

THE MANOLAY CULT: THE GENESIS AND DISSOLUTION OF MILLENARIAN SENTIMENTS AMONG THE ISNEG OF NORTHERN LUZON

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FOR TWO YEARS, APPROXIMATELY 1937-1939, A MAJORITY OF THE FAMILIES in the isolated Isneg settlement of Kabuwan neglected their mountain rice fields.¹ During this period, community feasts, prompted by the hope that the people from *Untò* (a place somewhere over the sky) would attend, were held nearly every night.² The conviction reigned that, should *Enoy*, *Eyu*, *Patungágan* and any other *Untò* people choose to come, the dead ancestors would *manolay* (return to life) and believers would acquire *gamog* (the power to conceive of and simultaneously to experience the fulfilment of a material wish, in this case, an unending supply of food and drink) and obtain the services of *Kindingan* (the invincible spirit of the old people of Kabuwan). When possessed, *Kindingan* enabled a single Kabuwan man to fight and kill all the people in an enemy hamlet. Finally, after the expected *rendezvous* with the *Untò* people, everyone would lead an everlasting, labour-free existence, devoted to continuous *sayam* (a celebration characterized by dancing, drinking and the killing of, at least, one pig and one dog for food).

Two years later, when the *Manolay* cult subsided, the Kabuwan rice granaries were empty; most of the settlement's pigs, dogs, and chickens had been butchered; a large portion of the community's accumulated wealth of valuable beads, Chinese pottery, and Ilocano blankets had been exchanged for rice, and some men were forced to labour in the neighboring settlements for their family's daily ration. Despite

¹ See Morice Vanoverbergh, C.I.C.M., "The Isneg?" *Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference* 3 (1932): 15-25, for the derivation of the name Isneg and its subsequent use as a generic term for Luzon's northernmost mountain people. In this paper, the actual names of the settlements, Kabuwan, Agingan and Nakatan are not utilized.

² The orthography is based on G. Richard Roe, "Isneg Spelling," *Philippine Journal for Language Teaching* 4 (1966): 66-71. His article was written to assist literate Isneg to spell their own language. Roe, a trained linguist with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, has been collecting data in the Isneg *barrio* of Dibagat, since 1956. The alphabet contains the following letters: consonants, *b, d, g, k, l, m, n, ng, p, r, s, t, w, y*; glottal stops, *ʔ, ʔ̄*; vowels, *a, e, i, o, u*. Long vowels are spelled with an acute accent over them. As *e* and *o* are long, no accent is used. In a sequence of vowels without glottal stop, *w* and *y* are written between them, as two separate syllables are clearly heard. Double consonants also indicate a syllable boundary. The few exceptions to this spelling schema reflect regional variation between Dibagat and Agingan. For example, *h* is often used instead of *g*.

the prolonged outbreak of *Manolay* practices in Kabuwan, other Isneg settlements were less acutely affected.

The evolution of what could be termed a "mild millenarian climate" in the subprovince of Apayao and its more trenchant history in one Isneg region is the subject of this paper. The data have been arranged to highlight the contextual relationships which appear most relevant to the cult's genesis and eventual dissolution. The ideology of the cult is related to certain "traditional" Isneg myths and beliefs. The description is, of course, subject to the inaccuracy of detail and changes of perspective inherent in the thirty-year time lapse between the outset of the cult and the recent fieldwork period, at which time the factual material was collected.³

A.F.C. Wallace (1956:265) defined a "revitalization movement" as "a deliberate, organized, and conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture." Implicit in the desire to "revitalize" collective existence is a deepening sense of inadequacy regarding the efficiency of the old socio-cultural system. The many types of "revitalization movement", ranging from quiet preparations for messianic deliverance to violent revolution, are, in general, responses to varying levels of social and economic stress. They may, as in the case of the *Manolay* cult, evolve from the disruption of a relatively autonomous social system, during the course of its domination and administration by "outsiders". Guided by this general framework, the first section of the paper considers the historical context of the cult, with specific attention paid to the "traditional" life of the Isneg people and the character of alien contact they experienced with Spanish missionaries and soldiers, lowland Filipino people, and government officials appointed during the American period. Of these contacts, the more pervasive impact of the American administration stands out as the primary catalytic agent in the emergence of the cult.

At this point, a note of warning, cautioning against too complete a reliance on an "anxiety and insecurity" framework for analysis, might be usefully quoted. In a report following an international conference on religious movements, Sylvia Thrupp (1962:17) remarked:

³ This research, extending over the period from February, 1967, to January, 1968, was sponsored by a University of Western Australia Post-graduate Award. During the field work in the Philippines, my wife and I were assisted by good friends at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the United Church of Christ of the Philippines, St. Luke's Episcopal Seminary, the Anthropological Division of the National Museum, the Department of Anthropology and the Institute of Asian Studies at the University of the Philippines. I wish to thank many residents of Apayao on whose hospitality we so much depended. I am indebted to my post-graduate supervisor, Professor R. M. Berndt of The University of Western Australia. Also, during the execution of the research project, I benefited from the professional advice of Professor M. A. Jaspán of the University of Hull and Professor K. O. L. Burridge of the University of British Columbia. Dr. C. H. Berndt made many useful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

By the same reasoning it follows that our modern obsession with the themes of anxiety and insecurity should not be projected, without good supporting evidence, into the interpretation of millennial movements. A belief that the end of the world is imminent may cause excitement and call for certain decisive actions, without any spirit of anxiety. It follows also that we need not insist on finding special occasions of insecurity in the social situations in which the movements arise.

At the same time, the social "frustration" and political upheaval preceding the appearance of the *Manolay* cult, cannot be discounted. On close examination, a good deal of historical evidence as well as certain aspects of the *Manolay* ideology strongly support the cult's classification as a "revitalization movement". There are several mitigating factors which help to account for the relatively ephemeral and hesitant commitment of many Isneg to this religious movement.

Whereas alien contact may generate an environment conducive to cult formation, the specific content of such activity is selected from the ideational and social patterns available, at that time, to the society under consideration. In the case of the *Manolay* cult, the reliance of the Isneg participants on their old myths and practices, the relevant components of which are examined in the second section, highlights the contextual relationships most decisive to the cult's development. Despite centuries of intermittent Isneg contact with Spaniards and Spanish-enculturated lowlanders and, at a later stage, some thirty years of American administration, the *Manolay* goals and prescriptions for the attainment of these goals were, almost exclusively, drawn from an assemblage of seemingly pre-Spanish beliefs, the millenarian aspects of which had lain dormant until their activation by the social "frustrations" prevailing during the American period.

In this respect, the *Manolay* cult contrasts markedly with indigenous religious movements reported in other parts of Luzon: for example, the *Guardia de Honor* sect which flourished in the Ilocos provinces and Cordillera foothills. This movement, as well as the Aglipayan (Filipino Independent) Church, were most conspicuous in the interval which witnessed the erosion of Spanish control and the establishment of the sovereignty of the United States. These movements were highly nationalistic and, at the same time, consciously syncretic and "vitalistic".⁴ In their programs, the long period of intensive Spanish colonialization

⁴In the literature on the subject, there are a number of terms used to denote the different emphases found in the ideology of religious movements. This paper follows Anthony Wallace's definitions in "Revitalization Movements: Some Theoretical Considerations for Their Comparative Study," *American Anthropologist* 58 (1956): 267. "Nativistic" implies the "elimination of alien persons, customs, values, and/or material"; "revivalistic" refers to the restoration of customs and values from a by-gone era; "vitalistic" denotes the importation of alien elements into the new religious vision. A "millenarian" wish is a desire for a complete "world transformation engineered by the supernatural" and "messianic" points to the participation of a divine saviour in such a transformation.

was readily apparent. The rejection of this foreign domination was, particularly in the case of the Aglipayan Church, coupled with an organization and creed that was closely modelled on the Roman Catholic Church.

During this same period, in Luzon's interior, the *Sapilada* religion gained adherents among the Igorot groups around Bontoc. As described by Eggan and Pacyaya (1962), this religion, which is still viable in some Bontoc communities, was essentially an "accommodation", an amalgam of certain Igorot practices with lowland Christian culture. Pedro Degan, the movement's charismatic prophet, had, on a number of occasions, visited the Ilocos provinces and his personal beliefs were inspired through contact with members of the *Guardia de Honor* sect. After his conversion, Degan called for his followers to abandon their "pagan" beliefs and to worship God. Despite the severity of these instructions, the *Sapilada* "commandments", in fact, urged only slight modifications in the important Igorot life-crises and agricultural ritual and feasts.

Although such a conviction was not, in general, held around Bontoc, the Keesings (1934:231-232) found, in some Lepanto villages, a *Sapilada* belief in the return of the culture-hero, *Lumawig*. Similarly, the Kabuwan Isneg had faith in an impending visit from the *Untò* hero, *Enoy*. Likewise, Eggan and Pacyaya (1962:106-107) remarked that, in some communities, agricultural activities were suspended and the people waited for the miraculous appearance of food. Although *Sapilada* leaders were still, at the time of the *Manolay* cult, recruiting members around Bontoc, there does not appear to have been any direct transmission of such ideas into Apayao. More probably, the similarities between the movements are a product of shared mythical and social traditions rather than a recent diffusion of ideas from the Central Cordillera or the Ilocos provinces.

Like the *Sapilada* religion, the *Manolay* cult did not develop the explicitly anti-foreign attitudes characteristic of the *Guardia de Honor* sect, the leaders of which were involved in the revolution against Spain. On the other hand, the *Sapilada* ideology was a conscious "adjustment", an attempt to combine rituals from the old culture with newer Christian practices. Eggan and Pacyaya (1962:111) have noted the continuing difficulties of such a task.

As Christianization of the larger centers of Besao and Sagada progressed, the *Sapiladans* came to be considered backward and ignorant—often called *moròl*, an Ilocano term for "foolish" or "demented". As the division between pagan and Christian became sharper, the *Sapilada* members fell between—accepted by neither.

Nevertheless, contemporary *Sapilada* leaders have been equal to this challenge and, at present, their creed and ritual are closely modelled

on Christian practices. This initial "accommodation" and progressive "Christianization" of the *Sapilada* movement distinguishes it most clearly from the *Manolay* cult which, by contrast, was almost exclusively revivalistic and, to a lesser degree, nativistic in its orientation.

During the American regime, Luzon's central provinces were the stage for a series of tenant uprisings. The leaders of the *Colorum*, *Sakdal*, and *Tangulan* movements called for an end to the injustices of taxation and landlordism, independence from the United States, and the establishment of the Filipino Independent Church as the supreme religious body in the country. These political aspirations were, in many districts, infused with messianic and millenarian beliefs. For example, in the province of Tarlac, the *Colorums* (Guerrero 1967:66) awaited the resurrection of the Philippine national hero, Jose Rizal, and Felipe Salvador, a notorious bandit. In the municipality of Tayug in Pangasinan, another group of *Colorums* (Guerrero 1967:75), in an effort to issue in the millennium, killed two Philippine Constabulary officers. Although these movements closely corresponded, in terms of time, with the *Manolay* cult, they share few contextual parallels. The Central Luzon uprisings drew their inspiration from an entirely dissimilar social, economic, and political environment.

As outlined in the third section, the outward spread of the *Manolay* cult from one Isneg settlement throughout most of mountainous Apayao demonstrates how firmly its leadership and ritual were anchored in the local community. At this stage, regional autonomy had not been subverted, despite increasing inter-regional participation in municipal projects and the settlement of old disputes through "peace-pact" negotiation.⁹ This locality emphasis, coupled with the cult's ideological conservatism, alienated many of those Isneg whose world view had expanded under the influence of the mission, the schools, the constabulary and the local administration. One might suppose that, had a charismatic leader, like Degan, emerged from this more widely experienced group and, had a program of "accommodation", similar to the *Sapilada* religion, been instituted, the *Manolay* cult would possibly have enjoyed a longer and more widespread popularity. On the other hand, such a supposition most probably overrates pre-war Apayao's potential for sustaining a more progressive and vitalistic movement.

