is underscored by the pattern of the dancing in the *inusiba*. The *diwatahan* passes on the *banŭy* to the next dancer, who after dancing passes them on to another, and so on, in much the same way as the *tulumanon* is passed on from one *diwatahan* to another over time and across generations. In this sense, the dance may be viewed as a metaphor for life, just as the *banŭy* is a metaphor for the *mānhow*, and therefore for the ritual and the obligation to perform it. The dance dramatizes the family's role as a carrier of ritual obligations owed to the *abyan* from the past onwards.

In the ritual described here, *Datu Manlarawan* chose *Genaro Mansumiya* as his successor as head of the extended family. And so it was to him that *Manlarawan* first passed the *banŭy* towards the end of the *sapat*.

It is thus suggestive that when the *tulumanon* for the *abyan* is neglected, it is not usually the *diwatahan* but his/her descendants who endure the spirit's wrath. It is as if the spirit/s is/are telling the *diwatahan* that there will be no continuity of his/her line, no future for the family, without the ritual celebration of the line's hereditary link to the *abyan*.

Not surprisingly, the dominant symbol of the *hakyadan* is not the altar, nor the sacrifice of the pig, nor even the offering of cooked food. Rather it is the body itself of the *diwatahan*, the living link between her/his history and the family's future. Perhaps this explains why dancers are bedecked with all the finery the assembly can produce (Garvan 1929, 135); the body of the *diwatahan*—which during possession is conflated with the *abyan* spirit—must be beautified and celebrated.

Reiterating the theme of beautification is the dance. The *diwatahan* dances in each of the major phases of the ritual—the *sapat*, the slaughter of the sacrificial victim, and the *hakyad*. Dancing probably enhances the invocation for the appearance of the *diwatahan*.<sup>60</sup>

It makes sense then that when the *diwatahan* performs the *hakyad*—the formal offering of food to the *abyan*—s/he dances again. Pointedly, *Manlarawan* was not possessed during the *hakyad*; it was he



himself who offered the food to the abyan.<sup>61</sup> It was with his own dancing body that this climactic offering was made.

It should be noted that in the middle Adgawan river area only the hakyadan, the pagtuman for the diwata, requires the celebrant and other participants to dance.<sup>62</sup> Perhaps—and here I am only speculating—dancing is so strongly associated with the hakyadan and the diwata that the latter can be seen as the spirit owners or masters of the dance. If so, this might explain why traditionally any and all dancing must be done the way it is performed at the hakyadan; wearing danceskirts, holding banūy or its equivalent, and bedecked with finery.

Finally, the body of the diwatahan is possessed by the spirit/s. As a way of dramatizing the link between the abyan and its chosen one, spirit possession can hardly be matched.

Possession allows the abyan to first acknowledge the ritual in its honor, of which it is informed by the audience.<sup>63</sup> More importantly, the spirit/s can then directly address the kin group to which it is linked, reminding them of their obligations, which of course includes remembering and performing their tulumanon. Finally, possession makes the spirit/s accessible to the people who, if so minded, may call on them for assistance or guidance, as the ninth man and Manlarawan's sister (?) did.

Possession also serves as a pedagogic mechanism, by which "canonical" information (following Rappaport 1999, 58) can be imparted. Thus after the tægbusow—the embodiment of human destructive power—drank the pig's blood, the agkadagow—embodiment of human creative power—"appeared" and danced with babies and young children in its arms, celebrating these symbols of the future.

It is as if, having satisfied the destructive forces, Manlarawan's extended family can now look forward to the strengthening of its own creative powers. This echoes a previous point, that the continuity or survival of the group is linked to the faithful performance of tulumanon, and may help explain the comic dances that celebrate human sexuality or creative power during the inusiba following the killing of the pig.

Ultimately, the "danced" offering of cooked food is still the climax of the ritual. The sharing of food, particularly in the panampuyot,

binds together those who participate. In a sense, a family is a group of people who eat together and are (thus) bound to help each other. The panampuyot constitutes humans and spirits as a fictive family, bound to support each other by having people eat the same food offered and presumably consumed by the spirits during the hakyad.

