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*Philippine Studies* vol. 29, no. 2 (1981) 189–216

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Fri June 27 13:30:20 2008

## **Remedies for Sickness Among the Alangan Mangyans of Oriental Mindoro**

SR. MAGDALENA LEYKAMM, S.Sp.S.

The Alangan Mangyans belong to the northern aboriginal tribes occupying the mountainous interior of Mindoro. They are found within the municipality of Naujan and parts of Baco and Victoria, and across the high central mountain chains in West Mindoro, within the municipalities of Mamburao, Sta. Cruz, and Sablayan. Alangan is the name for a river and mountain slopes in the upper Alangan Valley where today a considerable number of Mangyans still live. Although they refer to themselves as Mangyans (*Mangyan kami*), in scientific research they are today known as Alangan, to distinguish them from other tribes like the Iraga and Hanunoo. The Mangyans studied here are from the communities of Paitan, Sangilen, Lantuyang, Arangin, and Tagumpay, and those belonging to these communities but living in the surrounding mountains. Not included are the Alangan Mangyans of Occidental Mindoro and all other Mangyan tribes.

This study is concerned only with the remedies for sickness and it will not look into other aspects of sickness or of Mangyan culture in general. Nor will it look at the remedies for sickness from the point of view of professional medical people. The methodology is basically descriptive, based upon observation and interviews, during June and July 1978 and February 1979.

The Mangyans distinguish between sickness for which there is an obvious natural explanation, and sickness for which there is no natural explanation and which is, therefore, the work of the evil spirits. To the first category belong scratches, cuts, bruises, wounds, insect bites, burns, shoulder pains after carrying heavy loads, and muscle pain after long hikes and climbing mountains. There are many kinds of grass and thorny plants in the forest, like rattan, on which the Mangyans, going barefooted and with little clothing, hurt themselves. With the bolo, which is used for every-

thing from shaving a man's beard to the cutting of huge trees, they sometimes chop off a piece of a finger or cut themselves in the leg. But all these things they see as happening to themselves or done to themselves; thus the Mangyans say: "*nakikita mo na iyan; ikaw din ang gumawa nito*" (you see it happening to yourself; you did it to yourself). These things will heal very soon and are usually not a hindrance to daily work. If, however, somebody falls, sprains his foot or breaks an arm or a leg, then this is not a simple thing anymore. It is believed that the *bukaw* has pushed the person, causing him to fall (*tinulak siya ng bukaw*). If wounds become infected and painful, then the *bukaw* is at work.<sup>1</sup>

Herbal remedies are used for the first as well as for the second category of sicknesses. While it is sufficient for the first, it is only a help for the second category, for which in addition the *balaonan* (medicine man) is needed and recourse is made to offerings and divination.

#### HERBAL TREATMENT AND OTHER PRACTICES

Sicknesses known to the Alangan Mangyans are relatively few compared to today's knowledge and classification of diseases. The most feared sicknesses are dysentery, measles, flu, and *panyakit* (ulceration of the skin). Still today, with the exception of *panyakit*, many die of these diseases. Other sicknesses mentioned by the informants are diarrhea, headache with vomiting, stomachache, cough, painful throat, scabies, *buni* (fungus infection), sore eyes, toothache, and rheumatism.

Herbal treatment serves as a kind of first aid to all sicknesses. Cuts, scratches, bruises, and wounds are treated with spittle from the chewing of betel nut (*Areca catechu* L.). Chewed together with the betel nut are *mamin* (*Piper betle* L.), tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum* L.), and lime. The spittle burns on wounds, the Mangyans say. Another remedy is spittle from chewed ginger (*Zingiber officinale* Rose). *Kalamansi* (*Citrus microcarpa* Bunge) juice is also used if available. Big cuts and wounds that bleed are treated with *bukasnay* and *damong kambing* leaves that are crushed, mixed

1. *Bukaw* are evil spirits that live on earth in forest thickets, mountain tops, in caves, trees, springs, rivers, and lakes. The *bukaw* can take the *abiyan* (soul) of a person and hide or eat it. If the *abiyan* is taken away, the person gets sick. If the *abiyan* cannot be returned to the body and is finally eaten by the *bukaw*, the person dies.

with salt, and put on the wounds to stop bleeding. The leaves of the *bangkalasan* are heated over the fire. The sap is squeezed out and put on the wounds. Big infected wounds are treated with the bark of the *saransok* tree. The bark is made into charcoal, crushed, and put on the wounds. Guava (*Psidium guajava* L.) leaves are used as a wash for wounds. For boils a shell (*pukpuki*) is heated over the fire, placed on the boil, and moved back and forth on it. It is believed that after this treatment the pus will come out easily.

For the treatment of burns, salt is chewed and the saliva put on the burns. Insect bites are also treated with saliva.

Sprains, fractures, and other bone aches are treated with *sibukao*, *tibanwa*, and *pao* (wild mango tree). Wood of the *sibukao* (*Caesalpinia sappan* Lessier) tree is shredded and boiled in water. The decoction is usually taken internally and applied externally as well. The painful limb is bathed in the decoction. The bark of the *tibanwa* and *pao* is beaten and placed over the aching part of the body. When the beaten bark becomes dry it is changed for a fresh one. Bark and wood of the *tibanwa* are also boiled in water and the water is used for bathing sprains and fractures. Aside from herbal treatment, massage is used.

Rheumatism is treated with the beaten bark of the *balete* tree. It is put over the painful part of the body and held in place with strings. Crushed leaves of *tibanwa* and *pao* are also applied to swollen joints.

For snake bites the Mangyans have no herbal remedy. The only thing that can be done is the *agbalaon* (chant) of the medicine man.

Scabies are treated with *luya* (ginger) spittle.

Buni is a fungus infection of the skin and quite common among the Alangan Mangyans. Dean Worcester, who visited Mindoro in 1887 and 1890, already noticed this disease. When writing about the Mangyans of Mindoro he said:

Many of them were suffering from fever, while others had a disgusting disease which caused their skin to turn white, crack and peel off in great flakes all over their bodies.<sup>2</sup>

A person afflicted with buni is regarded as *marumi* (dirty), but is allowed to stay with the rest of the family in the house. He is,

2. Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippine Islands and Their People* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899), p. 415.

however, not supposed to sit down with them to eat honey.<sup>3</sup> If other Mangyans are contaminated, it is not regarded as bad because nobody dies from buni. It is only a sickness of the skin, the Mangyans say. However, nobody likes to marry a person who has buni and those who have it are regarded as the most unhappy people. No remedies that really help have been known in the past for buni. If only a small area of the skin is affected, not bigger than two fingers wide, sap of the *alipunga* tree (*Gmelina philippensis* Cham.) is applied. The sap, however, causes wounds which are then treated with herbs (damong kambing and bukasnay). One informant mentioned the sap of *kamote* tips and the juice of the *akapulko* leaves (*Cassia alata* L.) but added that both are not effective. If plenty of salt is available, the body is rubbed with salt, but this does not really help either. A few years ago a physician from Calapan prescribed Sporostatin tablets. They were so effective that within a short time the news spread far into the mountains. Now young men who have buni but would like to marry come down to work in the fields of the Tagalogs to earn some money and buy Sporostatin tablets. These have to be taken for several weeks and are quite expensive. Buni still remains a great problem for those who have it.