⁹ Edward Dozier (*Mountain Arbiters* [Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1966], p. 212) describes the "peace-pact" as extension of the "adjudication system already employed to deal with intraregional, intra-kindred problems" into the settlement of inter-regional disputes. The agreement is concluded at a feast characterized by boasting, debate, and compensatory payments. The integrity of the pact is vouched for by a respected and often feared leader from each region. Among the Isneg, "peace-pacts" served to ease interpersonal relations in Kabugao and to protect people travelling in formerly hostile regions. The Isneg "peace-pacts" have never been as elaborate or as politically important as their Kalinga counterparts.

Generally, it could be said that cult movements are pretty fair indicators of the rate and direction of social change in a particular locality. The conspicuous absence of syncretic elements, a most prominent feature of the Kabuwan cult, suggests, not only a conscious rejection of alien forms, but also, a relatively undiminished familiarity with old, pre-Spanish socio-cultural traditions. In other words, even as recently as 1940, many Isneg were still able to envision a social identity, comparatively free from alien influence. The content of the *Manolay* cult attests to the continued social isolation of many Isneg communities, despite centuries of sporadic Spanish contact and almost three decades of intensive American administration.

It should be noted that the *Manolay* ideology was, in addition to being revivalistic, millenarian as well. David Aberle (1962:214) has outlined the type of social predicament which might give rise to such an orientation.

I would suggest that the deprivations which form the background for the movement (millenarian) not only involve the sense of blockage to which I have referred earlier, which leads to resort to supernaturalism, but also the sense of a social order which cannot be reconstituted to yield the satisfactions desired. The millenarian ideology justifies the removal of the participants from that social order, by reassuring them that the order itself will not long continue, and frees them to indulge in phantasy about the ideal society, or to attempt to build it in isolation or through violent attempts against the existing order. The millenarian ideology justifies withdrawal, and that is its functional significance.

Denied satisfactory participation in the new order, *Manolay* believers reassured themselves regarding the meaningfulness of their former pattern of existence. At the same time, the cult's millenarian aspects, as Aberle has pointed out, indicate certain Isneg doubts about the adequacy of the old social order. Their continued subordination under the American administration and the subsequent erosion and incomplete replacement of their "traditional" values and practices encouraged a dilemma, to which withdrawal provided a temporary solution. Elements found in their pre-Spanish mythical and religious "representations" furnished the ingredients for a relatively convincing millenarian hope.

Before commencing with the description of the *Manolay* cult, the nature of the field data is briefly considered. This historical reconstruction is based on observations and informants' reports gathered by my wife and myself during a continuous seven months' residence in the isolated Isneg region of Agingan in the Kalinga-Apayao municipality of Kabugao.⁶ This particular "settlement area" was, at the time of the

⁶The trip from Manila to Agingan necessitated a twelve-hour bus ride to Laoag, the capital of Ilocos Norte; a further bus trip, via the Philippine Rabbit Line, over an often impassable dirt road to the northern Cagayan village of

fieldwork, populated by 380 persons and is roughly divided into three major "hamlet clusters"; Agingan (167), Kabuwan (94), and Nakatan (129). The Agingan "settlement area" takes its name from the largest "hamlet cluster".⁷ Nakatan is not considered in this *Manolay* description. This settlement is a recent amalgam of families from Agingan and Kabuwan who, after the war, moved downstream to secure claims to the more highly valued tracts of flat land. At that time, the provincial government stipulated that legal land title required both an official "land declaration" and the planting of fruit and coffee trees.

The accuracy of this description is necessarily circumscribed by the thirty year time-lapse as well as the place of residence of my primary informants. To clarify the latter point, during the fieldwork period we lived in the settlement of Agingan which closely borders the settlement of Kabuwan. The people of Agingan attended the *Manolay* celebrations but, unlike their Kabuwan neighbors, they did not neglect their rice fields. In general, the Agingan cult was less energetic and pervasive. However, in Kabuwan itself, I experienced great difficulty in eliciting information about *Manolay* practices. A legacy of shame, prompted by the "superstitious" complexion of these beliefs in the light of mission and school teachings, prevented open discussion of this subject. A second factor contributing to their reluctance was a sense of guilt, during the *Manolay* period, through the transgression of certain social and sexual norms. On the other hand, my Agingan informants expressed themselves freely about the *Manolay* celebrations.

Also, as seven months was not long enough to attain a real fluency in the local language, I relied primarily on informants who spoke some English. This restriction limited the depth at which I could question the oldest participants in the *Manolay* cult.⁸ Despite these

 Lucban; a day's motored-canoe ride up over the rapids of the Apayao-Abulug River to the municipal headquarters at Kabugao and then a one day's hike south, requiring sixteen river crossings, to Agingan at the base of Mount Wayan.

⁷The geo-political terminology used in this paper is as follows: A group of contiguous houses is called a hamlet or *sitio* (Spanish). A set of hamlets, each hamlet being within a relatively short walking distance from the others, is referred to as a "hamlet cluster" or settlement. There may be a number of hamlet clusters in what Felix Keesing ("The Isneg: Shifting Cultivation of the Northern Philippines," *Southeastern Journal of Anthropology* 18 [1962]: 3) called a "settlement area" a category designating a closely related population, occupying a relatively large area along the Apayao-Abulug River, the Matalag River or their tributaries. During his 1932 field trip to the subprovince of Apayao, Keesing counted 46 such "settlement areas". This same tract of land is presently divided into approximately 30 Isneg *barrio* (Spanish), the smallest modern political unit. The municipality of Kabugao, for example, contains 17 *barrios* of which Agingan is one. In some of these divisions, two or more of Keesing's settlement areas have been incorporated into one *barrio*. In this paper, the terms, region, *barrio*, and settlement area are used synonymously.

⁸Since 1917, there has been in Agingan an American-modelled elementary school, using English as the medium of instruction. I was therefore able, in most cases, to converse quite satisfactorily combining Isneg and English.

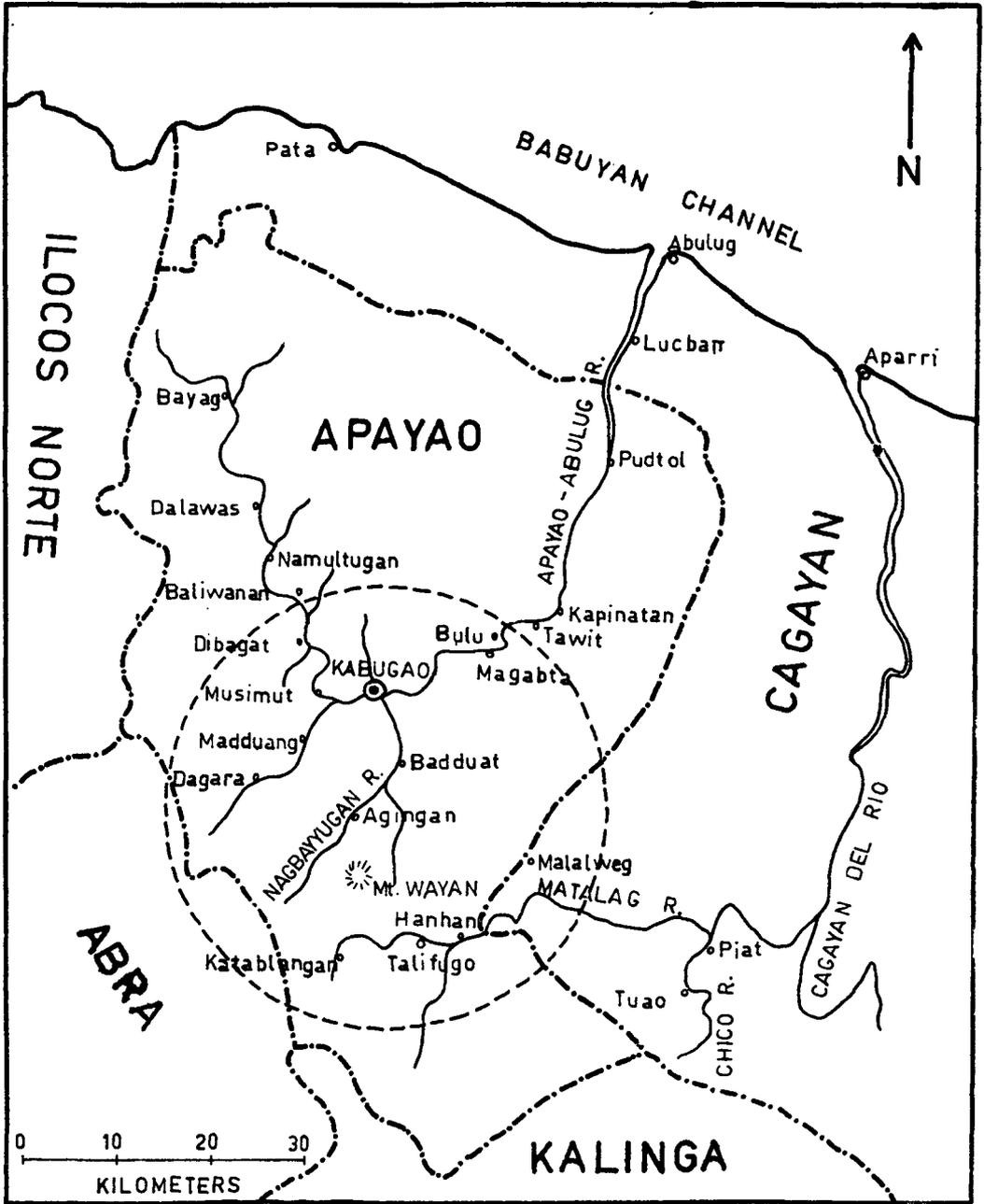


FIG. 1. SUBPROVINCE OF APAYAO

handicaps, a variety of sources substantiated the major features of the cult.

SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Isneg people, numbering approximately 14,230, are located primarily in the mountain municipalities of Kabugao and Bayag in the newly incorporated Kalinga-Apayao Province.⁹ The majority of them dwell in scattered settlements along the upper reaches of the Apayao-Abulug River which drains northward through a lowland strip of Cagayan into the Babuyan Channel. One thousand or so Isneg reside along the Baren River, one of the major tributaries of the Matalag River, in the Kalinga-Apayao municipality of Conner. The Matalag River flows eastward, joining first the Chico River and then the Cagayan del Rio.

Linguistic and cultural variations mark the different Isneg regions. Father Morice Vanoverbergh (1932:13), a pioneer Catholic missionary in the area, tentatively divided the Isneg language into two major and three minor dialects, the most important of which were what he referred to as the *O* and *Bo* dialects.¹⁰ The *Bo* dialect is spoken along the Matalag River as well as in the northern barrios of Dagara, Maragat, Lenneng, and importantly in the context of this analysis, Agingan. A 1965 study by Dycn, while substantiating Vanoverbergh's categories, further distinguished between the major dialects by labelling them separate languages. The division, in this case, was based on the percentage of shared "homosemantic cognates" in a series of basic word lists compiled by Elmer Wolfenden and William Oates of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. During my own fieldwork, I found differences in marriage custom, folklore, and death ritual which, among other items, appeared to parallel the linguistic distinctions.

Kabuwan and Agingan are neighbouring hamlet clusters along the southern-most Apayao River tributary, the Nagbayyugan. Because the Nagbayyugan is, for the most part, unnavigable, the Agingan Isneg do not participate in the extensive river trade and travel, characteristic of inter-settlement activity along the main branch of the Apayao River. *Nagbayyugan* refers to "the path along which enemy heads are displayed in bamboo containers", and the use of this word to denote the Agingan region indicates the type of hostility which existed, before pacification, between the various Isneg settlement areas. The continued warfare between Agingan and the Apayao River settlements encouraged

⁹ An additional 20 percent has been added to the total Isneg population as of the 1960 census of the Philippines (Mountain Province, Vol. 1, Part I, Table 15). During the years 1960 to 1967, the Philippine population has increased at an estimated rate of 3.2 per cent per year. The number of people in the *barrio* of Agingan grew by 21.8 per cent during this interval.