To note, the food for the panampuyot is not cooked with salt, just as the food in the ancestors' times were said to have been cooked—and offered to the spirits—without salt. Thus the male heads of families sharing in the panampuyot were identifying themselves with their ancestors (following Douglas 1971). No wonder then that not all men present shared the ritual meal, but only—guests aside—those belonging to the family to which the abyan is linked.

Through the ritual, Datu Manlarawan dramatizes two aspects of his identity. On one hand, he dramatizes his own, personal recognition and fulfillment of his ritual obligation through his pagtuman here and now. He thus presents himself as one who is dutiful or responsible in the discharge of his obligation, thereby shielding his kin from the wrath of neglected spirits, and making the spirits' powers accessible to his kindred.

At the same time, his tulumanon itself recalls all previous diwatahan of his family, and locates him along a succession of kindred chosen by the spirit/s, and within a larger kin group charged with a ritual obligation. The emphasis on conducting the ritual the way their ancestors are thought to have conducted it—following the customary procedure, deploying traditional arts, and without salt—underscores how they are so like their ancestors, and how nothing has supposedly changed since their ancestors' time. Here, what is presented is the family's seemingly "eternal" character as the "counterpart" of immortal spirits in an ancient, unbroken dialogue of rituals and assistance.

### The Hakyadan in the Twenty-First Century

Beyond the diwatahan and his/her kin, performance of the hakyadan may function as a local marker of ethnicity, by which the Adgawan Manobo "community" is dramatically defined vis-à-vis the surrounding, non-Manobo population (cf. Cohen 1993). To be Manobo, in part, is to keep in mind that one is a descendant of Palamgowan, to be

conscious of one's ritual obligations, and to perform rituals the way one's ancestors did. In a sense, a Manobo is one who remembers.

This is not to say that the Manobo are mystics shielded from the outside world. They are deeply involved in the continuing deforestation of the Adgawan river area, exploiting the economic opportunities offered by the intrusion of capitalism into the area in the form of the global trade in timber, rattan, and plantation-wood (Gatmaytan 1999). They have, in turn, implicated the spirits in the exploitation of their lands and resources (Gatmaytan 2003). For example, they pray to the tagbanwa before undertaking logging or rattan-cutting operations, or to the Inajow for rain, to help them float their logs downriver.

It may seem paradoxical to some that they can so earnestly believe in these spirits, yet be so intensely involved in capitalist exploitation of local resources. But this is not problematic for them. Many Manobo rituals are specifically designed to negotiate access to land and resources "owned" by certain spirits. Otherwise, their own religion would have disabled them from surviving in a not-particularly pleasant environment. This questions a trend in the literature that ascribes an essentializing link between indigenous people and environmentalism (Burton 1985, 23; Bennagen and Lucas-Fernan 1996; McAndrew 2001, 14).

The hakyadan and other ritual markers of identity serve to distinguish them socially from the non-Manobo, but not to sever them from participating—and making money they need to buy things for themselves and their spirits—in the capitalist economy. Thus, while they are ethnically distinct or "indigenous," as emphasized by their performance of "ancient" rituals, they are not "indigenous" in the way many of us imagine or wish them to be.

### Confronting an Ethnographic Ancestor

That the literature cannot offer a careful description of the hakyadan is disturbing enough. Even more disquieting is its direct implication. We have no awareness or knowledge of the notion and practice of ritual obligations that form an important dimension of Manobo religion and culture.

Garvan's authorial techniques won him recognition as a careful observer who has really "been there" (following Geertz 1988). But even as he enjoys a reputation for meticulousness (Yumo 1971, 18; Lebar 1975, 55; Bauzon 1999, 2), he apparently managed to misapprehend the hakyadan and ignore the tulumanon.

Garvan (1929, 188), ignorant of the concept of the tulumanon, suggests that "fear" is the "foundation of the Manobo's religious beliefs and observances." Even if we admit that fear *is* part of the complex of ideas and emotions the Manobo link to their religion, there is rather more to their attitude towards the spirits than this.