For fever and headache, leaves of the *sambong* (*Blumea balsamifera* L.) and *simon* plants (*Melothria indica* Lauro) are boiled in water or soaked in water overnight and the decoction is taken the next day.

For headache caused by exposure to the heat of the sun, leaves of the *ambubuyay* plant (*Timospora rumphii* Boerl) are heated over the fire and then placed on the forehead. Leaves of the same plant are also used to relieve toothache and pain in the ears.

Flu is still feared very much today among the Mangyans; often it is fatal. When somebody gets the flu, the other families living in the house move out so as not to be contaminated. Visitors or passers-by are told "*kamo manragaw*" (go away, there is sickness here). The barks of *kalingag* (*Cinnamomum mercadoi* Vidal), *alibogtod*, and *tagatunao* are shredded and soaked in water overnight. The next morning the patient drinks the water. For a cough,

3. In former years honey was plentiful in Mindoro. Each family had a designated area where they watched the bees and gathered honey at a certain time of the year.

decoctions of *sambong* leaves and ginger, or from fruits of the *tagibolog* (*Languas pyramidata* Merr) are used.

The various kinds of stomach disorders connected with loose bowel movements are simply called *maskit buyon* (stomachache). As a remedy, the stem of the *lagtang* (*Arcangelisia flava* L.) and the bark of the *kalingag* tree are chopped into small pieces, mixed, and boiled with water. The bark of the *kayetana* tree (*Zanthoxylum rhetsa* Rocc. D.C.) is used in the same way. The bitter *kalingag* bark is also chewed raw. Leaves of the *amuyong* tree are eaten to relieve stomachache.

Another practice for *maskit buyon* is to burn the shells of snails and put the lime in the form of a cross on the stomach of the sick person while saying: "*mapurat, mapurat, mapurat*" (get well, get well, get well). This is done to frighten the *bukaw*.

Dysentery, as mentioned earlier, is a grave illness; hardly anybody who gets it survives. If somebody falls sick, only one member of the family stays with him; all others leave the house and go away. They may not look back, even if they are called. If they do look back, they will get sick. One person returns the next day. He may not call in front of the house, for the sickness could see him, cling to him, and be carried to other people. He therefore climbs up a tree near the house and shouts: "*Anak, buhay ka pa? Malakas ka na ulit?*" (Child, are you still alive? Are you strong again?) If he receives an answer, he will leave food at the foot of the tree to be taken by the sick person. If he receives no answer, the sick person is believed to have died. The house will be carefully avoided. On all paths leading to it two sticks are put up in the form of a cross, indicating that somebody has died in the house. The house is also sometimes burned with the corpse in it, so that others will not be contaminated.

If a person with dysentery or severe diarrhea has lived through the first night of his sickness, it is regarded as a good sign. He might not die. In spite of his great thirst, the sick is not given anything to drink. The water container is hidden from him. Due to the sickness, water or liquid is usually quickly discharged and the Mangyans, therefore, believe that it is not good to drink. The sick may eat *ipot*, a kind of bluish mountain rice, which is cooked with plenty of water. They may also take *kanala*, bananas with a red skin, roasted till they are black.

When measles break out, the families that are not stricken move out of the house, leaving behind the sick. The house is avoided and everybody is warned not to go near it. Those having to pass hide in the underbrush, so as not to be seen by the sickness which would otherwise go with them. Many, especially grown-ups, still die today of measles. In 1977, measles broke out in Tarugin, a Mangyan settlement between Arangin and Tagumpay. Overnight the whole population fled into the forest, and only a few returned later on. Dean Worcester knew about this custom of the Mangyans. In his account he says:

When a Mangyan falls seriously ill, his relatives and friends run away in fear, abandoning him to his fate. The mountain people return after a time, however, carry the body into the woods, build a bit of a fence about it, and cover the little enclosure thus formed with thatch.<sup>4</sup>

A remedy for measles is the seeds of *daua* (*Seteria italica* Beauv.). They are roasted over the fire, and eaten or mixed with water and taken as a drink. Stem and leaves of the *tanglad* (*Andropogon citratus* D.C.) are boiled in water and taken as a decoction. If these two plants are not available, tobacco seeds (*Nicotiana tabaccum* L.) are roasted and the ashes put on the body of the sick person.

Another practice for the treatment of measles is the burning of some hair of a wild cat, a deer, or a horse, or of small pieces chopped off the horns of a deer or a tamaraw. These things are placed in a coconut shell or on a stone in the house and lighted. The sick person has to bend over the smoke. The *bukaw* does not like smoke. He goes away, or he is so confused by it that he cannot see the sick person.

*Panyakit* (in Tagalog *bubas*) is another sickness that is very much feared, and for which there was no effective remedy known to the Mangyans till recently. From a big, ugly wound filled with pus, the sickness spreads over the whole body, including the face and the ears, and causes wounds similar to the first but smaller in appearance. Often children cry the whole night because of pain, and grown-ups who have it are not able to go to work. They have no appetite and lose weight quickly. All the medicine men interviewed agree that it is very hard to treat *panyakit*, because the *bukaw* does not show up in their dreams and therefore they are

4. Worcester, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 411.

helpless (*wala kaming magagawa*). This is the only sickness of which the balaonan are not sure of the cause. Since they cannot see the evil spirit in their dream, they are not sure if panyakit is caused by one of them. Aside from the universal remedy of ginger spittle, nothing can be done. The sick person is separated from the rest of the inhabitants of the house. A small compartment, just big enough for the sick person to lie down in, is added to the house. He may not enter the big house. If there are several persons sick with panyakit in the vicinity, a small hut is constructed for them in which they must stay, so that others will not be contaminated. Food is brought to them and they simply have to wait until they get well, which takes months and sometimes more than a year.

Today in places where medicine is available to the Mangyans the sick are not isolated anymore, because with penicillin they get well within a number of days.