¹⁰ *o* and *bo* are variants for the Isneg affirmative particle, "yes."

the development of an extensive "no-man's land". This area has, since the end of the Japanese occupation, been populated by settlers from along the Apayao River and is known as the *barrio* of Budduat.

Despite the greater number of social similarities with the Matalag River Isneg, the people of the Agingan region have, through increased downstream trade and their inclusion in the municipality of Kabugao, been drawn into a closer relationship with the Apayao River Isneg. Some of the Kabuwan people have resisted this trend and preferred to barter their tobacco and coffee in the village of Hanhan along the Matalag River. On the other hand, the Agingan families almost always trade in Kabugao.

These trade preferences point to certain historical circumstances which, in my opinion, help to account for Kabuwan's greater receptivity to *Manolay* ideology. According to older informants, the Kabuwan people, the region's first settlers, moved into the area from the south. Formerly, they resided in a number of closely related settlements, but, during the last hundred years, a series of epidemics sharply reduced their numbers. In 1917, under pressure from the provincial government, these scattered hamlets combined at Kabuwan, a location within walking distance of the new primary school recently opened in the nearby hamlet cluster of Agingan.

The settlements of Kabuwan and Agingan are related, not by fission, but by fusion. The first Agingan families came, possibly as war refugees, from a number of neighbouring regions. They made, it was said, a peace-pact with the original settlers. A *ludag* (a long wooden drum with a deer-skin drumhead) and a *sinublan* (a metal tub used for brewing sugar cane wine) were exchanged for the privilege of making rice fields downstream from Kabuwan. Since this time, the Agingan population has increased, relative to the number of people in Kabuwan. During the Spanish period, Agingan, in order to increase its strength in war, welcomed migrants fleeing from sickness, famine, and war devastation in other regions, including those located along the main branch of the Apayao River. They have not, over the course of time, been so severely depopulated by typhoid, diphtheria, and smallpox.

The differences in origin and development have helped, despite their alliance during the days of inter-settlement warfare and a long history of intermarriage, to stamp these two communities with markedly different social temperaments. In Kabuwan, there is a distinctively more insular, introverted, and conservative climate of opinion. The Kabuwan people are, relative to their Agingan neighbours, awkward and hesitant in their relationships with outsiders. Through the years, they have shown a general reluctance to participate in social activities and employment outside the region.

In addition to my own impressions, several indices reflect the extent of Kabuwan's continued social isolation. For example, a peace-pact requires that each participant settlement provide a feast in honour of the other pact holder. Agingan has fulfilled its peace-pact obligations with Madatag, Dibagat, Baliwanan, Alisit, Dalawwas, Bulu, Ampaw, Katablangan (Matalag River) and Nabuwangan (Matalag River). On the other hand, Kabuwan has on only one occasion accepted an invitation to a peace-pact celebration outside the region. Kabuwan leaders completed a peace-pact with Nabuwangan, a Matalag River settlement, but failed to finish negotiations with the Apayao River regions of Kumao, Dibagat, and Baliwanan.

As indicated in Table I, a larger number of Agingan men have either served in the Armed Forces or Philippine Constabulary or attained a high educational standard. These achievements tend, of course, to broaden an individual's perspectives. In Isneg settlements, the opinions of such men are generally highly regarded. Although there are several cases of duplication, i.e., a man with army experience, a high school diploma, and a teaching certificate, each person is included under only one category. Table Ia tests the statistical significance of this index. Both tables include Kabuwan and Agingan men living in Nakatan.

TABLE I
ADULT MALES (OVER SIXTEEN YEARS OF AGE) WITH
A HIGHER DEGREE OR ARMY EXPERIENCE

<i>Outside Experience</i>	<i>Agingan</i>	<i>Kabuwan</i>
1. Army Veterans	6 (5)	2 (2)
2. Presently Enlisted in the Philippine Constabulary or Armed Forces	4 (2)	--
3. High School Diploma	7 (4)	1 (1)
4. Teacher College Certificate	6 (4)	--
5. University Diploma	1	--
Totals	24	3

(—) shows the number presently resident in the *barrio* of Agingan.

TABLE Ia
CHI SQUARE TEST OF ADULT MALES WITH A
HIGHER DEGREE OR ARMY EXPERIENCE

	<i>With Experience</i>	<i>Without Experience</i>	<i>Totals</i>
Agingan	24	44	68
Kabuwan	3	55	58
Totals	27	99	126

χ^2 (Using Yates' Correction) = 15.12, $p < .01$

In general, Kabuwan people are reluctant to establish social relationships outside the region. A comparison of inter-settlement marriages highlights their decidedly more insular attitude. Several Kabuwan informants expressed a preference for settlement endogamy. This same sentiment was not so resolutely articulated in Agingan. Table II shows that, in terms of inter-settlement marriage, the difference between Kabuwan and Agingan is statistically significant. The twelve marriages contracted between members of the two settlements themselves are not considered in this table.

TABLE II
CHI SQUARE TEST OF SETTLEMENT ENDOGAMY

	<i>Both Marriage Partners from the Same Settlement</i>	<i>One Marriage Partner from Outside the Agingan Region</i>	<i>Totals</i>
Agingan	22	29	51
Kabuwan	23	11	34
Totals	45	40	85

χ^2 (Using Yate's Correction) = 3.98, $p < .05$

Another variable, emerging from the examination of Kabuwan's inter-settlement marriages, re-emphasizes their difference in the formation of outside relationships. Table III indicates that most of the marriages contracted outside Kabuwan have involved a Kabuwan girl. In Agingan, this pattern is reversed. As a rule, young men take the initiative in courtship. An ardent suitor may regularly travel many miles over dark, slippery mountain trails to visit his girlfriend. These figures show that, in the majority of the cases, the Kabuwan partner has played the more passive role in such marriage arrangements. The Kabuwan *bagbagú* (unmarried men) are extremely shy and hesitate to court girls outside their settlement. They resent the Agingan *bagbagú* who go to Kabuwan almost every night and who, in the past, have successfully courted some of Kabuwan's most highly regarded young ladies. Table III includes the twelve marriages negotiated between the two settlements.

TABLE III
INTER-SETTLEMENT MARRIAGE CONSIDERED IN TERMS OF
THE SEX OF THE SETTLEMENT PARTNER

	<i>Men who have Married Outside the Settlement</i>	<i>Women who have Married Outside the Settlement</i>	<i>Totals</i>
Agingan	27	14	41
Kabuwan	7	16	23
Totals	34	30	64

χ^2 (Using Yates' Correction) = 6.07, $p < .02$

A final index for demonstrating the relative social isolation of Kabuwan, relative to Agingan, is the number of resident *pakiyan* (persons from outside who, after marriage, make their home in the settlement). In the context of this analysis, *pakiyan* represent external opinion and attitudes available within the local community. Of the thirteen *pakiyan* in the *barrio* of Agingan, twelve or 92.3% are married to persons from the settlement of Agingan. There is only one *pakiyan* with a Kabuwan spouse. Importantly, two of Agingan's *pakiyan* are not Isneg, but Ilocano lowlanders. The cultural influence of the Ilocano people on the Isneg will be considered later in the paper.

Informants' reports confirm the assumption that the "social forces" shaping Kabuwan's insularity, as reflected in their reluctance to negotiate peace-pacts, the endogamous character of Kabuwan marriages, their relative lack of *pakiyan*, the timidity of Kabuwan *bagbagú*, and the disinterest in either education or the armed forces, were in operation thirty years ago. Tentatively, I suggest that Kabuwan's relative depopulation through epidemics, their inclusion in an Apayao River municipality despite closer linguistic and cultural similarities with the Matalag River Isneg, and, finally, Kabuwan's secondary social and political position in respect to their more prosperous and gregarious Agingan neighbours were important "enabling conditions" for the growth of Kabuwan's inward-looking and conservative outlook. Such an atmosphere, it seems reasonable to assume, would have intensified a "sense of blockage" regarding the expectation of satisfactory participation in the new social order. At the same time, their continued social isolation would, despite mission, school, and administration teachings to the contrary, have reinforced the "reality" of the old myths and beliefs. These circumstances helped, in my opinion, to generate a "forceful" and "immediate" millenarian climate, the presence of which explains, in part, Kabuwan's more compulsive acceptance of the Manolay cult.

Stability and Change

Two "traditional" systems, one unchanged and the other eliminated as a result of American administration, stand out in their influence on the nature of the *Manolay* movement. Firstly, the agricultural system is noteworthy for its stability through centuries of culture contact. The Isneg, unlike the southern Cordillera peoples, practice subsistence, slash and burn, dry rice cultivation on the forested sides of the mountains. Their sparse population density, coupled with befitting climatic and altitudinal conditions, have made the *kaingin* system hard to replace in terms of economic self-sufficiency.¹¹ The rice diet is supplemented by

¹¹ For a detailed account of Isneg and Kalinga dry rice cultivation, see William Henry Scott, "A Preliminary Report on Upland Rice in Northern Luzon," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 14 (1958): 87-105 and Morice Vanoverbergh

vegetables, both wild and cultivated, a variety of fruit, fish, wild birds and game, and the occasional dog, pig, or chicken, killed for feasting. Cash cropping is limited to a small field of tobacco or a stand of coffee trees. The income so derived is used to buy clothes, blankets, clay pots, salt, sugar and tinned fish from the Ilocano shopkeepers in Kabugao. Prior to the establishment of the administrative centre in Kabugao, the Isneg made, under the protection of *mengal* (proven headhunters), regular trading expeditions to the Ilocos provinces and Cagayan. On these occasions, beeswax, bamboo baskets, honey and tobacco were bartered with the lowlanders.

The continued success of the Isneg agricultural system and the social adequacy of supplementary forms of livelihood exclude, in the context of this analysis, a reliance on "economic deprivation" as a necessary "enabling condition" for the emergence of the *Manolay* cult. Such a framework has, of course, been extensively used in the description of religious movements in other parts of the world. Even today *kaingin* farming in Apayao is, according to the two Ilocano *pakiyan* in Agingan, preferable to the disadvantages of tenancy, landlordism and poverty, accompaniments of the more productive "wet rice" agriculture, as it is practiced in some areas of the lowlands.

Dry rice cultivation has proved a most stable anchor to Isneg social organization. With its structural ascendancy reinforced through participation in the *kaingin* system, the conjugal family has remained the most constant form of corporate grouping. Each family is responsible for a rice field and, during planting and harvesting, members leave the more permanent settlements along the river to reside together near the rice. The children assist their parents until marriage, at which time they usually cultivate independent rice fields. The initial residence, viri- or uxorilocal, of a married couple is determined at a marriage negotiation between the respective families. Formerly, a number of married children might have lived with a single set of parents in a large permanent dwelling, but today it is more common for a husband and wife, especially after the birth of a few children, to establish independent residence. Older parents may attach themselves to one of these families.

The shifting of the nuclear family in response to the pressures of dry rice cultivation coupled with the residential disruptions following marriage, death, and migration, imparts to Isneg social organization a highly mobile character. Within each settlement area, the independent families interact in a relatively loose cooperative network, based on ties of kinship and residence. No social groupings override the sovereignty of the family.

Through the years, this pattern has resisted the imposition of more tightly structured or stratified forms of political or economic organization. The viability of the independent family in the agricultural system most

probably would have retarded any developments in this direction. The more sophisticated leadership and organizational structures present in the *Sapilada*, *Guardia de Honor* and Aglipayan Church movements, in contrast to those that developed in the *Manolay* cult, promoted continuity and strengthened the inter-regional appeal of their religious programs.