My understanding is that it is the moral sense of obligation that is the "foundation" of Manobo religion. This is most clearly defined in the Manobo concern for the fulfillment of their own or their kin's tulumanon. Beyond the tulumanon is the expectation that each one shows due respect to all other spirits, and their respective territorial or discursive domains. A Manobo is obliged not only to perform whatever tulumanon s/he has, but also to seek the tagbanwa's permission before cutting a tree, observe the taboos enforced by the Inajow, and so on. Any fear in any of these activities is secondary; what drives compliance is the sense of ethical duty to show pagtahud, respect for the rights and prerogatives of fellow humans—and spirits. And precisely because compliance depends on this frail, all-too-human sense of duty, there are many lapses and illnesses imposed by spirits.

True, the Manobo of the first decade of the twenty-first century are not the Manobo of the first decade of the twentieth century. But Garvan's valorization of fear ignores its larger cultural context, which I contend is defined by this sense of obligation. After all, what is there to fear if there is no prior expectation of respect or compliance from the spirits?

Garvan focused only on one of the many emotions that drive Manobo—indeed, according to Kierkegaard, all—religious belief. And so we have a misapprehension of the hakyadan, the elision of the tulumanon, and the misrepresentation of Manobo religion itself.

The term "hakyadan" thus acquires an added meaning. It also signifies the limits of the existing literature, a metaphor for the factual and

interpretative errors of our ethnographic ancestors. The definitional odyssey of the hakyadan—from grain goddess, to curing ritual, to a ritual obligation to a diwata—warns us of the need to be critical of our flawed ethnographic legacy.

## Notes

I wish to thank Froilan Havana and Inalo Yawinhay for inviting me to their respective hakyadan, both of which were held last February 2004. Thanks are due as well to all other Manobo and Banwaon informants who have, for more than ten years, provided the data on which this article is based. Special thanks are offered to the memory of Datu Mansangko-an and the baylan Kudiya Hilarion-Perez.

1. In this section, terms used by authors cited are placed in quotation marks; spelling and italicization follow their usage.

2. Garvan's work on the Manobo was published in 1929, but it is based on materials from his stay in the Agusan region from around 1905 to 1909.

3. *Baylan* may be glossed as shaman or, following Garvan (1929), "native priest." Note, however, that there are differences and correspondences between the Manobo baylan and the classic description of the shaman (Townsend 1999, 438ff.).

4. Garvan's text is notable for its "primitivism," impliedly juxtaposing Manobo violence, superstition, and economic backwardness with American civilization. His "primitivism" is made more interesting by his having "gone native" (see Hermann Hochegger's introduction to Garvan's republished *The Negritos of the Philippines*, 1964, 1–4).

5. The word is derived from the root "*baya*," "to decide," "determine" or "will"; hence, "The One Who Decides" Garvan (1929, 190) says the Manobo have no notion of "one supreme universal being."

6. The many *tagbanwa* can be subdivided in terms of their domains or residence. Among these are the tree-dwellers or -owners called *tækajo*, and the *tæbobong* or *tæbuntod*, of the hills. Earth-dwellers are *tæbugta* or *gim-ow*. Water spirits are called *yumod* or *alimogkat*.

7. Orthographic note: The symbol "æ" here represents a broad, stressed, and prolonged short "e" sound, similar to the first "e" in "elegance" but extended in enunciation. The symbol "ü" as in the word *agküy* represents a short "u" sound, identical to "u" in "cup."

8. This is a generic term for hunting spirits, meaning "helpers," which include the *sugujan* or *suguyan*, spirit helpers of hunters; *tumanod*, guardian of hunting dogs; the *umægad* or spirit owners of game; and the *uyagdokan* to whom prayers for fish or meat are also addressed.

9. Moreover, taboos (*pamahi*), ritual pollution from illicit sexual encounters (*sawoy*, *sawajan* or *kapo-otan*) or bloodshed (*kakuyahagpaban*), dreams (*taga-inup*), and omens (*bala*, *bagto*) are taken seriously.

10. In Cebuano-Visayan, *abyan* may be glossed as "friend" or "helper," without any super- or preternatural connotations. Cole (1956, 93) mentions the Bukidnon/Higa-onon term for a spirit "*alabyanon*," which may be related to "*abyan*."