Dizziness and fainting spells are attributed to the *Pambaten*. He is a *kablag* (spirit of a deceased ancestor). The person affected, however, will not die. To drive away the Pambaten, a piece of bark cloth or any other material easily inflammable is lit. While fanning the face of the sick person with it, a chant is recited which runs in part as follows:<sup>5</sup>

Pambaten, Pambaten, Pambaten	Pambaten, Pambaten, Pambaten
taraw, taraw, taraw.	go away, go away, go away.
Kamay siro peraw	Even if they greet you,
aperawen mga kakablaganan. . .	the ancestors greet you . . .
no ina wa in dailan Pambaten	If this is the reason for getting sick,
	Pambaten,
ina ablaw wakay.	Let it be forgotten now.
Subali't pakareregen.	If possible, make the sick person well.

For headache and stomachache (due for instance to overeating) caused by the bulag (less harmful class of bukaw), the following is done: if a person vomits water, water is taken and sprinkled in different directions while saying in part:

5. All parts of Mangyan speech here are written as the researcher perceived them. They were then checked by a Mangyan woman. Sounds for which there is no equivalent in the *Abakada* like the mutation from *o* to what in German would be *ö* and *u* to *ü* are reflected as *e*.



Bulag, bulag, bulag, bulag  
 Paningkawan, Panlibudan  
 Pansulapan, Pangiritan  
 Pangkulan, Pandimlaan,  
 paulien kanyo tiyakaw kalakuyte  
 anda wakay in lakunaw . . .

in kalakuyte kanyam wakay.

Bulag, bulag, bulag, bulag  
 Paningkawan, Panlibudan  
 Pansulapan, Pangiritan,  
 Pangkulan, Pandimlaan,  
 return the little you have stolen  
 here is something bigger offered to  
 you . . .

the smaller share leave to us.

If a person has vomited kamote or rice, these will be thrown in different directions, while the same words as above are said. The names for the bulag are not always the same from person to person.

If somebody is afraid that the bulag will throw his lance at him while he is walking through the village at night, or standing up and walking around in the house while it is dark, the person says:

Bulag bukaw  
 no siyo mameraw  
 siyogbuan baladaw  
 sa galem magdidilaw.

Bulag bukaw  
 if you greet me  
 the baladaw will pierce you  
 you will turn yellow inside [die].

#### THE BALAONAN (MEDICINE MAN)

For sicknesses attributed to the bukaw and kablag, herbal treatment does not suffice, because the evil spirits are at work and the only one who can deal with them is the balaonan. Men as well as women can become balaonan, but the women are much fewer in number. If somebody wants to become a balaonan, he approaches one with an excellent reputation as healer who, as in the case of the balaonan of the research area, is usually a relative of the one who wants to learn. He will ask for one of the balaonan's kamuruan (*ako pakanen kaymo kamuruan*). The kamuruan are good spirits. They live on the mountains of Singgitan, Siyaldang, Lubang, Pagbahan, and others. They have the appearance of small children, and the smaller they are, the better. One balaonan said that babies who die before they suck their mother's milk become the most powerful kamuruan. All other informants said the kamuruan have never been men, unlike the kablag which are spirits of the deceased. The kumuruan are also called *bibuyen* and, according to two informants, the Tagalog equivalent might be *diwata* or

*engkanto*. The *paldamigan* are kamuruan that had been evil spirits, but were converted and have become good spirits. Each balaonan has his own kamuruan. They might be as many as fifty, but only two or three out of these are really good and do the work, the others are only companions and servants (*mga kasama at mga utusan lang sila*). If a balaonan who is asked how many kamuruan he has will give any number from two to seven, one can be sure that he is a good balaonan. All balaonan interviewed said they have three kamuruan, except for one who said he has seven. If a balaonan says he has twelve or more, he is *mayabang* (boasting) and is not a good healer. Kurot of Paitan told the researcher he has one kamuruan for healing sick people, one for telling him what herbal medicine to use, and one for personal protection, so that he does not get sick if the bukaw attacks him. The balaonan calls his kamuruan at night in his chant called *agbalaon* (in Tagalog *mag-mamarayaw*). The kamuruan has to fight with the evil spirits, free the *abiyan* of the sick persons, and get the medicine from the bukaw.<sup>6</sup>

Someone who wants to become a balaonan, therefore, has to acquire a kamuruan which he asks from a balaonan. The latter will exhort the candidate: "*kao ayaw agpadaug sa sukso kamay bawa nakay pagkagbaian no iewud kaymo babai*" (whoever the woman may be, do not give in to temptation if she is not your wife). For the following eight nights the candidate may not sleep, nor fool around with women. He has to chant continuously. Should he fall asleep or go to a woman other than his wife, the balaonan will tell him: "*kao diag ayaw agpamaren*" (you may not sing anymore). The balaonan knows through his dream whether the candidate sleeps or does what he is supposed to do. If the candidate does not pass this test, he may never try again for his whole life. Having done well, he may continue chanting during the night. Once in a while the balaonan will inquire if the candidate sees him in his dream. For the candidate seeing the balaonan in his dream means that a kamuruan has come over to him. This kamuruan, if pleased with the conduct of the candidate, will then look for more companions.

6. The informants could not describe what this medicine (*gamot*) is. They only say that since the bukaw has inflicted the sickness, he alone has the medicine to cure it.

It takes at least three years before a candidate can start to treat people.<sup>7</sup> These three years are devoted to the acquisition of kamuruan, which have to be attracted by chanting every night. What will first appear to the one who practices are big people (*mga malalaking tao*) who are not kamuruan but bukaw. The candidate has to continue his chanting till he sees the real kamuruan, who look like babies or small children. If he would start treating the sick while he still sees the big people, which are evil spirits, the sick would die.

The Mangyans believe that during this time the candidate has to face many temptations, and he may not succumb to them, not even after the three years. He may not steal or violate any law, because then the kamuruan will get angry with him and not show themselves to him in his dream, but will leave all together. If the Mangyans see their balaonan steal bananas or other things, they will lose confidence in him. Kurot, a balaonan of Paitan, told the researcher that he did not remarry after his wife died, in order to be a good balaonan and not be exposed to temptation.

The balaonan must also be a friendly and kind person. He may not get angry or quarrel with people, shout at them or use harsh words, for then the kamuruan will leave him and he will become ineffective. The balaonan of the research area are respected men of their communities. Some have been headmen and one is a barrio councilor; however, they do not aspire for such positions or mingle in political affairs. Like everyone else, they work in their *kaingin* during the day to get their daily food. Bartolome, the best balaonan of Paitan, said he considers his being a balaonan as a service. When he sometimes visits his relatives in the mountains and feels that somebody in Paitan needs him, he leaves at once and returns home to help the sick, although he would like to spend more time with his relatives. Other balaonan told the researcher that it is a sacrifice for them to attend night after night to the sick, instead of sleeping peacefully at home.