While stability has characterized the economic system, Isneg political relationships have changed radically. At the turn of the century, the Isneg were avid headhunters. Fear of reprisal mitigated the familial independence and dispersed residence pattern fostered by the agricultural system. Rice fields were usually contiguous and settlements were more centralized. At that time, the road to leadership was open to those men best able to secure the gruesome fruits of war. Methods of killing and decapitating an enemy were ranked as reflecting different degrees of bravery. The respect so gained was a prerequisite to political influence. *Mengal* (proven headhunters) would voice their opinions and demand personal recognition in fiery speeches and chants given at the community feasts.

Successful headhunters supplemented their prestige through the accumulation of old Chinese pottery, acquired through inheritance, marriage and indemnity payments, and tobacco trade with the lowlanders. Land was abundant and its ownership was not an important pre-requisite for leadership.

Headhunting encouraged greater regional cohesion and created the need for a loose political superstructure. Importantly, it also validated and was validated by a highly expressive complex of belief, myth, spirit communication and feasting. In this system, a primary function of the local *anito* (nature spirits) was to protect warriors and to warn the settlement of an impending enemy attack. Rituals and stories praising the strength and bravery of the *mengal* were the focal points of most celebrations. Like the Kalinga (Dozier 1966:201-202), Isneg headhunting was not specifically tied to fertility or community welfare. War trophies were sought primarily to avenge a previous raid or death and to secure personal influence and prestige.

Through the suppression of inter-settlement warfare, the American administration wrought a major change in the orientation of Isneg life. At the same time, such time-tied responses disappear slowly, and many of the beliefs and values directly and indirectly associated with headhunting seem to have retained a persuasive influence over the mind and emotions of many Isneg. The excitement and self-confidence aroused by the renewal of these old rituals in the *Manolay* cult may very well have dispelled, if only temporarily, some of the doubt, restlessness, and confusion attending alien domination, the details of which are outlined in the next three sub-sections.

Spanish Missionaries and Soldiers

There are no written reports of the Isneg pre-dating the Spanish conquest of northern Luzon. One of the earliest descriptions of the region is contained in an account (Keesing 1962b:14-15) of a 1572 expedition by Juan de Salcedo and 25 soldiers around Luzon's north coast and eventually, after some delay, down the east coast. Catholic missionaries and *encomenderos*, tribute collectors, soon followed. Missions were founded along both the Apayao-Abulug and Matalag river systems. The people of the Nagbayyugan, the river tributary on which Kabuwan and Agingan are located, were mentioned in mission reports from the northern and eastern sides of the Cordillera and, as this area lies midway between these two points of penetration, mission activity along both these rivers is considered in this paper. These early records present an account of the Isneg, which is consistent in many ways with the life patterns observed today.¹²

On the Cagayan side, the first Spanish colonists met some stiff opposition. A 1594 document (Keesing 1962b:224) described the Cagayan villages of Taban and Tuao as "subdued" by the Spanish soldiers. Yet, within a few years, the villagers retaliated. Diego Aduarte (Keesing 1962b:224-225) reported that by 1604, "the outrages of those who took tribute from them were so great that they enraged the natives and obliged them to take up arms, to the great loss of the Spaniards." Despite the hostilities, by 1612, Dominican church centres were established at Tabang, Piat, and Tuao along the Chico River and, in 1617, a fourth was opened at Malaweg along the Matalag River.¹³

Throughout the Spanish period, Malaweg served as a trading centre for the mountain Isneg. The village was cited in the *Bangkilat* stories which I collected in Kabuwan. *Bangkilat*, an indefatigable headhunter and important culture hero, was supposed to have forced the people of Malaweg to build him a stone house—a clear reference, in this case, to Spanish architecture.¹⁴

C.I.C.M. "The Isneg Farmer," *Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference* 3 (1941): 281-386.

¹² Translations of the writings of Diego Aduarte (1640) and Fray Benito de Mena Salazar (1742), early Dominican Order historians, as well as other relevant mission and government records are found in E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson's 54 volume-record of Philippine historical documents, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803*. Felix Keesing drew heavily from this source in compiling his book, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon* (California: Stanford University Press, 1962). My description of mission penetration into Apayao is primarily based on the work of Felix Keesing, Morice Vanoverbergh, and Henry Geeroms.

¹³ In the early part of this century, Malaweg was renamed Rizal.

¹⁴ In one episode, *Bangkilat* challenged and defeated Lightning in a foot race. *Kilat* is an Isneg word for "lightning."

In 1693, the Santa Cruz mission was established by Fray Joseph Galfaroso further up the Matalag River at Cumpat.¹⁵ Fray Benito de Mena Salazar (Keesing 1962b:227) reported that Galfaroso "made various entrances through the neighboring mountains in search of heathens who lived in them, in order to lure them to the bosom of our holy faith. These mountains are rough and broken, and the heathen who inhabit them are brave, and give the Christian villages much to do with their continual raids and assaults with which they keep them terrified." He also mentioned that Galfaroso had gathered fugitive Christians and new converts from the Isneg "rancheria of Nabbayugan", a reference to the Agingan settlement area.

In 1718, there was a wide-spread Cagayan uprising against the Spanish authorities. As this revolt included the villages at Malaweg, the Santa Cruz mission was deserted. Yet references to this mission in ecclesiastical surveys between 1738 and 1754 attest to its revival. According to Vanoverbergh (1932:30), this religious centre, marking the deepest Spanish penetration of Apayao from the Cagayan side, was probably abandoned by the early 19th century.¹⁶

A somewhat similar pattern of sporadic penetration and indigenous resistance extended along the Apayao-Abulug River. In 1595, a Dominican mission was founded at Abulug, a seaport at the mouth of the river. Seventeen years later, a church was dedicated at Pudtol to Our Lady of the Rosary. Being 17 miles inland, it was built like a fortress and housed, along with the Dominican father, a garrison of soldiers. Within the same decade, a third mission was established at Kapinatan, still another eight miles upstream from Pudtol.

Aduarte's account (Keesing 1962b:187) of early mission work in Luzon's extreme north opened with the statement, "Land was ruined not only by the continuous war which villages all wage with one another, but still more by the settled peace which they had all made with the devil." In his description (Keesing 1962b:189) of the religious practices of the newly contacted people, he mentioned a belief that "their deceased fathers and ancestors must return to life in this world." Felix Keesing who, in the early 1930's, carried out three weeks' fieldwork in Apayao interpreted this statement as "apparently referring to the wandering and visitations of ghosts of the dead, . . . rather than any idea

¹⁵ There has been some controversy about the exact founding date of the Santa Cruz mission. For further details, see Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, p. 227; Vanoverbergh, "The Isneg," p. 30; and Geeroms, "Former Spanish Missions in the Cordillera (N. Luzon) — I," *Saint Louis Quarterly* 3 (1965): 17-56.

¹⁶ Father Morice Vanoverbergh was the first resident missionary in Kabugao. He remained in Apayao from 1925 to 1932. Despite the fact that many of his personal records were destroyed in an American bombing raid during World War II, he has published extensively on the Isneg. When I asked Father Vanoverbergh about his interest in the Isneg, he said, "How can a person bring religion or change religion, if he does not thoroughly understand the beliefs and customs of the people with whom he is working?"

of reincarnation." This passing reference by Aduarte and the possibility of its misinterpretation by Keesing assume greater importance in my later discussion of the content of the *Manolay* cult.

Aduarte's portrayal demonstrated a close ethnic relationship between these early lowland groups and the mountain Isneg. Such similarities lend support to Keesing's thesis that in fact there were, in the Apayao interior, no permanent residents until after the Spanish conquest of the north coast. He believed that the ancestors of the present mountain Isneg were most probably *remontados* (runaways) escaping Spanish domination in the lowlands. In a reference to the Malaweg mission on the Cagayan side, Keesing (1962b:226) noted, "It is a fair assumption that the mission fathers, in establishing Malaweg as a base, were following in the wake of refugees who had fled up the river in the face of the initial Spanish pressures and control."

Keesing (1962b:333) supported this suggestion by citing the possible influence of the *remontados* on Isneg culture.

The richness of their trade goods, the place given to maize and tobacco growing, their use of the wooden boat, which looks to be of Spanish origin, and their substantial and distinctively architected housing are among cultural elements which suggest that they (the *remontados*) could have brought into Apayao a Spanish-influenced tradition. It must be recognized, however, that such elements could have been adopted or adapted in the later centuries.

Spanish documents also provide evidence on the migration of substantial numbers of lowland peoples into the mountains. Nevertheless, in the light of my own investigation, Keesing's thesis remains inconclusive and, at the present time, difficult to substantiate further. As regards post-Spanish migration and the *Manolay* cult, it can at least be said that "escape into the mountains" was, for large numbers of people, no longer a feasible alternative to alien domination during the American administration.

The early mission records point to innumerable cases where the "heathen" overtly resisted the "good intentions" of the Catholic fathers. Aduarte (Keesing 1962b:191) wrote that when the missionaries entered the north coastal village of Pata,

Not a single person... desired to receive the faith. The devil had kept them prejudiced against it — by threats which he uttered (through the mouth of a sorceress named Fulangan) and by telling them that their ancestors would return and would be greatly grieved to find them under a different law from that which they had followed.

Notable in this passage is another reference to the impending return of the dead ancestors. The hostility of the female shamans is also mentioned. Among the Isneg, women are almost solely responsible for spirit communication. As women have far less opportunity than men for experience outside the settlement area, the central position of the

female shamans in the *Manolay* cult may have helped to inspire its highly conservative ideology.

Trouble also brewed upstream where the missionaries attempted to resettle Isneg around the church. When the father and lay brother at Kapinatan refused to allow three men to visit their former village, the men decapitated the lay brother and seriously wounded the father. Following this incident, many of the Kapinatan people went downstream and burned the church in Pudtol. Again in 1639, the Pudtol mission was overrun and twenty soldiers were massacred.

In some instances, the missionaries were notably successful. According to Salazar (Keesing 1962b:197), in 1684 Fray Pedro Ximenez returned to Pudtol and, on one occasion, negotiated the peaceful settlement of a dispute involving a murder committed by a man from the Agingan region. At this stage, the Dominican fathers pushed further upstream and Vanoverbergh (1932:32) describes the founding of a church at Nagsimbanan, an Isneg settlement truly centered in the mountains. Fray Benito de Mena Salazar (Keesing 1962b:198) noted that the membership in this church exceeded one thousand and three hundred converts, the number of which was "opportunately increased by an epidemic of smallpox which led to many baptisms."

Salazar's comment draws attention to the close relationship between sickness and the adoption of Christian ritual. Through the centuries, the Isneg have been particularly susceptible to the ravages of malaria, dysentery, bacterial pneumonia and tuberculosis. They have, periodically, suffered through smallpox, diphtheria, influenza and typhoid epidemics. Vanoverbergh (1932:55) felt that Apayao was one of the most unhealthy districts in the Philippines. Consequently, a most important duty of the spirit mediums has been the "prognostication" and "cure" of sickness. It is highly probable that the "great eagerness" with which the Isneg learned the prayers and baptism ritual of the Catholic fathers was inspired by such an association. As the Christian religion, in itself, proved a no better remedy for these difficulties, the *Manolay* leaders were able to argue more convincingly that the epidemics and crop failures of the 1920's and 30's were due to a widespread neglect of the teachings of the "old people" and the welfare of the *anito*.

Despite its initial popularity, the Nagsimbanan mission was shortlived and, in the face of continued Isneg hostility, the other upstream churches at Pudtol and Kapinatan were abandoned by 1769. There was an attempt in 1891 to reopen the Pudtol mission, but, among other misfortunes, the servants of the missionaries were killed by Isneg headhunters.

