

STRUCTURAL-ORGANIZATIONAL FEATURES OF RELIGIOUS CHANGE IN NORTHERN LUZON, PHILIPPINES¹

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Anthropological studies of change are commonly concerned with, or at the very least distracted by, questions regarding "Westernization," "Americanization," or the "acculturation" of non-Western peoples. Anthropologists, particularly we American anthropologists, often view the impact of transistor radios, Coca Cola, modern transportation, market involvement (the "plain and simple facts" of acculturation), as having a denigrating effect upon the people we study with what we see as an impoverishment and ultimate loss of "traditional behavior and beliefs." As a consequence it can still come as a surprise to us in visiting the Philippines to discover that you Filipinos are so thoroughly and unrepentantly Filipino, and you manage to do that after over 300 years of Spanish influence followed in the last seventy years by a massive infusion of American ideas and paraphernalia! There you are with your neon lights, jeepney busses, smog and traffic jams, dancing the latest American dances, playing baseball and attending jai alai matches, learning and speaking English from the third grade on, and going to Spanish churches and universities that date back centuries. Yet, in terms of general cultural orientation and world view, you Filipinos are infinitely more like Indonesians or Malaysians (people you have probably never even seen!) than you are like either Spaniards or Americans.

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It is not that these frustrating "facts" of acculturation are unimportant to the Philippine self-image or to social science research. The problem for the anthropologist is that they too often get in the way of our understanding of how people change and adapt new behaviors without unduly concerning themselves with whether or not they are (to transpose the title of Ralph Linton's famous article) "One Hundred Percent Filipino." This emphasis on acculturative factors leads to the kind of reasoning that drives the American anthropologist off in search of the "real" Filipino in some remote and isolated country barrio or mountain village when all the time he is right there, two and a half million strong, in metropolitan Manila.

As it is in many other areas of the world, the single most important index of acculturation in the Philippines is seen to be religion: Christianity for the vast majority of Filipinos, Islam for the Muslim minority in the south. The division between Christian (or Moslem) and pagan is synonymous with Lowlander and Highlander, deuter and proto-Malay, peasant and primitive, and (for the American and Filipino layman alike) "civilized" and "savage". Because this formal distinction is such a clear-cut typological contrast, the socio-religious dynamics of the differences between Highlander and Lowlander seem to get lost in the cataloging and description of Christian beliefs and pagan religious practices. The aim in this paper is to bridge the formal

religious distinctions by considering the social structural dimensions of religious beliefs and practices in northern Luzon.

The theoretical outline presented in this paper was developed during the collection and analysis of field data on a lowland, northern Luzon group, the Ilocanos (Lewis 1967).² The approach makes use of models advanced for the study of religion by G. E. Swanson (1960) and utilizes them to clarify certain structural arrangements which can be seen in patterns of both persistence and change as reported for a variety of cultural-linguistic groups in northern Luzon. At the same time, the approach is considered applicable to the comparative study and understanding of other regional situations of social and cultural change.

With a well established tradition in Philippine ethnology on questions regarding cultural uniqueness, culture area, diffusion, and migration, the formal and very obvious distinction between the acculturated Christian and the non-acculturated pagan has been only slightly less meaningful for the anthropologist than for the missionary—the anthropologist often viewing the pagan as “unspoiled” and the missionary seeing him as “unproselytized”. Part of the problem can be eliminated by simply ignoring the specific Christian elements and overtones of Western, particularly American, acculturation to concentrate instead upon certain socio-religious patterns which can be correlated with a range of social features which characterize the peoples of northern Luzon. The features to be considered here are examined in terms of the socio-religious models for *monotheism* and *polytheism* proposed by Swanson (1960:55–96).

Swanson's work, *The Birth of the Gods*, is concerned with more general religious questions regarding the nature of supernatural beliefs and the relationship of religious belief systems to the social order. His approach in defining monotheism and polytheism derives simply from the Durkheimian notion “that men develop a concept of personified supernatural beings directly from the model which the society provides”

(Swanson 1960:16). Swanson sees monotheism and polytheism as representing, in effect, *supernatural social orders* based upon the characteristic of real societies. While there is a structural hierarchy of spirits in all religions, what characterizes monotheistic systems of belief is that high gods, *as well as* lesser supernatural beings, are seen to be active in human affairs, their activity corresponding to effective levels (“sovereign groups”) of social complexity. Thus, the stratified system of spirits and gods of a monotheistic system are the divine and active equivalents of the existing stratified social groups. The high gods of a polytheistic system, while they do exist, are remote and withdrawn from human affairs, their work by and large having been completed with the acts of cosmic and human creation. In polytheistic systems it is only the local spirits who are regularly and consistently active in human affairs, the structure of the spiritual “social order” more nearly corresponding to the less differentiated human social order of less complex societies.