It takes seven to twelve years for a candidate to become a good balaonan. Very much depends on the first case he treats. If he is successful, then he has the confidence of the people, but if the person dies, the balaonan will never be approached again.

7. One year consists of ten full moons.

For his service the balaonan usually does not charge anything, but he accepts presents, mostly in the form of sweet potatoes, bananas, or rice. If the kamuruan tells him in his dream to ask for a bolo, a *limonmon* (a piece of red cloth worn by the women) or a pig, he will do so. All the balaonan interviewed insisted that they only ask for such things when the kamuruan tell them to ask. However, they said, there are also boastful (*mayabang*) kamuruan who tell the balaonan to ask for things that have a big value, for example, a carabao or a kaingin. Such kamuruan are not considered good, and nobody likes to be treated by a balaonan who has such kamuruan. The sick person or his family will try by all means to provide the things asked for, so that the balaonan will continue to assist the sick person. It is usually not until a considerable improvement is noticeable in the sick person's condition that the balaonan is told by the kamuruan to ask for a gift.

When a balaonan becomes old he stops treating people. Kurot told the researcher that he is not practicing anymore because he is now old, has no more strength and sleeps at night ("*matanda na ako; wala na akong kaya; natutulog na lang ako sa gabi*"). It is believed that the bukaw also takes the abiyan of the balaonan and that he, therefore, becomes weaker the older he gets. Kurot has given his kamuruan to his son Virgilio who is starting to learn the agbalaon now. It is simply a matter of fact that an old balaonan does not treat people anymore, although he might occasionally do so for a member of his immediate family.

The balaonan usually goes in the evening to a sick person, because during the day he cannot call for the kamuruan, who come out only at night. He asks the patient about his sickness. ("*Nakay kaymo maskit?*") The latter describes the pain he has. Then the balaonan asks the patient where he had been when the sickness started (*kung saan ang pinagmulaan ng sakit*). He does this so that his thoughts will be fixed on that place when he starts to dream in the evening (*doon na pumupunta ang kaisipan kung mangarap sa gabi*). The patient tells where he had been — in his kaingin, near a certain cave or tree, a spring or river. The evil spirit is found in one of these places, or the kamuruan can at least trace the way he took from there, carrying with him the abiyan of the person who is now sick.

Then the balaonan performs the *agpanluya* (ginger ceremony). He asks for a piece of luya (ginger), and if there is none available in the house he takes a piece from his *sukluban* (small rattan bag). He always carries some pieces with him, for he prefers fresh and young ginger. He bites into it, chews it, and says:

Kao pagluya	You ginger <sup>8</sup>
kao kangay suguan	I am sending you
Kao suguan ista sa manampalas	You are sent to the evildoer
kagwalite tito	[go] like a dog
kagwalite buyok	like a pig
kagwalite tamaraw	like a tamaraw
kagwalite baya	like fire
agpatulad Mangyan.	like a Mangyan.
Kao pautugda luya	You, my gingerplant,
kao suguan ista wa	you are sent there
pangagaken kamay sano,	catch him [the evildoer]
sumaog kamay sa galem dia,	even if he is hiding under the earth,
kamay sumaog sa langit,	even if he hides in heaven,
kamay saripay dagat,	even on the other side of the sea,
talmaen, pangagaken in atay	reach him, catch up with him the one
manampalas	who inflicted sickness here
kamay tiyungtong wa siba wa.	even if he is already cooked [referring to the abian already roasted.] <sup>9</sup>
Kao pagluya, kao piagamot;	You, ginger, you are the one to heal;
magamot in maskit.	heal the sick.
Kao kumayat kangay bibi.	Burn on my tongue.
No igbatay magamot,	if he [the sick] cannot be healed,
kao ayaw kumayat,	don't burn [my tongue],
katao tubig,	be like water only.
Kao suguan	You are sent
kao ayaw agpabaribid sa tam-	do not waste time on the way to the
palasan.	evildoer.

This ceremony can also be done by other persons and during the daytime. But if the balaonan starts treatment, he repeats the *agpanluya*. If the luya does not burn on the balaonan's tongue but is like water in his mouth, it is a sure sign that he is losing — the sick person will die. (*"Iyan ang aming palatandaan kung hindi*

8. Ginger is personified (*tao din iyan*).

9. According to the Mangyans, the abian is as delicious for the bukaw as the meat of the pigs is for the Mangyans. They believe that the bukaw sometimes cooks or roasts the abian before eating it.

*kumagat ang luya, talo ang manggagamot, mamamatay ang may sakit.*”) If, however, the luya burns on his tongue like pepper, the sick person will get well again.

Then the balaonan takes luya spittle and rubs the part of the patient's body where the pain is felt, for example, the forehead, the stomach, and the back. He makes a fist, places it where the pain is felt, and blows through the hole in it. He then exchanges some friendly words with the sick or members of the family, and he might tell them that the luya burned like pepper on his tongue and the sick person will get well again. If a person is seriously ill, he stays in the house and sleeps there. Sometimes the sick are brought to the balaonan's house and remain there till they are well.

After the evening meal the balaonan starts the agbalaon to call his kamuruan. The agbalaon consists of verses that are chanted. They contain conversations among the kamuruan themselves and the balaonan and the kamuruan. The balaonan asks for their help and challenges or exhorts them to do what they are supposed to do. Some balaonan face a corner of the house, others just sit down on the mat. Each balaonan has his own verses handed down to him. Bartolome of Paitan said that the balaonan must know the language of the bukaw and it is therefore hard for the Mangyans to understand what exactly the balaonan is chanting.

If a balaonan has practiced healing for several years he does not need to chant long, because his kamuruan are used to him and will be present as soon as he takes luya to rub the sick person with. He then goes to sleep and waits for the dream. The dream is more important than the chanting. He sees lightning in his dream and then the kamuruan appear to him. He sends them to look for the bukaw, and they follow the scent of the luya which has gone ahead to search for the tampalasan. The bukaw sometimes ties the abiyen or puts him into the *ulbo*, a kind of prison or cage. He might even have started to eat the abiyen already. If the jawbones of the abiyen are not covered with flesh anymore, the bukaw has started to eat him and it is hard for the kamuruan to bring back the abiyen of the sick person.

The balaonan also consults his dream. If he sees the person he is treating, falling trees or stones, a chicken flying through the house, a pig being led away, a frying pan or cooking pot with a hole in it, or the stones of the fireplace falling through the floor

of the house to the ground, these are bad dreams and the patient will die. Examples of good dreams are: trees and stones remaining in their places, a pig being returned again, a flying chicken caught, articles that have fallen down being picked up immediately, and persons other than the one being treated appearing to the balaonan. All these are good dreams and the patient will get well again.