In 1890-91, as part of a general campaign by the Spanish authorities to pacify Luzon's mountain peoples, the Cordillera ranges were apportioned into a number of politico-military jurisdictions. Apayao was divided

into the northern Comandancia of Apayaos with a resident commander at Kapinatan, the western Comandancia of Cabagaoan with its headquarters in the coastal town of Laoag, and, in the east, the Comandancia of Itaves with its centre at Magaogao in Cagayan. During this period, a number of punitive expeditions were sent into Apayao. In 1888 Schadenberg, a German scholar who travelled through northwest Apayao, described a particularly brutal encounter where 16 Isneg leaders were shot after the Spanish commander had invited them to a feast. Immediately following this incident, the Isneg retaliated by slaughtering a party of 24 Ilocano traders. As this decade was also disrupted by widespread Filipino resistance to the Spanish government, and Spain's eventual relinquishment of the Philippine Islands to the United States, the new administrative program never went beyond the initial stages.

In retrospect, the Spanish efforts to pacify and convert the Isneg were only minimally successful. Mission records from both the northern and eastern foothills attest to continued Isneg hostility, throughout the Spanish period. At no stage were these mountain people subject to the intensive colonization experienced in the lowlands where, today, Spanish socio-cultural patterns remain immediately apparent. Even when the Spanish, during the last decades of their administration, renewed their efforts to subdue the mountain populations, the Isneg, unlike the peoples further south, were, by and large, undisturbed.

Economically, although the demand for tobacco increased, Isneg agriculture remained near the subsistence level.¹⁷ They were never financially exploited like the Cagayan people, who, during the administration of the Royal tobacco monopoly, were flogged, fined and forced to plant tobacco. The presence of alluvial gold did not, as in the south-central sections of the Cordillera, stimulate Spanish control or provide for the Isneg a supplementary form of livelihood.

Politically, headhunting continued unabated. The program of re-settlement near the missions did not have any permanent effect. A dispersed hamlet system, yielding to a closer settlement on occasions of more intensive inter-settlement warfare remained the Isneg norm. Religiously, the continuing pressures of headhunting, dry rice cultivation, sickness and famine appear, despite the heroic efforts of the pioneer Catholic fathers, to have firmly anchored most of the old beliefs and rituals.

Felix Keesing (1962b:333) suggested that tobacco trade, the wooden boat and a distinctive architecture were indicative of the influence of the Spanish on Isneg culture. On the other hand, the Isneg, whether a former lowland population which retreated into the interior after Spanish

¹⁷ Tobacco, particularly that which is grown along the Binuan tributary of the Apayao-Abulug River, is noted for its high quality. In the lowlands, all tobacco from the Kabugao district is known as Binuan tobacco.

control or a pre-Spanish mountain people, appear to have, through a combination of physical isolation and enmity, successfully escaped and resisted most of the more conspicuous Spanish forms. Many of their beliefs and practices are decidedly pre-Spanish in orientation. Similarly, the Isneg did not experience so acutely the upheaval of the Spanish period and its aftermath, circumstances which, in other parts of northern Luzon, served to inspire the *Guardia de Honor* and *Sapilada* religions. During these times, there remained the opportunity for a relatively independent and self-sufficient life in the Apayao interior. Unlike these other movements, the pre-conditions for the *Manolay* cult must be sought almost exclusively in the American period.

Ilocano Expansion

A dramatic phenomenon in the social history of northern Luzon has been the continued physical and cultural expansion of the Ilocano people. Migrating from their home along Luzon's northwest coast, large numbers of Ilocano families, particularly in the last hundred years, have successfully settled along the north coast and in the Cagayan Valley. To a large extent, they have absorbed less numerous peoples like the Ibanag and Itavi, lowland groups with which the Isneg have a close linguistic and ethnic affinity.

Throughout the Spanish period and possibly before, the Isneg have traded with the Ilocano. At certain times of the year, large parties of Ilocano traders moved through the mountain settlements. At other times, groups of Isneg, under the protection of *mengal*, hiked to lowland villages to procure salt, sugar, cloth, and Chinese pottery. Despite this contact, hostility and isolation in the mountain environment has shielded Isneg culture from extensive Ilocanization.

Before pacification, the Isneg, through raids and burning, limited the Ilocano advance into the Apayao interior. For example, as late as 1895, Kecsing (n.d.b.:9) noted a particularly savage Isneg raid on a north coast military post whose specific function had been to protect Ilocano settlers. An unpublished constabulary account of this incident reported that 138 soldiers were killed.

This type of retaliation was suppressed by the American administration and, after 1910, direct Isneg contact with the Ilocano sharply increased. They were appointed as sub-provincial officials and, at the same time, increasing numbers of Ilocano fishermen, farmers, and lumbermen were able to push inland up the northern river valleys. The 1922 census figures (Keesing n.d.b.:17) for the sub-province included 361 Christian lowlanders and, by 1932, the number had grown to 2,926. In 1939, there were 6,353 Ilocano settlers in the Apayao municipality of Luna alone.

Today, the lower municipalities of Luna, Pudtol, and Flora are populated almost exclusively by Ilocano migrants; while the western sector of Bayag and the eastern sector of Conner are also primarily Ilocano. Most Isneg understand the Ilocano language and Ilocano "ways" are increasingly popular. A number of Ilocano families, mostly traders and government officials, live in Kabugao and two Ilocano men are presently married in the settlement of Agingan.

The mountain Isneg were not, like the Ibanag and the Itavi, overrun by Ilocano settlers. At the same time, the presence of these was ensured through the appointment of Ilocano officials in the American administration. A number of Ilocano tax collectors, school teachers, and constables were stationed in the sub-provincial capital of Kabugao. In his 1933 visit to Apayao, Felix Keesing (n.d.a.:9) found Kabugao "a modern oasis of Christian Filipino culture in a mountain and jungle wilderness". From this balance of power, so to speak, the Isneg reaped a certain sense of inferiority regarding their personal status and culture. Vanoverbergh (1936:174) summarized the Isneg position.

They are supposed to be inferior to the Christians in many respects, they themselves believe so, and the Christians do not fail to impress it upon their mind through word and deed: an Iloko or Kagayan has not respect for an Isneg.

The "status deprivation" fostered during the "occupation" of Apayao by Ilocano officials, would have been one of the more important "irritants", inspiring the *Manolay* effort to "revitalize" Isneg social life. On the other hand, the language and life style of these two peoples are, in many respects, similar. For this reason, intermarriage is not uncommon. A number of the Ilocano school teachers have stayed in Kabugao. The fact that the Ilocano officials were easily emulated and their positions were open to Isneg may have eased some of the ethnic tension, characteristic of this pre-war period.

The American Administration

In 1898, the United States won colonial control over the Philippine Islands. At first, particularly in the nearby Ilocos provinces, the American occupation forces encountered stiff resistance from Filipino freedom fighters whose cause had attracted numerous adherents in the last decades of the Spanish regime. The *Guardia de Honor* and Aglipayan Church movements were closely tied to this widespread resentment with foreign domination.

In 1907, an expeditionary force under American officers burned a village along the Apayao-Abulug River and overcame an ill-organized Isneg resistance. This short struggle with the Isneg was not, like the lowland opposition, inspired by nationalistic sentiments.

In 1910, Apayao was incorporated as a sub-province of the Mountain Province, a large mountainous division that included most of the so-called "non-Christian tribes of northern Luzon". The first sub-provincial capital was located at Tawit, an Isneg settlement along the lower Apayao-Abulug River and Don Blas Villamor, the first Lieutenant Governor of Apayao, was annually provided with ₱10,000 for the purchase of beads and clothes for the Isneg. Despite such efforts at reconciliation, there were over the next five years various clashes between the Isneg and the Philippine Constabulary, a national police force staffed primarily by lowland Filipino soldiers. According to the Keesings (1934:87), a number of Isneg families attempted to escape this new jurisdiction by fleeing westward into the Ilocos Norte and Abra mountains. As late as 1913, Tawit itself was attacked by a band of Isneg infuriated by the large number of Ilocano, who, taking advantage of the new government's protection, were settling along the lower Apayao-Abulug River. These clashes with the Constabulary helped convince most Isneg of the futility of physical resistance.

In 1916, in order to centralize administrative control, the sub-provincial capital was moved to Kabugao in the heart of the Isneg domain. Here, a company of 40 soldiers, including newly recruited Isneg, maintained order. The Constabulary soon became a dominant force in Isneg social and political life. They quickly interceded in quarrels which, in the past, had resulted in revenge expeditions. An official report (Keesing 1950:11) of 1931 referred to the Kabugao constabulary as the "agent of all Bureaus, peace maker, sanitary inspector, agricultural agent, local judge, educational agent" and, in fact, "like a god". After the retirement of Norman G. Connor, the successor to Don Blas Villamor, the Lieutenant Governor's position was, with one exception, held until 1937 by a series of constabulary officers.

Given high priority in the American government's list of objectives was the preparation of the Philippines for self-government. As a result, seven American-modelled elementary schools were, by 1917, scattered throughout the Kabugao district. The English language was the recognized medium of instruction and the curriculum focused on a study of "the three R's", American history, sanitation, and democratic procedures. A four-grade primary school was located in Agingan and the families residing in the most distant hamlets were forced to move closer to the school.

In these sparsely populated regions, the Ilocano teacher proved a most potent force for change. Their influence was particularly effective among members of the younger generation, some of whom, because of the great distances between their homes and the school, were forced to remain at or near the teacher's quarters for 5 days each week. In a comment on the attitude of the Ilocano schoolmasters toward Isneg religious beliefs, Vanoverbergh (1936:173) remarked, "The teachers,

being Christians, have no sympathy with what they call the superstitions and ridiculous practices of the Isneg". The high status of the school teacher would have intensified the impact of such sentiments.

For many families, compulsory school attendance proved a severe hardship. Particularly in the case of women, this requirement disrupted the family work pattern. Mothers, who were expected to care for their children, complete domestic chores, as well as assume responsibility for the planting and harvesting of rice, were deprived of the full-time assistance of their young, unmarried daughters. The Constabulary arrested and extracted free labour from those parents who were unwilling to send their children to school.

Other ordinances (Claveria 1964) enacted by the American administration included the following: the payment of a road tax by each family head through the contribution of his labour in the construction of horse trails, the cultivation by each family of at least 100 coffee trees, the building of an outside toilet for each permanent residence, a compulsory smallpox inoculation, and the contribution of materials and time to the building and maintenance of *barrio* schools. With negligible success, the authorities also tried to encourage the people to change from dry rice to the more productive "wet rice" cultivation.

During his residence in Kabugao, Father Vanoverbergh (1936:82) found that the Isneg were reluctant to comply with these new restrictions.

It is true that actually the Government often interferes with the native customs of the Isneg, and in many cases it could not very well do otherwise, but the latter consider it as alien and regard its ways as entirely contrary to their traditions; they would most certainly like to get rid of it at the first opportunity. The Isneg submit of course, as the constabulary is supposed to be mostly wide awake, but they generally do so very reluctantly and often under protest; occasionally they even disobey, and sometimes not without reason, especially in cases of interference with their traditional family life.

In 1919, the first Ilocano shopkeeper set up business in Kabugao and, six years later, a Belgian order of Catholic fathers opened their Kabugao mission. In that same year, the Apayao Christian Mission Society, a Protestant organization in Laoag, sent permanent workers to Namaltugan and Bayag. Although these 20th century missionaries did not have to confront the open hostility faced by the early Spanish fathers, their endeavours have been retarded by Apayao's widely dispersed population and extremely rugged physical conditions. Slippery mountain trails, and rivers which often reach flood level within a few hours, make travelling dangerous. The climate is unhealthy and one report (Vandaele 1953) from the Kabugao mission complained that "their cottages were so frail that they even trembled whenever a father was attacked with malaria." Vanoverbergh (1932:54) wryly noted, "If Apayao may be

called a paradise, a further qualification is absolutely necessary: if it be Eden, it is Eden after the Fall.”