11. *Tagbanwa* generally do not actively interfere in human affairs, but punish people who enter or take from their domains (e.g., by cutting a tree) without securing permission, by inflicting an illness (*habay* or *habuy*) (see Magos 1992, 56–59). They are so powerful that inadvertently catching or holding their attention is enough to cause illness (*masagmanan*; Vis. *masagdahan*). Amends involve making offerings on *sangsang*, bamboo poles planted in the ground, with their top end split and bent back to hold an offering bowl.

12. The souls of the dead are not "hereditary" in the way *abyan* are thought of, and do not impose *tulumanon* or ritual obligations. Occasionally they may inflict illness (*masugnodanan*) on a descendant to remind them to send them offerings through a *sugnod* ritual.

13. Other terms used are *diwaterno* (one who deals with *diwatas*) or *tag-iya* or owner, not in the sense of "master" but of one responsible for meeting a ritual obligation or *tulumanon*.

14. Those possessed describe the sensation of something settling on their shoulders rather than entering their bodies or minds. Some people say they cannot recall what they said or did under possession. Baylan and those with more experience speak of mentally conversing with the spirits possessing them, as they passively witness it act and speak through their bodies, powerless to intervene (see Cannell 1990, 114).

15. The person with the largest number of *abyan* I have heard of is a deceased Manobo baylan of the Agusan river area, who had fourteen *abyan*. One female baylan I know had eight *abyan*. Among those alive today, I know one Manobo man with seven, and two men with five or six *abyan*.

16. If a person has two *diwata* and the *Inajow* as *abyan*, for example, s/he may combine the *pagtuman* for the first two, but not the third, as the ritual procedure for the latter's *pagtuman* differs from that for *diwata*.

17. Compare this with Cannell's (1990, 100–101) account of Bikol healers, which describes a "predatory aspect" to a medium's relationship with her/his *tawo*, posing danger to one's children or self.

18. It seems unfair to "punish" the children of the *diwataban* rather than the latter, but sources explain that the idea is to compel the *diwataban* to perform the *pagtuman*, which s/he may be unable to if s/he were seriously ill. Compare this with Kinaraya-a "*sakit sa turumanon*" (Magos 1992, 67). Thus, the *abyan* can sometimes be rather self-centered, jealous, or willful.

19. There are many stories of seriously ill Manobo who spent large sums of money for medication and hospitalization to no avail, and then were cured shortly after they performed a *pagtuman* on the advice of an elder.

20. This means all *baylan* or “shamans” have *abyan* or spirit familiars, but not all people with *abyan* are *baylan*. A person with “only” a *tægbusow* for an *abyan* is not a *baylan*.

21. While all *hakyadan* are *tulumanon* or ritual obligations, not all *tulumanon* are *hakyadan*.

22. The *tawo-tawo* ([small] human [figure]) are called *kinurus* by the Manobo, a term derived from the Spanish “*cruz*” (hence, “like a cross”). The Banwaon refer to them as *ladawan*, similar to the Tagalog *larawan* or image or picture; indeed, they have been described as “*Kodak sa gino-o*,” “image of spirits.” These figures are carved in pairs from poles of *anangilan*, young *lava-an* or *bungyoy* wood to represent a male and a female spirit, and erected in the ground outside the house, with some form of altar or offering board. In some *hakyadan*, *tawo-tawo* are used to make offerings to the Visayan spirits and/or the *tagbanwa*, who are thus dissuaded from entering the house to attend the ritual, which is meant for the *diwata-abyan*, not them.

23. *Angkowan* or *bangkaso* is a general term for the tray-like altars used in *hakyadan*. A variant form is the *bug-osan*, which is more like a flat lidless box than a tray. The boards forming the sides of this altar type extend beyond the front edge and are carved into crescent-shaped (convex side down) projections described as *binadi*, i.e., “in the manner of a knife.” The *bug-osan* are used only by *diwatahan* with *abyan* linked to warfare or the settlement of major issues.