The next morning the balaonan informs the sick person and his family about the dream. If he had a bad dream he says: "*ako daud taynub; igbatay maauraw in maskit; kalakuy wa inayangon*" (I had a bad dream; the sick person will not be healed; it seems he is getting small). If he had a good dream he says: "*ako maalen taynub; ayaw agkariaban; ina igbatay matay, pagpanagaen guribas*" (I had a good dream; do not be afraid; this one [the sick] will not die; wait until he gets well later on).

After a bad dream, and especially when the balaonan had been told that the bukaw is stronger than the kamuruan, the balaonan suggests that the sick person be transferred to another balaonan. The sick or his relatives may also wish to ask the help of another balaonan, if they see that there is no improvement in the patient's condition. In both cases the two balaonan will first exchange a piece of luya. This is done so that the kamuruan of the two balaonan will not quarrel with each other.

The kamuruan also informs the balaonan when the sick person will get well again. This might be after two, three, five, seven, or more days, weeks or months. If at the designated time no improvement is noticed, the balaonan might continue his treatment or transfer the sick to another balaonan. The balaonan can be changed many times.

If a sick person, after not eating for one or two days, begins taking food again, it is a good sign. If the sick person does not eat for five days or longer, it is considered bad. Should he then ask for food and eat a little, there is still hope, but should he eat plenty, it will be his *baon* (food on the way) and a sure sign that he will die. The sick person is given as much as he wants. No effort is made to control the amount he eats, for that is his portion (*iyan ang kanyang kabahagi*).

The balaonan can treat more than one person at a time. He will perform the *agpanluya* for each of the sick, but one dream is enough for all. If it is a bad dream, he will see the next morning

whose condition among those being treated has worsened. The same holds true for a good dream. Pregnant women are included in the agbalaon (from the time of the pregnancy until after the birth of the child when the umbilical cord has dried up).<sup>10</sup>

The balaonan show great perseverance in treating the sick. Uruno from Paitan has treated a mentally sick woman for four years. Now she is well again.

The balaonan does not have to be with the sick person when performing the agbalaon. He can do it even if the person is far away from him.

### CEREMONIES

Aside from the agpanluya, which has already been described because it is an integral part of the balaonan's treatment (even though it can also be done by a member of a family), there are other ceremonies performed for the sick, like the *agpamana* (shooting of arrows to hit the evil spirit), the *agpansawut* (a solemn promise), the *agpansula manok* (the killing of a chicken), and the *agpansula buyok* (the killing of a pig). The latter two are connected with divination.

#### THE AGPAMANA (THE SHOOTING OF ARROWS)

The agpamana<sup>11</sup> is performed to threaten, chase away, or hit the bulag. A person might be suddenly attacked by a strong headache, stomachache, or other severe pain caused by a bulag. A member of the family quickly makes a bow and arrow from bamboo or *bikal* (a kind of bamboo), *talahib* (grass), and rattan. The arrows are not pointed at one end but split. This has to be so as to hit the evil spirit. At least seven arrows are made and shot one after the other out of the window, the door, through the holes on the floor of the house or any other opening. The shooting of the arrows may also be done outside the house or in the forest. It may continue for an hour or longer, but there must always be seven arrows shot in succession in different directions

10. Mangyan women know they are pregnant when the child moves in the womb. From then on they count five months to the birth of the child.

11. See Marcelino N. Maceda, "A Brief Report on Some Mangyans in Northern Oriental Mindoro," *Unitas* 40 (March 1967): 147.



and only one person shoots at a time. When shooting the arrows the following is said in a loud voice:

Tigkasan!	Hit him [the bulag]!
Tumuloy kao sa buyon in mananampalas.	Go to the stomach of the evildoer.
Tigkasan!	Hit him!
Kao ayaw agpabaribid.	Don't be tardy on your way.
No nakay pagtao in mananam-palas	Whoever is the evildoer
tumama ka sa buyon	hit him in the stomach
katao daan in kanyam	in the same way as our
maskit.	sickness has hit us.

When the seventh arrow is shot the following is shouted in a loud voice:

Mangonuran wakay kao!	May you perish!
Katao daan kao in mananamampalas.	because you are the evildoer.

If there is an improvement in the patient's condition, it is believed that the bulag is hit or frightened away.

After the shooting of the arrows, one of the elders in the house takes a piece of wood from the fireplace and ties it to a beam in the wall or the roof, saying:

Kao piagbarakus	You, evil spirit, are being tied.
No igkay maal kao,	If you are not kind,
igbatay pialpas nguna daan.	you will not be released now.
Paaurawen wa is maskit.	Make the sick person well.
No igkay maaauraw,	If he will not recover
kaymo sag in lakunaw	you will soon be very
apo maskit.	sick.

After this the sick person sleeps; when he wakes up, he will be well again.

#### THE AGPANSAWUT (THE PROMISE)

Sometimes when a sick person, especially a child, does not seem to recover, a solemn promise is made to the *taga* Badbadan, a goddess who has only one ear (*bangig talinga*). When asked why

the taga Badbadan has only one ear, Basilio from Sangilen explained that this is so that she may receive well the promise made to her, keep it in mind, and not let it escape through the other ear.

Most often a pig is promised to be offered, but other things, like a blanket, a piece of red cloth, a G-string, or a bolo might also be promised. Usually the father of the family makes the promise. The taga Badbadan has her dwelling in the rising sun, and so the agpansawut is held in the morning at sunrise. The head of the family goes to the door or the window of the house facing the rising sun. He takes two lids of cooking pots or similar things and clashes them together. Then in a loud voice he shouts out his promise: <sup>12</sup>

Mamarangoy wa in Badbadan!  
 Ako nguna agpansawut wa.  
 Nguna ayaw wakay apo maskit  
 anda te pang Mangyan.  
 Anda te pang Mangyan piang-  
     maskitan  
 ayaw wakay piangmaskit.  
 Nguna kami agpansawut wa,  
 nguna pag-umaga  
 pagagitalo ibeng.  
 Mamarangoy wa taga Badbadan!  
 Malbad wakay in maskit  
     nguna daan.  
 No anda dapoy wakay,  
 nguna daan ako agpamangkit wa  
     buyok  
 No dapoy wa in maskit,  
 nguna daan adko aglabo wa.  
 Ako agpamangkit wa in buyok.  
 Guribas kita maltagbo wakay.  
 Wara ina wa in kantam usapan:  
 Kangay agpangako in taba  
 piagislen sa ulu.  
 Ina wa in kantam usapan.