The application of Swanson's model to a body of ethnographic data, involving a variety of social groups representing degrees of greater and lesser social complexity, requires that attention be directed to the structural-organizational considerations of religion, both the unique and shared features of acculturation and diffusion being purposefully and necessarily ignored. Thus the fundamental questions do not concern the facets and form of a particular religion but rather the structural-organizational features of a religion in terms of its being more monotheistic or polytheistic.

The data used to give an overview of northern Luzon are from the works of DeRaedt (1964); Dozier (1960, 1961); Eggan (1941, 1963); and Keesing (1962). While these hardly exhaust the available materials on the Cordillera Central and Ilocos Coast regions, these sources are sufficiently broad to support the theoretical position of this paper, and these authors do themselves draw upon a great deal of additional northern Luzon material. Ethnographic data from the southern

Philippines and elsewhere in Southeast Asia are also employed in order to test and demonstrate the applicability of this approach outside of northern Luzon.

In *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon* (1961) the late Felix M. Keesing was concerned with problems regarding the origins, distributions and variations of lowland and highland populations in northern Luzon, his interest in the area deriving from earlier studies on the Bontocs and Isnegs. In his summation, having outlined the various regional and sub-cultural differences which went into his conclusions about the history and development of northern Luzon groups, he noted,

"One of the striking features of the northern Luzon record, of importance not only for comparative study in other areas but also for cultural theory generally, is the repetitive nature of certain phenomena of persistence and change. Most obvious, in zone after zone, are patterns of response to penetration and pressures . . .

"For both lowlander and mountaineer, a selective merging of old and new elements occurred to make up a reformulated way of life. Although the lowland groups leaned much more to new things, partly because of great accessibility and ecological flexibility, and partly by force of the alien control, economic, familial, religious, festive, and other usages continued to give an indigenous stamp to their cultural milieu . . ." (*The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, F. M. Keesing, 1962:343).

Over twenty years prior to this Eggan had rigorously approached this idea in a paper, "Some Aspects of Culture Change in the Northern Philippines" (1941). At the time Eggan's work was a distinct departure from the older concern with historical and diffusionist questions. Eggan attempted to demonstrate the dynamic character of cultural differences, similarities, and the processes of social change. His article was of special interest and significance for northern Luzon studies and has, in the years since World War II, influenced research on a number of related problems there. A more recent article by Eggan, "Culture Drift and Social Change" (1963), considers data published subsequent to his earlier work on developments reported for the Cordillera Central Mountains by Barton (1949), Dozier (1960, 1961), Eggan

(1954, 1960), Keesing (1949), and Scott (1958). These materials were used to strengthen Eggan's original theoretical position regarding "culture drift."

In brief, Eggan was attempting to demonstrate the "drift" or pattern of social and cultural changes in terms of the "inner dynamics and adaptive processes" which characterize the population of northern Luzon. His efforts can be seen, on the one hand as a reaction against the more traditional and overly mechanical notions of diffusion and acculturation and, on the other, as an attempt to demonstrate the innovative and syncretic processes by which the populations of this area have adjusted to the conditions of their own social and natural environments.

What Eggan demonstrates is the progressive complexity of social forms which are found in going from the Ifugao in the highland interior to the Ilocanos along the northwest coast. As he notes in the 1941 article,

"As we go from the interior to the coast—the social and political organization becomes more and more complex. Among the Ifugao the villages are small and usually scattered along the valleys. There is no village political organization, kinship is practically the sole social bond, the social control outside the kin group is embodied in a large number of specific rules and regulations. Bontoc villages are large, but village organization is not centralized; rather the villages are divided into a series of wards (*atos*) each with its own council and a considerable degree of independence of action. The *atos* tend to patrilocal residence but there is no conscious patrilineal organization. Tinguian villages are often larger, with clusters of barrios about a central nucleus, and with a central authority, the village headman or *lakay*. Ilocano villages are also large, and often two or more were combined under a single political authority . . ." (Eggan 1941:12–13).