During these early years, the sub-province of Apayao was divided into 7 municipal districts. In those municipalities where Isneg predominated, the Lieutenant Governor appointed them to the offices of president and councilor. An Ilocano was always chosen for the position of secretary-treasurer. The first president of Kabugao was Manel Rogrog, an old warrior who attended to his duties attired in an Isneg G-string. The representative from the *barrio* of Agingan was the renowned headhunter, Lappas. In 1928, many of these offices were filled by general election. Although the sub-provincial officials were generally Ilocano, the inclusion of influential and tradition oriented Isneg at the local level may have deprived the *Manolay* cult of men, who, had they been excluded from *barrio* and municipal decisions, might have rallied a strong opposition to the new restrictions and provided the *Manolay* movement with a more effective leadership.

The 1930's offered no new environmental condition to which the appearance of the *Manolay* cult can be directly linked.¹⁸ Despite the obstacles encountered in the supervision of a widely scattered population, the Constabulary continued their enforcement of the new restrictions. As men from the different Apayao regions were trading and working on public projects in Kabugao, peace-pacts were arranged to discourage a renewal of the old rivalries. A few Isneg elementary school students, including one from Kabuwan and one from Agingan, were given government scholarships to complete their high school training outside Apayao. The World Depression had no serious repercussions in Kabugao, as the salaries of the teachers and the soldiers as well as the price of tobacco were unaffected. Locust swarms devastated the rice crops in a few regions and there was a fairly widespread, but not acute, food shortage.

Only one incident can be traced to the outbreak of cult activity, and that was the appearance of a female *Manolay* prophet in the hamlet cluster of Madduang on the Dagara River. It was reported that she travelled from region to region, urging a stricter observation of the old customs. *Manolay* celebrations usually followed her arrival in a settlement. The restrictions and dissatisfactions accumulated over some twenty years of American administration had, in conjunction with the dislocations associated with natural disasters like epidemics and famine, paved the way, in my opinion, for the sudden spread of her convictions through the Isneg districts of the sub-province.¹⁹

¹⁸ This observation is based solely on informants' reports. All municipal records for the period 1928-1941 were burned, following the Japanese occupation of Kabugao.

¹⁹ I have not, as yet, been able to locate a report on cult activity along the Matalag River in the municipality of Conner.

The outbreak of the Second World War coincided with a decline in cult activity. Kabugao was occupied for a year by a Japanese regiment and the Isneg were called upon to supply the invaders with rice and livestock. During this time, an Isneg guerilla force was organized under a U.S. Army captain who had escaped the American surrender on Bataan. Although little fighting occurred in Apayao itself, a number of Isneg fought with the American and Philippine forces in the Cagayan valley and in the mountains to the south. These wartime disruptions provided an important diversion to *Manolay* beliefs and practices.

Immediately following the war, the Philippines gained political independence from the United States. In 1948, Rev. Louis Saunders of an evangelical Protestant sect, The Disciples of Christ, opened Kabugao's first high school, the Apayao Christian Academy. Two years later, church rivalry prompted the Catholic mission to start its own high school, Our Blessed Lady of Lourdes. A 1948 Deputy Governor's Report summarized the impact of the missions and the schools.

With the group of old men and women, their traditional customs are strictly adhered, as in marriage ceremony, death and burial and superstitious beliefs in any undertaking. The younger generations presently adopt distinct change of living conditions achieved through contact with the Christian elements and educational instruction in the schools.

A number of army veterans completed a high school diploma and teaching certificate on the G.I. Bill of Rights. The war years also awakened Isneg men to opportunities in outside employment such as mining, plantation work, schools, government offices and the Philippine Armed Forces and Constabulary. While not eliminating the possibility of a revival of *Manolay* activity, the presence of these more widely experienced and literate individuals would have restricted the movement's reliance on the ultra-conservative ideology espoused in the pre-war *Manolay* cult.

As Apayao is a vast, sparsely populated sub-province, its needs have been neglected by the various post-war Philippine administrations. As yet, there is no hospital or even qualified doctor in the mountains. No government incentives have been provided to increase or change agricultural production. The road, started from the lowlands 42 years ago, is still a full day's hike from Kabugao. During the last two decades, the slow pace of change has allowed for social adjustments relatively free of the millenarian sentiments characteristic of the *Manolay* period.²⁰

²⁰ Father Leo van der Winkle of the Kabugao mission told me of one isolated hamlet near Bayag where the residents still observe *Manolay* ritual. Their leader is known as "King of the *Manolay*." They believe that, after death, the human spirit becomes an *anito* which, at certain celebrations, returns to visit the living. Their activities did not, to his knowledge, include a millenarian expectation.

IDEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The ideology of the *Manolay* cult was almost exclusively derived from the profusion of conceptually unrelated "representations" which occupy what might be termed the "invisible world" of the Isneg. In this realm one finds stories and beliefs about the culture heroes like *Bangkilat*, the people in *Uutò* (a place somewhere over the sky), a variety of *anito* (nature spirits), *balangobang* (partially decomposed corpses which return for visits within a few weeks after burial), *kaduduwa* (the invisible form of the human spirit after death), *Kutaw* (the spirit who stands at the entrance to the realm of the dead), *kanyaw* (prohibitions that must be observed to prevent misfortune) and a variety of omens, portending good luck or impending disaster. These conceptions were and, to a lesser degree, still are relied on for warning, protection, explanation, entertainment, and assistance in a number of different social contexts.

For example, *kanyaw* apply to almost every activity but, are observed most strictly during the rice harvest. At this time, men do not cut firewood for fear that the harvest may also be cut down by either a typhoon or the wild pigs. Families do not visit each other during the first week of harvest. The most important *kanyaw* surround the activities of the *manggáyat* (the woman who ritually harvests the first rice in each field). The *manggáyat* will not clean a *kandero* (cooking pot), as the rice birds will eat the harvest. She must not eat from a slippery, glazed plate, as it is believed that the rice would be difficult to hold. The *manggáyat* should not eat *bagoong* (a rotten fish delicacy that is bottled in the lowlands). If she were to eat this fish, her feet, like the *bagoong*, would acquire a bad odour and become too painful for her to continue with the harvest.

Unlike the other Cordillera peoples, the Isneg do not have "deities" in their religious pantheon. Their "invisible world" is, on the other hand, populated by a multitude of *anito*. During a *balásung* (cooperative work party), the pig or dog meat, supplied by the host, is usually shared with the *Pilay* (spirits of the rice). In cases of sickness, childlessness, and feasting, the local *anito*, residing in nearby rocks, trees, and streams, are invited to possess the *gahopag* (female spirit mediums). At these times, the *anito* may advise a remedy for the illness or chastise the people for their forgetfulness. During the headhunting era, the local spirits were believed to protect the community. Others accompanied the warriors on their raids. At feasts today, when a pig or dog is butchered, some of the blood along with *basi* (sugar cane wine) is set aside for the *anito*.

An important feature of Isneg supernatural belief is its emphasis on locality. Each settlement, and each individual hamlet is inhabited

by a unique assortment of *anito*. The more distinctive parts of the local landscape and the practice of certain social customs are related to the actions of an *anito* or a legendary figure associated with that particular region. The local character of these myths and religious images may, in part, account for the uneven appeal of *Manolay* ritual in the various Apayao settlements. A truly inter-regional cult ideology did not develop.

Among the "representations" available in the Isneg "invisible world", the *Untò* stories assumed a central position in *Manolay* ideology. The themes, stressed in the *Untò* narratives, date back to early Spanish and probably pre-Spanish times. The most prominent *Manolay* beliefs are reflected in the *Untò* stories. These conceptions were, of course, in the context of the *Manolay* cult distorted and modified to substantiate the "reality" of the approaching millennium.

Untò, like Apayao, was divided into a number of friendly and hostile hamlet clusters but, unlike Apayao, these settlements were inhabited by very weird and wonderful people whose interests were focused primarily on headhunting, courting, and feasting. Some *Untò* people, like *Baliling*, were rich. The roof of *Baliling's* house, for example, was made of honey bees; its walls were the wings of *babuyan* birds, and the floor was composed of row upon row of the most valuable beads. Other characters in *Untò* were exceptionally greedy, beautiful or brave. *Gonay* was a girl of ravishing beauty — except that her feet were like those of a deer. Whenever *Gonay* danced, her hooves destroyed the bamboo floor. *Edul*, another *Untò* figure, used human excrement for hair oil and camote tops for perfume. When *Edul* courted a lady, he would ask her if she liked the way he smelled. The young ladies were forced to reply in the affirmative for fear that *Edul* might cut them with his *aliwa* (head axe).

During the fieldwork period, I recorded many stories about *Untò*. For this paper, I have selected four short excerpts, containing elements which were incorporated into the *Manolay* ideology. The first selection relates how the people in Kabuwan first learned about *Untò*. The second tells about *Enoy's* theft of the invincible spirit, *Kindingan*, whom the people sought to retrieve during the *Manolay* celebrations. The last two stories describe magical powers which, during the *Manolay* period, the Kabuwan and Agingan people hoped that, like their *Untò* counterparts, they too could possess.

The Coming of Inhanungan

Inhanungan, with one nipple over her heart, came down from *Untò*. She told a long story about *Enoy*, *Eyu*, *Palungágan* and other *Untò* people. She said that, if she finished her story, the people in Kabuwan could talk about *Untò* only when they *agsayam* (make a feast). Basingallan, a

very wise man, grabbed the nipple of *Inhanungan*. When she tried to hide it under her arm or behind her back, Basingallan would see it and grab it. *Inhanungan* grew tired of hiding her nipple and so she returned to *Untò* without finishing her story. For this reason, the people can now tell the *Untò* story anytime, without needing to butcher a pig and a dog, which would be a great hardship.

Enoy and the Kindingan

After the flood, *Enoy* (the principal character in the Kabuwan *Untò* stories) came down to Kabuwan.²¹ He was accompanied by *Patungágan*, *Ohà*, and *Eyu*. Upon their arrival, they made a *peldap* (small feast) on a large rock in *Gunidán*.²² Near the rock, the stream was very noisy, but when *Patungágan* scolded it saying, "Samyu!" (You are noisy!), the rapids became calm. At this feast *Enoy* became jealous of the *kindingan* (the powerful spirit of Kabuwan which enable one man fearlessly to fight and single-handedly to kill all the people in an enemy hamlet). *Enoy's* own spirit, *Ambongan*, was very greedy and gave *Enoy* no rest. *Enoy* had always to share his food with the hungry *Ambongan*. He, therefore, decided to exchange *Ambongan* for *kindingan*. *Enoy* dropped *Ambongan* near the settlement of *Dagara* and went back to *Untò* with the *Kindingan* inside a *balitu* (small white squash), which he decorated red, blue, and white like a native shirt.²³ He also took the *Tahahogay* (a tree which bears beautiful beads as its fruit) and the *Sumpaga* (ever-lasting flowers). Upon his return, *Enoy*, with the aid of *Kindingan*, was able to fight and kill many people in *Untò*.

Eyu and Gamog

At night, *Enoy* would court *Eyu*, the daughter of *Patungágan*, and, as he sat near her sleeping mat, he would offer her *boyo* (a mixture of betel nut, lime and *gavad* leaves which, when chewed, acts as a mild stimulant). If *Eyu* took the *boyo*, it meant that she would accept *Enoy's*

²¹This reference to a flood concerns a story about the origin of the Kabuwan people. During a great deluge a few people, the ancestors of the present population, were able to escape by taking refuge on Mt. Wawan, the highest mountain in the vicinity. Flood tales are common to most of the Cordillera peoples and are also an important folk motif among the Atayal of Formosa (See Edward Norbeck *Folklore of the Atayal of Formosa and the Mountain Tribes of Luzon* [University of Michigan], p. 7.)