Badbadan, may you listen!  
 I am making now a promise.  
 Don't let this Mangyan now  
 be sick anymore.  
 This Mangyan who is sick now  
 don't let him be sick any longer.  
 Now we make a promise,  
 now this morning as the  
 sun rises.  
 Listen, taga Badbadan!  
 Take away now the sickness.  
 As soon as the sickness will be gone,  
 I will look for a pig.  
 As soon as the sickness has disap-  
     peared,  
 I will go down [leave the house].  
 I will look for a pig.  
 Later on we will meet again.  
 Let this be our agreement:  
 My promise is to place  
 the fat [of the pig] on the head  
     [of the child].  
 This is our agreement.

12. The following promise was made by Basilio of Sangilen whose child had the flu.

If the sick person gets well and remains so, the promise is fulfilled after a year. Sometimes it is done earlier. Very much depends on how fast the pig or article promised can be secured. Often the Mangyans work first in the fields of the Tagalogs to get a pig as payment for their labor, or they borrow money to buy one. When they are ready, the family prepares for the fulfillment of the promise. The pig is killed or the article promised is prepared. Some meat of the pig or the promised article is placed on that part of the person's body where the pain was felt when he was sick, for example, the head, or the stomach. The head of the family announces the fulfillment to the taga Badbadan. He says:

Ano wa te in Kapwan Pansawutan	Now Lord, receiver of the promise,
kita wa maltagbo nguna pag-umaga.	I am meeting you this morning.
Nguna pag-umaga kita wa maltagbo.	This morning I am meeting you.
Anda wa in kantam tanguna pulungan.	Here is now what we agreed upon before.
Ako pagpaniwalaen wakay kao.	May you believe me
Anda wa te piagpaislen sa ulo in taba.	This fat is now placed on the head [of the child]. <sup>13</sup>
Nguna daan kao marangoy wa, mangkit wa.	May you now listen, may you look here.
Kao iewud kangay biusli.	I am not fooling you.
Ayaw wakay ngaro piagulian maskit in apo maskit.	Don't let the one who was sick fall sick again.
Ayaw wa agulianen.	Let him not be afflicted anymore.
Usay, no ako agpansawut, ako paniwalaen.	And when I make a promise again, believe me.
Katao kao iewud biusli.	Because I on my part did not fool you.

The person who has recovered from a sickness may not eat of the meat or fat that was offered, or in case of clothing or other articles, he may not use them. They are given according to the promise to the balaonan or the elders of the house. If the fat was offered, other members of the family may eat it; the person who

13. In this case Basilio had promised to offer the fat around the intestines of the pig to the taga Badbadan. The fat is even more precious than the lean meat of the pig. It is placed on the head of this child who got well, because the child had the flu and was suffering from headache.

recovered may eat from the other meat of the pig, but not from what was offered. The meat is shared with all the families in the house. There are variations depending on the promise. If, as in Basilio's case, the fat is offered to Badbadan, some meat can be kept for the following day. If the promise was that all meat will be consumed by the afternoon, all must be consumed at the designated time. What ever has not been eaten is buried in the ground. If somebody still eats after the set time, he will get sick.

If the promise was that the meat will be eaten in the house where the promise is fulfilled, nobody may take meat home; otherwise, the one who eats will get sick.

According to the Mangyans, the meat does not taste good even if the pig that was killed was a strong and healthy animal. It is as if the sickness of the person has transferred to the pig.

#### THE AGPANSULA MANOK (THE KILLING OF A CHICKEN)

When somebody is seriously ill, a chicken is killed. The help of *Agalapot*, the supreme being who made heaven and earth and the Mangyans and to whom everything belongs, is implored, as well as the help of the taga Badbadan. Another purpose of the agpansula is to find out if the sick person has a chance to survive or if he will die.

The agpansula manok is performed by the balaonan or the elders of the house to which the sick person belongs. It is usually held in the evening or at night. The neighbors are invited to come over and join the sick person and his family in the performance of the ceremony. The one who presides over the ceremony usually sits beside the sick person on the mat. He takes the chicken and, after everyone has settled in the dimly lighted hut, the ceremony begins. He takes with one hand the right wing of the chicken while holding the chicken in his left hand and strikes continuously with the wing and the spread feathers the painful part of the patient's body. He exhorts everyone present to join him in his petitions.

This can go on for more than fifteen minutes, until the one presiding and the participants are tired. Then the chicken is put down on the mat and the participants are informed that it will be killed. After getting everyone's consent, the neck of the chicken is cut and the blood gathered in a coconut shell (*lisap*). Then the balaonan or the person presiding examines the blood and passes the coconut shell around for all to look at the blood. If the blood

becomes stiff right away and no lumps (*bugal*) are seen in it, it is a good sign (*maalen anda*), but if the blood remains watery with clots and lumps in it, it is a bad omen.

Then the chicken is opened and the intestines are examined. The *panagaen* is the u-shaped part of the intestines near the stomach. It is held in u-shape by the skins of fat with some solid fat in the middle of the u. If the fat clings to either side of the intestines, or if the intestines are very close together and the fat soft, it is a sign that the sick person will die. After everyone has taken a look at the *panagaen* and given his comments, the one presiding declares that the ceremony is ended. He cuts the chicken into pieces and puts them into the pot to be cooked and eaten.

Some feathers of the right wing of the chicken are kept in the hut. They are placed into what the Mangyans call the *barakus in arigi* (the rattan strips with which posts are tied together), where a corner post of the hut and the post on which the roof rests meet. When placing the feathers there the following is said:

Pakarigenen in buay.	Strengthen the life.
Karigen daan anda pagkalyungan.	Make it as strong as this hut.
Anda nga ay pagkalyungan	Even if the storm passes
ay kamay bawa dialan bagyo	over this hut
na igbatay mapukan.	he cannot destroy it.
Anda ay marigen gayud te	Make life deliberately lasting
anda ay tiyadiok	never mind
kamay bawa dialan nakay pagyangaw	whatever will happen
anda marigen	make it lasting
igbatay maligan.	so that it will not be shaken.
Kaya kadayute tukuan budang	And up to my youngest child
ay katao daan anda	may all be strong like this
pagarige wara agarigian.	post, till they can support
	themselves.

The feathers are to remind the *bukaw* not to enter again this hut, in case he should come back to look for the sick person.

There are some variations in the *agpansula manok*. The chicken is not always killed. After the first part of the ceremony, the one who presides, instead of killing the chicken, takes it and throws it out of the window or the door shouting: "*mabuwau wa, mabuwau wa!*" (be driven away, be driven away). The Mangyans believe that by this the *tampalasan* is driven away with the chicken. If the chicken runs away when reaching the ground, it is a good sign, but if it returns to the house, the *tampalasan* will also return. The cere-

mony is frequently performed this way for children, while for adults the chicken is killed.

The blood of the chicken, instead of being gathered in a coconut shell, is sometimes allowed to drip slowly on a wound or swollen part of the body. The blood stains are not removed for weeks, until the sick person has recovered.