Eggan then goes on to related differences in kinship and social control where reductions in the range of effective kinship obligations are paralleled by increases in the complexity and development of political authority. These social changes, Eggan notes, are related to increased amounts of per capita wealth and the concomitant importance and elaboration of social and status differences. The increased significance of

social and class distinctions for those groups nearer the coast is shown to be functionally important for marriage patterns which stress rules designed to keep wealth within the family and to maintain existing social differences. Finally, and of special significance here, religious beliefs and practices reflect the same directional change of increasing social complexity and elaboration. In terms of Swanson's model there is a progressive shift from the more polytheistic systems of the interior to the more pronounced monotheistic systems of lowland populations.

"In religious beliefs and rituals, also, there are definite changes from the interior to the coast. The Ifugao have an elaborate hierarchy of deities who are invoked by male priests and controlled by verbal rituals and offerings. Souls of the dead are important but serve largely as intermediaries between the people and the more important deities. Among the Bontoc, the souls of the dead seem relatively more important, though less is known of Bontoc religion. Most Ifugao men act as priests at one time or another, though some specialize more completely; among the Bontoc the priesthood seems more highly restricted and specialized. In both groups Lumauig is the important culture hero; in neither is there evidence of a single supreme deity.

"For the Tinguian non-human spirits take precedence over the souls of the dead, who are relatively unimportant. Female mediums, of little importance in the interior, here occupy the center of the stage in the curing rituals and the prestige ceremonies, although men usually conduct the communal ceremonies. Kabunian, the culture hero, is similar to Lumauig; there is in addition a central deity called Kadaklan. The Ilocano likewise believe in a host of spirits as well as the Christian god, Apo Dios; formerly they believed in Kabunian also. The souls of the dead are no longer important factors in religious life" (Eggen 1941:16).

Running counter to this pattern of development are those changes brought about or stimulated by Spanish and American contacts with lowland populations, specifically the Ilocanos. However, it was the fact that an acculturative approach did not adequately account for the range of social and cultural variability which led Eggen to concentrate instead upon indigenous social and cultural factors. Eggen's solution to the problem was to note that there exist two interrelated facets of change: first, that going from the less complex interior groups to the more complex coastal populations and second,

the counter influence of acculturation. However, in Eggen's 1963 article the word "acculturation" does not appear and changes from outside the Mountain Provinces are simply viewed as external factors which necessitate internal social adjustments not procedurally different from internally induced change. Acculturative situations are but accidents of history, the effects of which are incorporated in terms of pre-existing tendencies, or "drift."

In the 1963 article Eggen had incorporated the materials above which had appeared subsequent to his earlier study. Of particular importance was the work of Dozier (1960, 1961) concerning changes in Kalinga Province which illustrates, within a single cultural-linguistic area, the same pattern of change that Eggen had emphasized as occurring across several such areas, from the Ifugao to the Ilocano. Dozier's most recent (1966) and more detailed work on the southern and northern Kalinga adds further support to Eggen's outline of regional change. In still another work published after Eggen's second paper, DeRaedt (1964) has attempted to show how Kalinga religious representations have changed in relation to shifts from swidden to sedentary wet-rice agriculture. His interpretation also adds to Eggen's original analysis.

The process of culture drift was demonstrated in terms of the increasing degree of social complexity shown from interior to coastal populations. The development is complicated, but not altered, by a series of changes stimulated by Chinese, Spanish, and American contacts which were most significant for the lowland Ilocano. The proselytization of lowland Filipinos to Christianity is one of the major and more visible changes resulting from Philippine contact with the West. However, just as the Spanish had earlier "Hispanized" Roman Catholicism, Filipinos have readily "Philippinized" Spanish Catholicism, the Filipino changes in Christian practices and beliefs being incorporated in terms of established patterns (Phelan 1959).

The concept of culture drift directs attention away from the overly mechanical notions of dif-

tusion and acculturation to concentrate instead upon the way in which people select, reject, manipulate, modify, and make accommodations to the factors of change which come to bear upon their particular way of life. Yet, as an explanation of the processes of social and cultural change the assertion that historic accidents are reinterpreted "in terms of established patterns" does in part beg the question. Questions concerning the *means* by which the reinterpretation is accomplished are still left unanswered. The main contribution stemming from the idea of culture drift is that we are led to the position of asking meaningful questions about changes in human behavior; however, it is difficult to see how the concept of culture drift can be used as an explanation of change.

