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The Apo-Dios Concept in Northern Luzon*

WILLIAM HENRY SCOTT

THE problem of translating the word "God", the bane of most missionaries seeking to render Christian Scripture into the languages of non-Christian peoples, is readily solved among some of the pagan tribes of Northern Luzon by the existence locally of a term for the word and, presumably, a concept to match. This is the term *Apo-Dios* in current use by pagan apologists along the center and western slope of the Gran Cordillera to dignify one or another of their deities as the equivalent of the Judaeo-Christian supreme being. "That's our *apo-dios*," they say, and their Christian relatives second the notion out of broadminded good will and to lessen the shock of relegating their forebears to complete perdition. Missionaries and scientists have frequently accepted these claims at face value, and for fifty years have been publishing references to such a mountain-region "supreme deity", and even an Igorot monotheism. If such a pagan *apo-dios* actually existed in indigenous pre-Christian religions, we can expect him to meet some minimal standards of divinity and supremacy. Such a deity ought at least to be both the creator and sustainer of the world, to exercise control over his creatures, and to receive their worship. We submit in this paper that there is no divine personality known in native

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Mountain Province religions who enjoys all or even most of these attributes, and that the *apo-dios* concept in Northern Luzon is, rather, the result of religious acculturation.

The religion of the Ifugaos on the southeastern face of the Cordillera is excluded from consideration because their gods are so numerous that they can be approached only through a sort of electoral-college system in which deities are invoked by classes rather than as individuals. The late Roy Franklin Barton wrote in his *THE RELIGION OF THE IFUGAOS* (1946):

About 1912 when I had listed only about two hundred deities, I estimated that there were about 1000 of them because listening in on invocations it seemed to me that about four were mentioned to one that I had listed. Later I raised the estimate to 1200. In this work I have listed 1240—with at least seven classes of deities yet to be listed.

On the other hand, it is true that since Barton's time, an even greater student of the Ifugaos, Father Francis Lambrecht, has stated, "They have a confused, a very confused idea of a Supreme Being." (Lambrecht 1957:284) Yet even Father Lambrecht makes it clear that the natives themselves do not claim such a supreme deity—and therefore do not entertain the *apo-dios* concept as such.

There are two main contenders among pagan deities for the title of *apo-dios*—Cabunian and Lumawig. It has often been thought that they have a mutually exclusive distribution with the Benguets in the south worshipping Cabunian, the Bontocs on the crest of the Cordillera Lumawig, and the Kalingas in the north Cabunian again. So the people of the mountains themselves think, the Benguets and the Kalingas often explaining that "the Bontocs call Cabunian Lumawig." Indeed, the comparison is carried one step further: in Pinokpok in the northern extremity of Kalinga, a local deity called Tanganay is identified by English-speaking natives as "our *cabunian*." Yet as long ago as 1918, Kroeber recognized that Cabunian was known to all Igorots in some religious sense. (1918: 18-69) Lumawig, too, is known outside of Bontoc,

but in both Benguet and Ifugao he is simply one of a large number of deities or demigods mentioned. It is this Lumawig of the central tribes who is most frequently referred to by Western writers as the godhead of a supposed Montane monotheism. Eleanor Moss wrote in Alab in the 1930's:

The tales which the Igorots seem to tell most to foreigners are those about their God, Lumawig. The Igorots are monotheists although Lumawig is married and has many children. (1954:6)

Barton, who was in Western Bontoc shortly before World War II, wrote, "A four-month study of the religion of the present-day Kankanai convinced me that this religion is nearly as monotheistic as the Jewish and more monotheistic than many of the Christian religions." (1946:9)

Popular apologetic speaks of both Lumawig and Cabunian as creators of the universe, yet scrutiny of the myths indicates that what they created was much less than the universe. Cole reports of a Tinguian Cabunian, for instance, that he gave mankind expensive Chinese jars and gongs and a tree which bore those agate beads so highly prized by mountain folk, as well as rice and sugar cane and instructions for raising them. (1922:298) Inquiring about the identity of Cabunian in Taga (Pinokpok) in 1956, I was told, "We think of him as the creator of all good things." Even that Wigan of the Skyworld which Lambrecht suggests as a sort of "confused" supreme deity is essentially a benefactor rather than a creator, and Lambrecht speculates that a native priest, if interrogated, might refer to him as follows: "We do not invoke him for what is the use of doing so? He is good, he helps, he never thinks of causing harm." (1957:285)