#### THE AGPANSULA BUYOK ( THE KILLING OF A PIG )

This ceremony is usually performed for persons that have been sick for quite sometime and are seriously ill. Their recovery is doubtful. The relatives decide to hold the agpansula and announce it days before it is held. For the agpansula buyok the balaonan is present and presides over the ceremony. Everybody in the neighborhood or the village is invited to join in the petitions and after that, in the eating of the pig. An atmosphere of excitement prevails on the day itself, especially among the children and younger members of the community.<sup>14</sup>

The pig is brought into the house and placed beside the sick person. The balaonan starts the petitions, calling on Agalapot and taga Badbadan as in the agpansula manok. Everybody present joins in. Then a bolo, an ax, if available, and pieces of iron that have been picked up in the vicinity of Tagalog houses or are kept by the balaonan are placed on the pig. The balaonan says:

Sula, sula, sula,  
pangkasulaan, pangkasulaan.

Kami paniwalaan wakay kantam  
Agalapot

Kami nguna agpansula,  
agpanrigen kanyam bilog.  
Saano wa in taga Badbadan?  
Mamarangoy, kao iewud pagbusli,

parigen, paglandog,  
pakapiaen in buay.  
Anda pagbuyok iud iulpi.  
Kao biadan maal, ayaw apo daut.

Sula, sula, sula,  
We are petitioning, we are  
petitioning.

May our Agalapot look upon us.

We are holding the agpansula,  
give strength to our bodies.  
Where is taga Badbadan?  
May she listen, she is not being  
fooled,

make it like iron, make it  
strong, the life.  
This pig is not a small thing.  
You are well paid, don't let bad  
things happen.

14. Nowadays the Mangyans seldom eat meat. This alone is an event.

The sick person has to sit on the pig, or if this is not possible, he places at least his hand on the pig. The balaonan continues:

No iewud agkatay ayaw agpamangwad panagaen.	If the sick will not die, don't let the intestines look bad.
No iewud agkatay ayaw agpamangwad bungal.	If the sick will not die, don't let the bugal be there.
Saano wa kanyam Agalapot?	Where is our Agalapot?
Anda wa in kanyam pagpanrigen.	This is to ward off sickness.
No kao iewud agkatay pagkaalenan in panagaen	If the sick will not die let the intestines look nice.
Nguna kami agpansula.	Now we are holding the agpansula.
Kami paniwalaen.	Look upon us.

The participants are sometimes invited to sit on the pig or put their hands on it, so that they will not become sick either. This was done once in Paitan after gastrointestinal flu and whooping cough had broken out. An agpansula was held after twenty people, mostly children, had died. Three pigs were used for an agpansula, and everyone in the village had to sit on one of them or lay his hand on it, while the balaonan and elders took turns in shouting out the petitions as loud as they could, till they were exhausted.

Then the pig is killed and the intestines are examined. While the petitions have their value, the examination of the intestines is more important for the agpansula buyok, because the main purpose is to find out if the sick person is going to die or if he will live. Soft intestines that stick together somewhat and have many bugal (little knots or outgrowths) around them and in the fat in which they are embedded are an indication that death is near. This is very sure. One balaonan told the researcher that, even if the sick person is still brought to the hospital in town and ten doctors attend to him, he will return as a corpse. This they have experienced many times. There is nobody who can help and nothing that can be done anymore. The sick person accepts these facts and prepares himself for death (*lagay na ang loob*).

Then the pig is cut into pieces and boiled and everyone present receives a piece of meat. With this the agpansula is ended.

There are other occasions when an agpansula buyok is held. As a remedy or to ward off the impending evil caused by the *Pab-lauen*, a pig is killed. A serious offense must have been committed, for instance, unfaithfulness in marriage, to call for an agpansula

buyok: it is usually held when one partner or one of their children gets sick or loses weight without any other obvious reason for it. The person who committed the offense has to relate the whole story in front of those present and promise not to sin anymore (*hindi na uulitin ang kasalanan*). The elders of both partners have to be present. They too ask that the bad words spoken and deeds committed be forgiven and forgotten. After the agpansula the person who got sick will get well, if the sickness was due to the bad words spoken and to the sin committed; for the agpansula made up for this.

Sometimes the Mangyans might want to find out if the place where they are staying is still a good place to live, or if sickness or other misfortunes are coming. They hold an agpansula. If the intestines look bad, the pig will be eaten in haste, and early the next morning all families move out of the house and build a new one somewhere else. This is still a common practice among the Mangyans in the mountains but not anymore among those living in settlements or villages.

During planting season, especially when mountain rice is planted, which is something special for the Mangyans, an agpansula is held. Here the petitions are for a good and plentiful harvest. If the intestines of the pig are large, the year will be a good year with plenty to eat, but if they are small, the harvest will be meager and there will be hunger.

#### CHARMS AND OBJECTS

There are some plants and barks that are used to protect the bearer against sickness and to drive away the *tampalasan*. They are usually wrapped in a piece of barkcloth, abaca, or cloth and worn around the neck.

The most popular charm is a piece of luya which is wrapped in barkcloth and worn around the neck, especially by babies and small children. The *bukaw* will not come near them if he smells the luya.

Also frequently used for babies and small children is *amuyong* (*Goniothalamus Amuyon Merr*). Like luya, it is wrapped in barkcloth or the like and worn as *bugway* (amulet) to prevent children from getting colds, coughs, and other sicknesses. Sometimes luya and *amuyong* are mixed. If the child gets sick anyhow, the mother



will remove the bugway until the child is well again. Amuyong is very fragrant.

A piece of the bark of the *sinukuan* tree wrapped in cloth or abaca is worn as bugway to frighten away all kinds of sicknesses. It is also worn to prevent people from scolding the bearer.

Two pieces of a small branch of the *anroros* tree are put together in the form of a cross, tied to a string, and worn around the neck to frighten the *tampalasan*.

A piece of *banaog* is worn around the neck, especially to frighten the *Bantilaos* (evil spirit). It is also very effective against other evil spirits. The hair of a wild cat (*musang*) or of a mane or tail of a horse is wrapped in cloth and worn around the neck to prevent the *tampalasan* from coming near the bearer.

*Tagibolog* (*Languas pyramidata* Merr) and *gulgoy* (*Laportea meyeniana* Wart) are used to frighten the *bukaw*. A piece of the stem of the *tagibolog* is hung near the door of the house. The smell of the plant drives away the *bukaw*. The person hanging it says: *kao mabulet in tampalasan*" (make the *tampalasan* blind).