As already indicated, the increasing complexity of social forms in northern Luzon has its corollary development in religious structures: the essentially undifferentiated social systems occurring in the interior (the Ifugao and Kalinga); the more or less complex structures in the central region (the Bontoc); and the hierarchical structures near the coast (the Tinguian and Ilocano). Ignoring the specifics of Christian influence for the Ilocano, the increasing social complexity and the parallel elaborations in religious structure demonstrates an essentially unbroken continuum from interior to coast. In applying Swanson's structural models for religious belief systems, the pronounced polytheism of the Ifugao is seen to relate directly to the relative absence of social differentiation while the near monotheism of the Ilocano is significantly related to the presence of social classes.

The "problem" regarding Christian and non-Christian distinctions arises in the structurally artificial division between the "acculturated" Ilocano and the "non-acculturated" Tinguian, both of whom are about equally monotheistic. The point is that the "problem" exists only when stressing the distinction of Christian and non-Christian, only in terms of acculturation or diffusion. The fact that the Ilocano did accept Christianity and the Tinguian did not is neces-

sarily understood in terms of the particular history and geographical situation of each group, the relative isolation of the Tinguian being of special importance. The model for monotheism cannot explain the particular circumstances involved in the acceptance of Christianity by the Ilocano nor its rejection by the Tinguian. On the other hand, it does demonstrate what are, in effect, the *structural-organizational conditions* required for the acceptance or rejection since for both the Ilocano and the Tinguian it was feasible. In terms of the existing social order and religious system of beliefs a choice is consistent and reasonable. For the people involved the substitution of one monotheistic system of beliefs and practices for another was conceivable. History and circumstance would make it necessary or desirable.

After some initial resistance to Christianity the Ilocanos began the process of "Ilocanizing" Spanish Catholicism, the process being no more mechanical than the subsequent and more recent assimilation of American political institutions in this century. Tinguian resistance was maintained (and in some remote areas is still maintained) until quite recent times.³ On the other hand, it is unlikely that the socially less complex mountain groups would or could have accepted a system of religious beliefs so functionally different from their own socio-religious hierarchy—though elements and artifacts could be and have been syncretized. The highly stratified and more generally involved heavenly host of Christianity would not be functionally interchangeable with the polytheistic but only locally involved spirit figures of the Ifugao.

It must be stressed that none of the cultural-linguistic areas mentioned are evenly or uniformly structured in terms of socio-religious organization. Dozier (1966) and DeRaedt (1964) aptly demonstrate this with respect to ecological variations for Kalinga sub-province where there are various regional and local differences in both social and religious spheres of behavior. Both in terms of internal elaboration and an ever in-

creasing involvement in Philippine society at large, the political and economic changes taking place in Mountain Province today are creating the social conditions for the possible modification of traditional belief systems and/or the adaptation of reinterpretation of alternate religious systems.

This writer's fieldwork among the lowland Ilocanos revealed that rural villages are much more involved with local, essentially polytheistic spirit worlds, with both the Church and Christian hierarchy by and large removed from immediate, day-to-day activities. It is in the more socially stratified, economically and politically complex towns that the "Ilocano trilogy" of *Apo Dios*, *Jesus* and *Maria* is most important. The fact that the rural communities of Christian Ilocano are less "devoutly monotheistic" than townsmen adds to rather than detracts from the argument; the basis for distinguishing monotheistic and polytheistic systems is based upon social criteria which may or may not correspond to cultural-linguistic distinctions.

In utilizing the northern Luzon data there are inevitably problems that emerge in trying to make the model "fit" particular circumstances. Partly this is a result of local and regional variations and partly a consequence of the way in which the data has been reported and interpreted. In the most general sense the problems of "fit" derive from the fact that the level of abstraction employed in the hypothesis accounts for widespread, general patterns of change but does not, cannot in fact, adequately account for any specific developments. This is the same long-standing problem which has characterized the arguments between the evolutionary and historical approaches, between general evolution and specific evolution (Sahlins and Service 1960).

Of the several problems found in the ethnographic record itself the most persistent and frustrating is the historical or diffusionary bias which pervades so many interpretations, with the result that historical statements are commonly seen to contravene structural, functional, or processual arguments. For instance, DeRaedt

(1964), after effectively demonstrating the relationship between ecology and religion, goes on to consider the roles and importance of higher deities throughout the mountain provinces but continually and unnecessarily qualifies his argument with statements relating to diffusion or acculturation:

"The local development of the conceptualizations of the higher deities among the Tinguian may have been hampered by the Ilocano presence and by the strong acculturative influence of the Spanish regime after the introduction of wet rice into the area (309).