²²I have looked out to this rock. On its top there is a large, circular indentation which is said to be *Enoy's gansa* (dance gong) that he played during his visit to *Gunidán*. A long, slender vein of quartz crosses the rock. This vein was the *abag* (male G-string) of *Patungagan*.

²³At present, *Ambongan* is said to reside in a large rock near the Isneg settlement area of *Dagara*. The greedy *Ambongan* is held responsible for heavy rains and flash floods and, if the *Dagara* people do not place sufficient food and corn at the base of this stone, the rain will not stop and the rivers will remain impassable. It was reported that, when a Catholic priest visited the rock of *Ambongan*, he became very sick.

love; if she did not take the *boyo*, she would subsequently reject him. *Enoy* also courted *Umlaw*. But, in the case of *Umlaw*, when *Enoy* returned from a raid with enemy heads and wanted to *agsayam*, *Umlaw* was forced to exchange all their valuable beads and jars for sufficient rice and *basi* to feed the people. *Eyu*, on the other hand, had *gamog* (the power to conceive of and simultaneously to experience the fulfilment of a material wish). When *Eyu* gave rice and *basi* to one person, everyone received food and drink. When feasting at the house of *Eyu*, *Enoy* could invite all the people from the neighbouring *Untò* settlements of *Sibsibbi*, *Dagapan*, and *Katabakuwan*. At these celebrations, *Enoy* would get drunk and go again to court *Umlaw*. *Eyu* would get angry and so would *Enoy*. *Enoy* would separate from her, but, as he could never find another woman like her, he would always marry *Eyu* again.²¹

Enoy and Manolay

Baliling gave *Enoy* a wonderful *aliwa* (head axe). With this weapon, *Enoy* was able to kill all the people in an enemy hamlet. When he struck their houses with the *aliwa*, they would burst into flame. *Enoy* would also set fire to the nearby river.²² Although *Enoy* was the bravest and strongest man in *Untò*, he was sometimes defeated. His more successful opponents included *Egal* who, aided by an iron skin, was able to sleep comfortably in the middle of a fire and *Epngaw* who used to prepare *tuba* (a poison fruit used to stupefy fish) and, saying it was *basi*, gave it to *Enoy*. On such occasions, *Enoy* would die. But, if the people beat a *gansa* (dance gong) loudly near his head, *Enoy* was always able to *manolay* (return to life).

It must be emphasized that the narratives, which I have categorized as *Untò* stories, vary widely from region to region. Otto Scheerer (1928:421) collected a story about *Untò* in Talifugo, an Isneg settlement along the Matalag River. Yet, there are no references to *Untò* in the texts collected along the Apayao River by Vanoverbergh (1955) and Wilson (1947). However, in the course of my fieldwork, I found that the Apayao River people were conversant with this theme.

²¹ Vanoverbergh ("Religion and Magic among the Isneg," *Anthropos* 48 [1953]: 568) wrote about the power of *amúg*, which the school children translated as "miracle". It was said that the old shamans would *magamúg* (perform *amúg*) by dropping a single kernel of rice into a large cooking pot. After boiling, the pot would be filled to the brim with cooked rice. Norbeck (*Folklore*, p. 6) noted that the "magic appearance of food and the requisites for living" was a very widespread Luzon folk motif.

²² As this story was being told, a Kabuwan woman asked me, "Do the American people have anyone who can burn water?" When I replied that they did not, she said, "We have people here who can do things that the Americans cannot do." At the time, I felt that her defensive attitude signalled a certain sense of inferiority regarding Isneg culture. In the 1930's, this type of discouragement may have been, in part, responsible for the Kabuwan commitment to the "reality" of *Enoy* and his abilities.

On the other hand, *Enoy* is a familiar figure in the folk tales translated by Vanoverbergh (1955:29, 65, 66, 80, 81, 82, 87, 105, 106, 107, 108, 131, 132), but, he does not appear in the lead role that he occupies in the Kabuwan stories. *Enoy's* name may, however, be a misleading indice as, even in Kabuwan, he is also known as *Tankilu*, *Dèwanan* or *Awagan*; while *Eyu* was sometimes called *Abaw*, *Kasingagan* or *Aginduwan*.

In his article, "Isneg Tales", Vanoverbergh (1955:27) translated the Isneg word, *manolay*, as "to make men". In another reference (1953:90), he spoke about the confidence which some Isneg have in the power of *manolay*, an ability which was, in the municipality of Bayag, possessed by the female spirit, *Bilunàyan*.

Bilunayan, a female spirit, who lives in the sky and gives the power of making men (*manolay*) to people who are able to see her. She herself also resuscitates the dead, but a husband, for instance, whose wife comes back to life, finds her to be his sister. The Isneg believe in this power of making men, as may be seen from what happened to some Bayag men who, some years ago, went to *Pindayan*, a day's journey upstream from Bayag, in order to try their luck at this business. When their efforts proved futile, they started quarrelling and finally rushed at one another with their head-axes, leaving at least two men dead on the field.

These regional comparisons are further complicated by the wide scope existing for individual innovation. Informants stressed that each story teller modified the composition to suit his or her needs. Yet, despite the individual and regional variation in the Isneg oral tradition, underlying similarities of theme are readily apparent. The *Manolay* ideas about a magical appearance of food and drink, a sky world, and the resurrection of the dead appear in all regions. Edward Norbeck (1950:6-12) tabulated a number of such folktale themes which are shared throughout the Cordillera.

A noteworthy Isneg exception to the mythical and religious traditions of Luzon's mountain peoples is the absence of a creator-protector deity. Among the neighbouring Kalinga, Tinguian, and Bontoc, the deities, *Kabunian*, *Kadaklan* and *Lunawig*, command central positions in their respective religious pantheons. These figures, as William Henry Scott (1966:137) has pointed out, should not be considered as being similar to the monotheistic conception of a supreme deity. They share the stage with a whole host of ancestor and sky spirits.

These particular Cordillera concepts appear to have different derivations. *Kabunian*, for example, is a widely used classificatory term which in different parts of the mountains has a variety of meanings. According to Jules DeRaedt (1964:309), it may refer to "either the sky, as the abode of some of the deities, or to one or more of the higher deities, or to all spirits." Fred Eggan (194:1-18) felt that *Kadaklan* may have been mo-

delled on an Ilocano version of the Spanish deity, *Apo Dios*. On the other hand, there is good evidence (Scott 1966:142) to show that *Lumawig* is "a culture hero turned god." In old Cordillera myths, *Lumawig* has appeared in a variety of roles, as a hunter, a warrior, an ancestor spirit, "the first man to live in an area," and one among many inhabitants of a sky world. Formerly, *Lumawig* played an important part in head-hunting and, at present, is believed to be influential in the obtainment of a good harvest as well as in community welfare.

Among the Isneg, neither culture heroes like *Bangkilat* nor any of the *Untò* people have had such a consequential involvement in community life. In this respect, the *Manolay* doctrine, requiring the appearance of *Enoy* for the inauguration of the millennium, may have been a tentative step, similar in some respects to the deification of *Lumawig*, toward the formation of a deity-concept within the old mythical and religious framework. The story about the theft of the *Kindingan* may also have been a recent innovation, justifying *Enoy's* "new type" of participation in Kabuwan affairs as well as giving expression to a common revitalization theme, the discrepancy between a memory of former strength and a condition of relative deprivation.

Norman Cohn (1962:42) has suggested that the "promise of a future age of bliss" within the traditional religious world-view is an "indispensable basis for a millenarian faith". He continues,

It seems that in societies — such as that of ancient Greece — where the religious world-view has no place for such fantasy, millenarism cannot develop. Where on the other hand such a fantasy is familiar it can sometimes be given the immediacy and particularity necessary to convert it into an effective millenarian ideology.

While not prominent in the *Untò* stories, such a "promise" appears in the Isneg belief about the journey and final state of the *kaduduwa* (the invisible form of the human spirit after death).

The Realm of Kutaw

When a person dies, *Kutaw* prepares his weapons. He hides dry leaves and *gansa* (dance gongs) in the sugar cane near his house. All *kaduduwa* must pass through the sugar cane of *Kutaw*. When *Kutaw's* dogs hear the rustle of the leaves and the rattle of the *gansa*, they bark. The daughter of *Kutaw*, *Magluma* (an Isneg word meaning "to rot"), comes to meet the recently arrived *kaduduwa*. Unless the *kaduduwa's* clothes are rotten, *Magluma* will not let it pass. She also looks to see if the *kaduduwa* is tattooed. If there is no tattoo, *Kutaw* cuts off the *kaduduwa's* arms, using them to stir a large pot of boiling *bayang* (meat or vegetable eaten with rice). *Kutaw* spears a person who has stolen property or courted another man's wife. Such a *kaduduwa* returns to

make his or her family sick. After sleeping a few years with *Magluma*, the *kaduduwa* enters the house of *Kutaw*, where it enjoys an ever-lasting *sayam*.

There are minor regional variations on this theme. Vanoverbergh (1938:227-236) described *Kutaw* as a boatman who transported *kaduduwa* across a great pond to *Aglalannawan*, the realm of the dead. Upon their arrival in *Aglalannawan*, a place known as *Tagtaggayan* in Bayag, the *kaduduwa* "live a happy life." Those persons not acceptable to *Kutaw* remain in a state of temporary privation on the far shore of the great pond. But eventually, according to Vanoverbergh (1938:231), "all *kaduduwa* in the end attain perfect bliss."

The widespread, although somewhat vague Isneg belief about the "happy life" of the *kaduduwa* appears to fulfill Cohn's condition, regarding the "promise of a future age of bliss" in the traditional religious world-view. It is often true that millenarian thinking is characterized by "fantasies of impending doom," belief in a catastrophe that will obliterate the old way of life. Interestingly enough, although Vanoverbergh (1953:91) found a Bayag prophecy about a universal deluge "in which all men and trees will perish," this type of prediction was not utilized by the Kabuwan adherents of the *Manolay* cult.

Manolay concepts like the resurrection of the dead, the coming of *Enoy*, and the advent of millennium bear a striking resemblance to parallel tenets in the Christian religion. In some situations investigators of religious movements have with some confidence, linked Christian proselytizing with the outbreak of millenarian sentiments. Certainly, in the case of the *Manolay* cult, the influence of the Catholic fathers in the Apayao foothills and the more intensive missionary contact during the American period cannot be overlooked or minimized. Yet, the obvious congruence of these *Manolay* ideas with the traditional Isneg systems of folklore and religion, as well as very early Spanish references like Diego Aduarte's 1640 description (Keesing 1962:189) of an Isneg belief that "their deceased fathers and ancestors must return to life in this world," lend convincing support to a position which reduces the direct impact of Christian teaching and stresses the importance of pre-Spanish traditions in the development of the *Manolay* ideology.

At the same time, it is most difficult to assess the "indirect effect" of mission work on the Isneg. Mircea Eliade (1962:139-143) has made the point that, in Christianity, people "rediscover" their old eschatological myths. Christian prophecies like those that tell of the imminent arrival of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, and an everlasting life in the Kingdom of Heaven awaken in them "the most profound echo", leading to a renewed interest in the millenarian elements which, in the case of the Isneg, were available in their traditional religious system.

THE SPREAD OF THE MANOLAY CULT

During the years immediately preceding the Japanese invasion of the Philippines, the *Manolay* cult appeared in most Isneg settlements. Reports on the length of *Manolay* observances in different regions vary from three weeks to one year. These *Manolay* celebrations were marked by continuous feasting and dancing, at which time efforts were made by the spirit mediums to communicate with the *Unto* people.

In the Apayao River settlement of Tawit, it was said people beat their drums until the earth started to bleed. Unfortunately, a small boy sneezed (sneezing is a bad omen) and the bleeding stopped. An informant from the hamlet cluster of Magapta claimed that he put a firecracker under the house in which a *Manolay* feast was in progress. Following the explosion, the old shaman died but she was able to *manolay* (return to life), when, as in the example set by *Enoy*, the *gansa* were beaten near her head.