24. In some communities, the scraps from making the fringes must not be stepped on or over, and are placed on the *bagubayan* with the sacrificial pig. Informants say they used fronds of the *pæsan*, a rattan, when coconut palms were still rare in the area. Garvan (1929, 204) says they used *areca*, *amibong* and *kagyas* palm fronds.

25. The sugarcane and its long, pointed leaves is said to frighten off evil spirits. The *gabi* repels forest spirits, much as wild pigs avoid the root crop, which if eaten raw causes an itchy sensation in the mouth. *Bagüybüy* are immature areca-nut clusters, having only small beads where the nuts would have developed. They have a light green color and herbal scent, which are pleasing to the *abyan*. It is sometimes used as *banüy* by *hakyadan* dancers. Candles used to be of beeswax (*tado*), so their use represented not only a visual cue that a ritual was in progress, but also offered up its pleasant scent (compare with Kinaray-a “fumigation” in Magos 1992, 40, 43). Commercial, non-aromatic candles have now largely replaced beeswax candles.

26. Substitutes for the *banüy* are pairs of *bagüybüy* or pieces of cloth. Very rarely do participants dance empty-handed.

27. The chickens will be used as *panglimpas* or *pandingding*. Usually roosters are preferred for ritual use as they are more visually appealing to the spirits. Panglimpas in this context is a rite for rectifying errors in ritual procedure, or to cure anyone who falls sick as a result of attending the ritual. Pandingding (lit., "for [use as] a wall") is an offering to the *abyan* of a *baylan* or shamanic healer who conducts a *hakyadan* for another. The *abyan* of some *baylan* are said to be "jealous" ("*seloso*"), and resent their *diwatahan's* involvement in rituals for other spirits. To prevent the spirit from "punishing" the *baylan*, the chicken is given to the latter for use in appeasing the *abyan*.

28. The *bagubayan* holds up the pig to make spearing easier and to allow the blood from the wound to be collected beneath it, for use in cooking. One old man recalls that in the past slaves were sometimes tied down under the pig, so that the spear will punch through the pig's heart and into the slave's. Garvan (1929) refers to the *bagubayan* as *angkowan*.

29. No effort is made to silence the pigs, as its cries serve to announce a ritual being held; one *baylan* likened the cries to church bells, drawing people and spirits. This may explain why sometimes a *baylan* repeatedly jabs at the pig's side with a spear to make it scream before it is killed.

30. I have seen other rituals where plastic sleeping mats were used.

31. Sources here say that six plates are used because six plates have always been used for this purpose. However, I have seen other *hakyadan* where seven plates were used; usually with six holding rice and betel chew, and one where the coins were arranged around a betel-chew quid.

32. Rice (*humoy*) is highly valued for its taste and smell, the way it fills the stomach, and its pure appearance when cooked. Traditionally, the rice used must be one of the local swidden varieties, harvested from the *diwatahan's* own farm. Many hold that store-bought or lowland varieties are unacceptable to the spirits. Thus, *hakyadan* are usually scheduled during the rice-harvest months—from September to December—to ensure the availability of native rice (Gatmaytan 1998). Perhaps this is one reason why Garvan (1929, 73–73, 76, 191 and 203) confuses the *hakyadan* with the *taphag* spirits guarding the rice.

33. The betel chew consists of an areca nut (*manika* or *kalisow*) cut longitudinally into four pieces (*kinukilaw*), laid side-by-side on a rectangular strip of betel leaf (*buño*), and sprinkled with lime (*apog*). Among the Manobo, sharing betel chew ingredients and chewing together facilitates interaction between individuals. The offering of betel chew at the start of the ritual similarly facilitates interaction between individuals, human and spirit.

34. The coin/s is/are described as *panyajag* (Vis. *pahakipay*, or "[something] to give delight [to the spirits]"). Not all coins are acceptable; those of copper or plastic, which are not round, or have holes may not be used. Observers may offer acceptable coins by laying them on one of the plates at the start of the ritual.



Sometimes coins are returned at the end of the ritual, for use as *panhidhid* (something with which to wipe away illness resulting from attending the ritual) or as a token of the occasion. Sometimes brass-wire bracelets (*timusug*) are used for this purpose, but these are always returned to their owners after the ritual.