"Moss was convinced that the *Kabunian* of the Nabaloi was of foreign origin. We are bound to respect his opinion, as he has given us a very comprehensive description of the Kabayan religious thought (332).

"The Bago cosmology . . . in the southwestern foothills of the Cordillera . . . may be due to the stagnation of local development referred to earlier, due to the impact of Christian thought (332).

" . . . if the *Kabunian*-idea in Bontok is the result of mere diffusion, the importance of *Kabunian* should fade as it reaches deeper into the Cordillera" (333).

In DeRaedt's case these arguments are at cross purposes, i.e., his mixing of functional and historical arguments, tend only to obfuscate his central position. The unfortunate fact is that such nonsequiturs are so commonly given and readily accepted, not only in Philippine studies but in anthropology as a whole.

A second problem emerging from the ethnographic data is the fact that virtually all research has been accomplished in a period of seventy years involving relatively rapid change and increasing involvement and participation of local populations in ever wider social contexts. As changes have followed different ecological adaptations there have also been changes to the altered social environments with variations in religious representations a part of the wider changes. DeRaedt notes these changes for those groups (e.g. Bagos, Tinguians) most involved in the wider political scene though he emphasizes historical circumstances rather than social adaptation as the crucial variable.

A third problem arises as a result of local and regional variation, e.g. between rural and town dwelling Ilocano, with the result that statements about *the Ifugao* or *the Kalinga* may in

fact represent differing ecological types and/or a range of social complexity. There is, of course, inevitably a problem in speaking about a relatively large ethno-linguistic group from the perspective of a single village or local region.

Finally, the organization and outline of both polytheistic and monotheistic systems of belief can be essentially the same in the way that deities are hierarchically ranked. However, from the standpoint of Swanson's model, the crucial factor concerns the levels of social complexity *and* the involvement of higher deities in human affairs. Reports concerning the ranking of higher deities in a polytheistic system which does not consider the actual roles of particular gods could imply a structural-functional affinity to monotheistic system that does not in fact exist. The differential involvement of higher deities in the variably structured social groups of northern Luzon is shown by DeRaedt in his compendium of the roles and importance of high gods for non-Christian populations. His data and interpretation generally support the hypothesis made here (DeRaedt 1964:308-330).

Analogous problems in distinguishing highland and lowland, acculturated and non-acculturated, civilized and pagan peoples are found throughout Southeast Asia. A similar situation involving such social and cultural variability is found with the distinctions between Moslem and pagan populations in Mindanao. The problem there is somewhat less complicated by the circumstances of culture contact than has been the case in northern Luzon in that the "Philippinization" of Islamic beliefs by populations in Mindanao was not accompanied by foreign conquest but was instead brought by Javanese traders some 100 years before the arrival of the Spanish. Though Islam had spread as far north as Manila by the time of Spanish contact, with local datos and sultans ruling over some of the more complexly structured coastal populations, Islam has still not penetrated into most interior areas of Mindanao where socially less differentiated, religiously polytheistic peoples live.

Mednick's (1965) study of the Maranao

Moros would be especially pertinent for a more intensive examination of socio-religious variability of Moslem and pagan populations in Mindanao. In what is the first comprehensive social-structural study of a Philippine Moslem population, Mednick reports the Maranao to be the least complex of the nine different ethno-linguistic groups labeled "Moro":

"If one were to make a simple-to-complex continuum of varieties of political structure in the Philippines, the Taosug-Samal system would probably emerge as the most centralized, the most elaborately organized, and the most wide-reaching in the Philippines. The various Magindanao sultanates appear to be less complex by comparison, while those of the Maranao are by far the simplest" (Mednick 1965:17).

At the same time the Maranao are the most isolated and furthest removed from outside contacts. Religious acculturation, Mednick notes (1965:31), came through contacts with the closely related Magindanao of Cotabato and the lack of social differentiation is paralleled in Maranao religious beliefs and practices.

". . . the practice of Islam, particularly outside Marawi City, is often desultory and pervaded with pagan beliefs.

"Various pagan beliefs, particularly in regard to river spirits and the propitiation of the dead remain prominent in the Maranao system of religious belief. In some cases, these exist separately from Islam and are acknowledged by many to be non-Islamic" (Mednick 1965:32).

Directly related to this is the absence of either religious courts or religious judges characteristic of other Moro populations.