One of the first *Manolay* prophets was an old woman from the *situo* of Madduwang, north of Dagara. She urged the observation of the old *kanyaw* and predicted the arrival of the *Unto* people with the magical powers of *manolay* and *gamog*. While some people conscientiously obeyed her instructions; others attended the meetings simply to satisfy their curiosity. Another group regarded cult activity as "superstition" and refused to take part in the ritual. To my knowledge, in no other settlement did cult commitment reach the degree of unanimity found in Kabuwan.

In conformity with the old religious traditions, women played an important part in the articulation of *Manolay* aims and goals. To a greater extent than men, who had, by contrast, an opportunity for participation in the new social order, the female shamans may have felt threatened by the growing indifference toward the old beliefs and values. Even during the Spanish period, these women resisted religious change. Diego Aduarte (Keesing 1962b:247) has recorded the great animosity with which the "priestesses" greeted the arrival of the Spanish missionaries. The conservatism of the *Manolay* ideology may, in part, be attributed to their leadership.

In some instances, a profit motive may have been associated with *Manolay* ritual. When people joined the cult, they were, in a few regions, expected to give some form of property like a Chinese plate or an Ilocano blanket. This is also the custom when a *gahopag* (spirit medium) performs a curing rite. Nevertheless, it was reported that certain *Manolay* leaders were able to amass a considerable amount of property.

One informant from Agingan told about a *Manolay* meeting in Musimut. In this case, the shaman waved a handkerchief and suddenly

produced a valuable string of beads, supposedly plucked from the *Taha-hogay*, an *Unto* tree on which beads grow like fruit. The woman asked if anyone would buy the beads. When no one offered, she said, "I will return these beads to the *Unto* people" and the beads disappeared. Magical performances such as this one convinced many people of the power of the cult. At the time, my informant said that he believed he himself might become a young bachelor again.

The spirit mediums insisted that the *Manolay* beliefs were more powerful than Christianity. The *Unto* stories helped to substantiate this claim. During the *Manolay* celebrations all participants were given and used the names of the *Unto* people. This requirement was an obvious counterpoise to Christian baptism ritual; for, by this time, a number of Isneg had been baptised and many more had been given or had assumed a Christian name. In their description of the spread of the cult, informants sometimes referred to the shamans as "priests" and the *Manolay* meetings as "services". One man said, "It was just like Christianity, only the old woman didn't have a Bible".

From such remarks, it could be inferred that the *Manolay* cult represented, for many Isneg, an indigenous alternative to the teachings of the Catholic fathers. Participation in the cult helped to counter some of the status resentments experienced in their relationships with the Catholic and Protestant missionaries as well as with the Ilocano administrators, soldiers, and school teachers. Although the *Manolay* cult was not distinguished by an explicitly anti-foreign program, such descriptions, along with requirements like the wearing of the traditional *abag* (male G-string), are suggestive of the conflicts which account for its appearance.

The conspicuous absence of syncretic or vitalistic elements in the cult's ideology and ritual also lends support to this interpretation. Unlike the *Sapilada* movement, there were no flag poles, military drill, prayers, or written commandments. There was a renewed interest in, rather than a rejection of, the older supposedly "pagan" practices. This fact, in my opinion, points to a conscious exclusion of alien elements, the success of which is indicative of the relatively short period that the Isneg had been subject to intensive alien contact.

The Kabuwan Cult

The initial outbreak of *Manolay* activity in Kabuwan was spontaneous and not directly stimulated by an outside prophet. During a *sayam*, the people heard the sound of a falling coconut tree. Suddenly, a young lady named Pilarateg began to *mamilpig* (shake due to spirit possession). She spoke with the voice of a spirit, saying, "I am *Kindingan*". *Kindingan*, as noted earlier, was the powerful spirit stolen

from the people of Kabuwan by *Enoy*. Pilarateg advise the people to kill a dog and a pig, drink *basi*, and eat rice. There would be, she said, no need to harvest the rice, as soon they would be endowed with the power of *gamog*. If rice were required, they need only say, "We want rice" and it would appear.

From the time of the possession of Pilarateg, feasting and spirit communication continued in Kabuwan for two years. At the evening celebrations, each family would contribute a share from the surplus rice in their granary. The unharvested rice was left to rot in the mountain fields. Children were prohibited by their parents from attending the small primary school in Agingan.

On a few occasions, the Kabuwan people hiked out to Gunidan in the hope of wresting *Enoy's gansa* and *Patungagan's abag* from the rock, described earlier in this paper. Countless animals were butchered at Gunidan and people, holding roosters over their heads, danced in circles, entreating *Enoy* to bring back the *Kindingan*. Rituals were also performed at other meaningful sites around Kabuwan. Such activities demonstrate how closely the *Manolay* cult was bound to local environment and belief.

A sharpened bamboo fortification, similar in many respects to those built before pacification, was erected on the path leading to Kabuwan.²⁶ Heavy stones, which would be released at the touch of a rattan trigger, were suspended over the hamlet's entrance. Kabuwan men fashioned *kalasag* (wooden shields) and, as some felt possessed by *Kindingan*, they planned to raid a Matalag River settlement. Five attempts were made to leave Kabuwan, but, on each occasion, a *balsit* bird was seen flying from right to left (a very bad omen) and the men returned. As preparation for headhunting was not, to my knowledge, typical of the *Manolay* cult in the Apayao River settlements, its appearance in Kabuwan signals a lingering Isneg interest in inter-community warfare and hints at a causal relationship between the elimination of this form of alien opposition and the "sense of blockage" which gave rise to the millenarian wish.

Although work in the rice fields did not stop, there were also *Manolay* celebrations in the neighbouring settlement of Agingan. At one stage, the father of the present school teacher organized a feast at which a white pig, a white dog, and a white rooster were killed. Blankets were hung over rattan and bamboo supports, forming an enclosed corridor between the participating houses. *Enoy* was invited, but, as a small child sneezed (a bad omen), he did not come. It was said that should *Enoy* arrive, all non-believers would be changed into animals. Such negative inducements are indicative of the lack of

²⁶ Informants reported that fortification-building was not the custom of the Apayao River Isneg.

consensus which, in fact, typified the *Manolay* commitment in many Isneg *barrio*.

Government and school officials attempted to suppress the cult. As the children did not attend classes, the Agingan school teacher, an Ilocano, had to go to Kabuwan to fetch them. He shot down the stones suspended over the hamlet's entrance. Later, the Philippine Constabulary investigated cult activity in Kabuwan and the men from this community had to report in Kabugao to the municipal mayor's office for interrogation and the usual punishment, contribution of free labour on a municipal project.

The end of the Kabuwan cult seemed to approximate closely the outbreak of the war. At this time, a number of Kabuwan families were in need of food and men were forced to work for sustenance in the fields of their Agingan neighbours. Since then, there has been no sustained renewal of *Manolay* beliefs, although spirit communication continues and, at night, stories are still told about the *Unto* people.

SUMMARY

The aim of this paper has been to describe the content and context of the *Manolay* cult and, at the same time, to suggest those events and socio-cultural relationships which were most relevant to the cult's genesis and eventual dissolution. With some reservation, it was decided to use a "revitalization movement" framework for analysis. Within this context, the *Manolay* cult appears to have evolved primarily as a response to the confusion and restriction that the Isneg experienced during the American administration of Apayao. The suppression of inter-community warfare, for example, eliminated a hitherto successful method for resisting alien interference. Headhunting was also a cornerstone of Isneg expressive culture and the rationale underlying their political structure. Defeat and supervision by a constabulary of lowland soldiers, compulsory school attendance, and the payment of taxes through the provision of free labour on municipal roads and trails further challenged the status conceptions of a formerly highly independent people. Attacks on the local beliefs and "superstitions" by the self-assured Ilocano school teachers and Christian missionaries highlighted the inadequacies in the old life style. At the same time, many Isneg had only a hesitant and incomplete comprehension of the satisfactions available in the new system. Throughout this period of change, they faced the usual environmental harassments of sickness, epidemic, and famine. The *Manolay* ideology justified, if only temporarily, their removal from these uncomfortable circumstances.

On the other hand, the so-called "deprivations" of the American period should not be over-emphasized. Except in the more isolated

Isneg settlements, commitment to the *Manolay* cult was, in fact, both irregular and short-lived. The "sense of blockage", prompting the cult's evolution, may have been tempered by such considerations as the receptivity of the younger generation to mission and school teachings, the long Isneg experience with alien ideas, the environmental restraints limiting close constabulary supervision, the relatively liberal and unexploitive character of American control, and the initiative granted to influential Isneg in the enactment and enforcement of the new restrictions. The war experience terminated the cult's remaining appeal.

At no time were the Isneg confronted with an acute awareness of their material disadvantage. Indigenous labour and resources were not, as in parts of the world where millenarian movements have flourished, subsided, and reappeared, callously exploited to the profit of the outsider. The continued efficacy of dry rice cultivation preserved the economic independence of the conjugal family. Small scale coffee and tobacco production allowed the purchase of foodstuffs, clothing, and certain manufactured goods from the Ilocano shopkeepers in Kabugao. Unfortunately, the social consequences of the shift to a more efficient, market-oriented mode of agricultural production, still face the Isneg.

The consequently "mild millenarian climate" triggered cult commitments of varying intensity. In Kabuwan, the cult continued for two years, while, in Magapta, an Apayao River settlement, the interest in *Manolay* celebrations waned after a few months. Earlier in this paper, I suggested that the political "marginality" of the Agingan region, prompted by its former hostility toward the Apayao River people, their exclusion from Apayao River boat travel, and closer linguistic and ethnic ties with the Matalag River Isneg, played a part in the duration, vigour and locality-emphasis of the Kabuwan cult.

However, the regional framework for analysis, while heuristic on one level, does not adequately account for the differences in cult activity between the neighbouring hamlet clusters of Kabuwan and Agingan. This dissimilarity highlights the potential for divergent social development in one Isneg region. Diverse origins, a relative population increase, and a history of more extensive interaction both along the Apayao River outside Apayao (Tables I, Ia, II, and III), helped to equip the Agingan people with greater social confidence and a more flexible worldview. In contrast, the Kabuwan people were socially isolated, introspective and conservative. Such attitudes could have exaggerated the "sense of blockage" responsible for their prolonged religious experimentation.

The absence of intensive alien contact during the Spanish period as well as a conscious exclusion of Ilocano, Spanish and American influence accounts, in part, for the preponderance of indigenous symbols in the *Manolay* ideology. In this respect, the *Manolay* cult contrasts with

the "accommodative" *Sapilada* sect in the Central Cordillera and the "vitalistic" *Guardia de Honor* in the lowland Ilocos provinces. Continued regional autonomy and the leadership of female shamans also restricted developments in this direction.

Finally, a dilemma similar to that which faced the Isneg during the American administration of Apayao need not necessarily give way to millenarian activity. Yet, traditional beliefs in the return of the ancestors, the extraordinary powers of *manolay* and *gamog*, and the prospects of an everlasting *sayam* at the house of *Kutaw*, gave "immediacy" and "reality" to this type of vision. It is possible that the Isneg experience with Christianity awakened their interest in the millenarian aspects of their own religious thought.

The social, political, and economic diversity of northern Luzon's mountain populations and their differential exposure to alien contact offer a unique opportunity for ethnographers to record and compare the subtle relationships between religious commitment and social change. In such circumstances, underlying patterns of thought, not readily available for observation, are sometimes quite dramatically revealed. Recent studies in this area by Edward Dozier (1966), Jules DeRaedt (1964), Fred Eggan and Alfredo Pacyaya (1962), Phyllis Flattery (1968) and William Henry Scott (1966) demonstrate the exciting potential for continued research on this subject. It is hoped that this account of the *Manolay* cult will stimulate further perspectives in the description of the socio-cultural dynamics of the Cordillera peoples.

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