35. Gongs are becoming rare as old pieces depreciate, and finding good pieces in the souvenir, ethnic art, and antiques market grows harder. In some areas, Banwaon and Manobo make do with the rims of steel drums, wheel hubs, or steel bars. A woman said that in such cases, *abyan* are “*dugay magpado-ol*” (long in coming), suggesting the spirits do not find the sound pleasing or cannot recognize it as ritual music.

36. This is the tale of two brothers who lived on the coast of Mindanao. When the Spaniards came, one had decided to undergo baptism, and learned how to read and write. Since then, he lived by what he could read or write, and was called Palagsulat, The One Who Writes. He is said to be the ancestor of all *bisaya* or nontribal peoples in Mindanao. The other rejected the Spaniards and retreated to the mountains, where he continued the ways of his ancestors, living his life in accordance with visions or dreams. He was called Palamgowan, The One Who Dreams, ancestor of all tribal peoples of Mindanao.

37. *Abyan* spirits find the smell of farting or excrement extremely offensive. Sometimes dancers are given *bagūybūy* to sniff as a defense against offensive odors.

38. Garvan (1929, 135) noted how men always wore skirts when dancing, a practice still seen today. Asked why, most sources give the same answer Garvan got: It has always been done that way (“*kana man ang naandan*”). More reflective informants say the skirt makes the dancer beautiful (“*para gwapo*”), particularly to the spirits. This suggests a need to explore Manobo notions of beauty, and its links to sex/gender, dance, and ritual.

39. In this and other areas, it is *pamalibi* or taboo to play the *agong* outside a ritual context, as the sound will draw spirits who would then be angered to find no ritual awaiting them.

40. Garvan (1929, 210) describes a “vehement” and “prolonged belching” accompanied by “painful gasping” as auditory signals of possession. Blair and Robertson’s translation of Pastells and Retana’s 1887 annotation of Combes’ 1667 account of peoples of Mindanao also mentions belching *baylan*. I cannot describe the two-syllable sound used by the Manobo as belching.

41. Not all *abyan* or spirit helpers are *tud-omon*, spirits who speak only in chant form. Some *abyan* speak in Manobo, Tala-andig or Cebuano-Visayan, depending on the spirit’s ethnicity (see Cannell 1990, who speaks of Bikol healers with Jordanian familiars). I have heard of Chinese and Spanish *abyan*, but have not encountered any.

42. Sometimes *abyan* will make direct references to *sala* or transgressions of those present. Once, a man who logged other peoples’ trees was made to sit in

front of his father, who was possessed by an *abyan*. After a brief lecture, the father/*abyan* whipped the man with his *banay*. The man bowed his head, taking the whipping stoically.

43. Handshaking between *abyan* and the audience was introduced in this community by a renowned Umayam Manobo *datu* and *baylan* who visited in 1993.

44. In this case only Manlarawan and the ninth man danced. The number of people dancing in a *hakyadan* depends on the number of *baylan* present and the needs of the attendees, e.g., if anyone needed to contact their *abyan*. I have seen *hakyadan* where eight men and women would be standing, dancing, talking, or chanting before the altar as the spirits moved them.

45. Also known as *dayujag*, *inusiba* comes from the root “*siba*” or play, hence “[dancing] in a playful mode.”

46. Sometimes a *hakyadan*, because of logistical or time limitations, is finished in a single night instead of being arranged over two or three days, in which case they are said to be *ya-osan*.

47. In this area, the killing (*pagpilak*) of the sacrificial pig can only be done by a male using a spear. I have seen rituals put abruptly on hold when the participants realized they had forgotten to borrow someone's spear for the ritual, at which someone was hurriedly sent off to fetch it.

48. Sometimes, someone from the audience stands over the pig and prays a *panugon-tugon*, a plea to the pig not to resent its fate as a sacrificial offering, and tell the spirits the *diwatahan* is fulfilling his/her obligation. If predictions are needed, a *panimaya* or omen-taking is also performed. The pig is consecrated for that purpose (*timaya-ññ*) by one who knows how, while holding a coin or brass bracelet (*timusug*) to the spot above the pig's heart, at which the spear will be driven. The pig's liver is later examined for signs and omens.