The purpose of Mednick's study is twofold: to place the Maranao in their "Moro context," and to analyze Maranao social and political institutions in terms of Philippine social and cultural patterns as a whole. For comparative purposes Mednick selects Barton's (1949) work on the Kalinga. His conclusion is that the "outlines of Maranao and Kalinga political organization appear to be much the same" (1965:369) except that the Maranao social organization represents a more complex and territorially extended development. The Maranao would seem

to represent a level of socio-political and monotheistic complexity akin to that of the Bontoc as outlined in Eggan's scale of complexity mentioned above. Elsewhere on Mindanao the data on the pagan Bagobo from Benedict (1916) and Cole (1913), though now probably much outdated, suggest a degree of social and religious complexity somewhat less than that of the Moslem Maranao.

For eastern Mindanao Yengoyan (1966) has described the Christian conversions of pagan Mandaya where baptism is a part of the complex of social and economic changes that have increasingly involved the Mandaya in the wider and more complex social environment of lowland Bisayan culture. The crucial ritual step of *becoming a Bisayan* is the baptism of Christian missionaries though further formal religious instruction seldom if ever occurs—a concern for the missionary but not one for the Mandaya who see it as part of their involvement in the “mainstream of Philippine Culture.”

“Not only does one become a Bisayan by changes in clothing, hair style and baptism, but also by active participation in a social framework which is part of the ‘mainstream of Philippine Culture.’ A Bisayan is one who is fully aware of the national life, one who knows the ‘ins and outs’ of business, politics and society, and is able to take part in political, social, and religious organizations and activities characteristic of lowland Philippine culture. For a Mandaya who is gradually coming into the sphere of Philippine economic activity, it is necessary to acquire lowland cultural patterns and attitudes” (Yengoyan 1966:327).

At the same time Yengoyan notes that being a Mandaya today involves a complex of behaviors, some traditional, some new, and the religious features suggest a kind of structural syncretism of Christian and traditional folk beliefs which is increasingly monotheistic.

Structurally analogous situations are also demonstrated for Burma in the works of Lehman (1963) on the Chin, and Leach's (1954) analysis of Kachin social structure. The social complexity extending from Gumlao “democracy” on the one hand to Shan “autocracy” on the other is especially pertinent, the religious correlates of social changes emerging in the same way as

reported by Yengoyan above.

“When as not infrequently happens, a Kachin ‘becomes a shan’ . . . the adoption of Buddhism is a crucial part of the procedure” (Leach 1954:30).

Similar regional and cultural problems which involve distinctions between so-called high religions and pagan beliefs may be susceptible to an analysis which incorporate Swanson's model for monotheism and polytheism and relates these to the levels of social complexity. It must again be emphasized that whether such changes involve the restructuring of an existing pantheon or various kinds of acculturative substitutions, the structural argument is not abrogated.

It has been the thesis of this paper that part of the dynamics of social and cultural change in northern Luzon can be understood in terms of the differential structure and organization of religious beliefs, i.e., the feasibility of assimilating and syncretizing one system of beliefs for another as seen in terms of the models for monotheism and polytheism. At the same time, questions concerning specific historical developments in northern Luzon can be approached in terms of structural and organizationally appropriate questions not encumbered by problems relating to the diffusion of isolated traits or simple changes in religious form. Also, this would add to the understanding of questions which are appropriately historical, functional, or whatever. Furthermore, it is suggested that such an approach may be usefully employed in the analysis of other regional problems of social and cultural change.

While the models for polytheism and monotheism obviously cannot provide answers concerning *why* a given historical development did or did not take place, they can and do provide a basis for demonstrating *how* certain religious or ideological changes were or are possible. For the people actually making such a change the substitution of one set of beliefs and practices for another would “make sense” in terms of the immediate and wider social setting. Further questions can then be raised concerning the nature and importance of both differences and similarities.

Notes

2. Research in the Philippines was sponsored by the Ford Foundation Foreign Area Fellowship Program for twelve months during 1962 and 1963.

3. As Keesing (1962:327-29) and others have noted, the distinction between Tinguian and Ilocano is an imprecise one at best. Central to most distinctions are the factors of diffusion resulting from culture contact. For many mountain groups becoming a Christian also means becoming an Ilocano, the lowland Ilocanos referring to such people as *Bagos*, or "new" Ilocanos. Specific information on the Bago has been provided by Vilar-Basco (1956).

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