The *gulgoy* (in Tagalog, *lipa*) has big hairy leaves. One gets skin rashes from touching them. The skin becomes red, burns, and is itchy, and the itchiness spreads over the whole body. The leaves of the *gulgoy* are even carefully put out of the way of pigs, chicken, cats, and dogs because they can die after stepping on or touching them. A piece of the stem or the root of the *gulgoy* is put on paths leading to the house. If the *bukaw* comes near and sees the *gulgoy*, he will start to tremble and go away.

Objects used to frighten the *tampalasan* are *buho* (a kind of bamboo), the *baladaw* (a dagger-shaped piece of wood or bamboo), and the skull of a monkey.

Several pieces of *buho* are taken and split on one end. The other end is put into the ground. When the wind passes through the split ends of the *buho*, it makes a noise which frightens the *tampalasan*. Several pieces are put up around the house.

The *baladaw* has a charcoal design on it. The *baladaw* used in Paitan are about sixteen inches long. Several *baladaw* are prepared before a woman gives birth. As soon as the child is born, they are suspended from the floor of the house and left hanging there till the umbilical cord is dried up; then they are removed. They are a protection against the *langguayen* (a *bukaw* that snatches babies and causes miscarriage) and the *kablag* who could

bring sickness or take away the baby. It is the black design on the baladaw that frightens the talampasan.

In Sangilen the baladaw is only about six inches long, but in shape and design the same as in Paitan. As soon as the child is born, the baladaw is suspended from the beam of the roof inside the house and it remains there till the child is big enough to play with it. As soon as the child can crawl around in the hut, the baladaw is given to him to play with. If the child drops it, and it falls through the holes in the floor to the ground beneath, it is a good sign. The baladaw is left there where it has fallen and no further attention is paid to it.

In Arangin the baladaw is used not only to ward off the langwayen and the kablag so that they will not do harm to the mother and the newly-born child, but to protect the sick and keep away the tampalasan in general. As in Paitan they are hung under the house and, while suspending them, one says: "*kao atay, aguloy atay kanyam balay*" (you are put here; ward off the tampalasan and guard our house).

The skull of a monkey is considered a powerful protection against the tampalasan. It is usually hung near the door to frighten the bukaw and the kablag and prevent them from entering. It is a protection especially against measles.

#### SOME RULES TO BE OBSERVED DURING AND AFTER SICKNESS

The Mangyans observe a number of rules during and after sickness in order to prevent a relapse. They believe that, even while the sick are being treated, the bukaw is around and watches out for the abiyen to be snatched away. Therefore the rules given below are carefully observed.

1. Sick persons may not cut their hair. If a child is sick, neither he nor his parents may have a haircut.
2. Parents are not supposed to have intercourse when their child is sick until he is well again.
3. Sick Mangyans are not allowed to take a bath during the entire duration of the sickness. If the balaonan has pronounced them healthy and allows them to leave the house, they take a bath before leaving the house for the first time. Salt and young *tamale* leaves are added to the water so that the person will not get a relapse.

4. When sick with fever or flu it is not good to eat young coconut. Taro leaves, dried fish, *bagoong* (salty fish sauce), and other salty things may not be taken in the evening, for they will aggravate the sickness and the patient may have to cough during the night.
5. A person suffering from diarrhea or dysentery may not eat eel, because it moves around in the stomach (*umiikot ng umiikot ang igat sa tiyan*) nor chicken, because it eats on the ground (*tuka ng tuka iyan sa lupa*).
6. Windows and doors are kept shut in the house where a sick person lies, so that the bukaw will not see the sick person and enter the house.
7. Shredded tamaraw horn is burned in front of the sick person, so that the smoke will envelop him. He has to wrap himself in a blanket and perspire, so that the tampalasan will not visit him during the night. The latter is afraid of smoke and perspiration.
8. When recovering, a person may not work hard, carry heavy things, walk fast, or expose himself to the cold air. The balaonan has to say when a person may get up and leave the house; the patient may ask him to be permitted to do so.
9. To prevent a relapse after a serious illness, the Mangyans, who otherwise go barefooted, will look for a pair of old shoes or slippers to be worn when leaving the house for the first time, so that the sickness will not cling again to their bare feet.
10. Some cogon grass from the roof of the house and some chicken feathers are burned and the ashes put over the body of the person who has recovered, so that he will not have a relapse.
11. After getting well, one has to avoid carefully the place where the sickness started. The tampalasan may still be there waiting for the person to return. (The headman of Paitan, who ordered a balete tree to be cut down, fell seriously ill after that, for the bukaw, whose dwelling place the headman destroyed, inflicted the sickness on him. After one year the headman was still not allowed by the balaonan to return to the place where the tree was cut, lest he fall sick again.)

## CONCLUSION

The Mangyans believe that sickness is caused by a host of evil spirits and by the spirits of the deceased who watch for an opportunity to inflict sickness. Although most of the Mangyans in this study are Christians, their lives are to a great extent still dominated by fear of evil spirits. A basic knowledge of anatomy and of health, hygiene and sanitation would lead to a more realistic approach and treatment of sickness.

Some of the herbal remedies used by the Mangyans are also utilized in other parts of the Philippines or other Asian countries, and their medicinal value has been scientifically established. Others are effective and seem to have medicinal properties, though there have been no scientific studies to document this. A study of the medicinal properties of these plants would be very useful, not only for the Mangyans but for the whole Philippines. Knowing the medicinal properties of a plant and the proper dosage will increase the effectiveness of the herbs.

Those herbal remedies that are not considered very effective, as for instance the ambubay leaves used for headache, could be mixed with other medicinal plants with similar properties and so become more effective. The Mangyans show greater readiness to use herbal remedies than to take tablets and capsules. A maximum use of the herbal resources at hand, and an acquaintance with medicinal plants used in other parts of the Philippines that can be easily cultivated in Mangyan territories, will help the Mangyans to provide for themselves to a large extent the remedies needed for the treatment of sickness, and will not make them dependent on modern medicines. As long as Mangyans live a hand-to-mouth existence, they will never be able to buy expensive medicines. Nor can they rely on donations from government and the private sector. Future research in this area will not only provide an interesting field of study, but will also be of great service to the people.

The balaonan (medicine man) plays an important role in the culture of the Alangan Mangyans. While they believe that herbal remedies help in the treatment of sickness, healing is ascribed to the balaonan, who can commune with the spirits and effect the return of the abiyan (soul) to the body of the sick. The religion of the Alangan Mangyans is centered around sickness and healing with the balaonan as its main figure.

After more than twenty years of Christianity, the balaonan still hold their positions and, as before, commune with the spirits and interpret dreams. Divination is practiced and ritual killing of animals is performed.

It seems that no real transition from their former religion to Christianity has been made. The Mangyans accepted a new faith, but have not as yet found in it something that fulfills their needs regarding sickness and healing, or something that can take the place of their former practices and ceremonies.