49. The *inusiba* dancing after the sacrifice of the pig sometimes features comic dancing with a somewhat bawdy theme. This ranges from an old man thrusting his groin comically at the women in the audience as he dances; to one where a stocky woman dances up to the small, frail man paired with her, and pumps her pelvis against his buttocks, sending him staggering across the dance floor, over and over; to a spontaneous but superbly staged scene where two men and a woman portray one man's seduction of the other's wife, all while dancing to music. This celebrates the creative, sexual drive with laughter (see Ossio 1997, 558).

50. This means all *hakyad* are *das-ag* or formal offerings of cooked food, but not all *das-ag* are *hakyad* or performed in dance form.

51. Unlike other rituals no *likus* or *pinwas* is offered. This is a ring of skin, fat, and meat made by cutting off the pig's head, then cutting right across the neck again one to two inches below the end of the neck stump. It symbolizes the unity of the people resulting from the ritual. Also absent are offerings of wine, which often figure in other rituals.

52. Each set of body parts represent a sacrificed pig. There is some variation in how pigs are represented; at the minimum, only the head and a patch of skin with the tail attached to it are offered. In the most elaborate mode, the head, a strip of skin from the neck, down the back and including the tail, the stomach lining, and all four feet are offered.

53. The image—pairs of stubby legs separating a diamond-shaped head, body and tail—represents a monitor lizard (*Varanus* sp.) or *gibang*. This animal is associated with the spirits of war and represents an offering of the pig, or a share of it, to these spirits.

54. Usually, the *binuwaya* is rubbed onto the spear-wound of the pig after it is killed. Later the *ginibang* may be tied to the top of the *binuwaya* before or during the *hakyad*. These acts represent the offering of the sacrificed pig to the spirit, in return for which the *tægbusow* will no longer instigate violence in order to feed on the shed blood. Strictly speaking, the *pagtuman* for the *tægbusow* has a different procedure, but a *diwatahan* like Manlarawan who also has a *tægbusow* may make the most of the occasion by offering the spirit a *ginibang* lizard on a *binuwaya* crocodile.

55. This is the first time Inalo Yawinhay, a major *datu* in the middle-Adgawan river area, attended the ritual. He was expected at the previous night's *sapat*, but he was too tired from finishing his own *hakyadan*.

56. In some areas, it is *pamalihi* or taboo for women to participate in the *panampuyot*.

57. In the past, anyone who had witnessed the *sapat* was forbidden to leave the house until s/he had partaken of the sacrificial pig, i.e., at the *panampuyot* or *bu-*iad**. This rule has been relaxed, allowing guests to leave the house (as I did after the *sapat*) but not the community. In other areas, guests may leave the village, but they must bring with them a portion of the sacrificial pig to cook and eat.

58. Many simply refer to this phase as the "dancing of the head" ("*pagsayaw sa ulo*"). Other informants refer to this phase as the *himay-*ūs** or *himā-*ūs**.

59. I have seen an alternative version of the *panapos*, where the dancer instead mimed a hunter who finds a beehive and is attacked by the bees while trying to get the honey, to the amusement of the audience.

60. The importance of dancing is further reiterated by the fact that the audience's principal mode of participation in the ritual is by dancing in the *inusiba* and the *pahayad-hayad*.

61. In contrast, the one who kills the sacrificial pig in the *pagpila* is never the celebrant-*diwatahan* him/herself. If the possessed Manlarawan had killed the pig himself, it would have meant the spirit was offering the pig to itself, which clashes with the whole idea of the ritual. Thus, someone else—a representative of the *diwatahan* or her/his family—has to kill the pig and offer its blood to the spirit/s.

62. Two other rituals that require dancing are the *kaliga* and the *daging* which are both associated with agriculture. Neither ritual is practiced in the community of

Datu Manlarawan, although Genaro Mansumiya comes from an Umayam Manobo family with a kaliga *tulumanon*.

63. In most *hakyadan*, there is at least one individual present who leads the dialogue with the *abyan*. In the ritual described Napoleon Pablo, a brother-in-law of Manlarawan, played this role.

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