The creation myths as they appear in actual religious texts rather than in English retellings make it clear that there was already some world in which the "creator" wrought his "creation." C. R. Moss's 1920 collection of Ibaloi and Kankanay prayers includes the following description of creation: "Long ago the gods came down to the earth but there were no people. They said, 'It is good if there are people. We will make a man and a woman.'" (1920:384)

The traditional Bontoc version begins in Wilson's SKYLAND OF PHILIPPINES with the statement: "Long ago, Lumawig was standing on the summit of a high mountain in the Cordilleras of Luzon." (1956:150) This setting, incidentally, is typical of both the Cabunian and Lumawig so-called creation myths—they are looking down on earth, an earth already created, that is. The myths often speak of modifications made in creation, most typically the flooding of the earth and the raising up of mountains, and, in fact, sometimes stress the fact that there was another world before the one created by the subject of the myth by recounting the reason why the old one was destroyed. The following is the Alab version recorded by Eleanor Moss:

Long, long ago the world was flat; no mountains or valleys broke the surface. Each night when the people came home from work they found their pigs had scattered far and wide. It was so hard after a strenuous day in the fields to have to hunt lost and stolen pigs that the people became angry and began to grumble against Lumawig. When Lumawig heard this he grew angry and said to himself, "I will send a great flood to destroy all these complaining people." (1954:12)

But nowhere do the original texts state that the subject god actually created the earth, much less the rest of the universe. This deficiency has been supplied in a number of English-language versions, however; one of the tales in the Wilson-Mallari collection begins: "Cabunian used to come to earth, *which he had created.*" (Wilson 1958:4; italics added.) Perhaps the high point of such acculturated versions is contained in an unpublished document called "The Bible of Lumawig" which was written by a Christian native of Patiakang (Besao) while working with U.S. forces in Guam. The opening line runs, "Cabunian made the heaven, the earth and all that there in them is."

Now, when it comes to the matter of worship—how are these *apo-dioses* dealt with in religious ritual? Lumawig as contained in the Western Bontoc rites will be a fruitful object of investigation for the following reasons: this is the area of Barton's claims of monotheism; here there is frequent fusion with Cabunian motifs, which should render Lumawig doubly

divine; and there is an excellent collection of texts to work with—over 200 prayer texts collected by Barton, Fred Eggan, Alfredo Pacyaya, Leonard Aclop and myself, available in manuscript form at the University of Chicago, and another 206 from nearby Bauko published by Father Morice Vanoverbergh (1953). To these can be added the English translations of Besao prayers published by Simon Aquino (1954:592-603).

Barton's "four-month study of the religion of the present-day Kankanaï" was presumably made during his 1940 sojourn in Sagada, for he is not known to have worked anywhere else on the western side of the Cordillera. The texts which he left are still available and an examination of them shows that with the exception of one highly atypical song there is no example of Lumawig's being addressed or invoked or worshipped or sacrificed to in any way. Rather, Lumawig himself is portrayed as a sacrificer, as a propitiator of other deities, as the originator of the very rite in which his name is mentioned—and in Sagada, at least, these rites are invariably connected with wedding ceremonies. In the Bauko prayers this is equally true; far from being invoked, Lumawig is spoken of most frequently as a hunter, and even as one of two brothers in circumstances which form a two-brother motif common to all of western Bontoc. Jenks in 1905 wrote that "throughout the Bontoc culture area Lumawig is the one and only god of the people" (204) and "all prayers for fruitage and increase—of men, of animals, and of crops—all prayers for deliverance from the fierce forces of the physical world are made to him" (200-201). Yet he quotes no prayer in the Bontoc language to illustrate these points. The few brief prayers that he does quote, on the contrary, are addressed to *anitos*, beheaded ancestors, enemy spirits, rice plants, birds, fog, and "the cold". Barton's manuscripts are full of the same objects of worship and, furthermore, almost establish as a norm a final invocation to two special tree-dwelling spirits (*pinading*) and two major water sources (*danom*).

It must be admitted that if no recourse were made to the actual texts, it would be easy to understand these claims of Lumawig's unique divinity, for both pagan and Christian

natives make a habit of describing the very prayers here referred to as being addressed to that one deity. It has been my own experience to have a prayer unequivocally addressed to the stones of the sacred tribunal explained by the very man reciting it as being a prayer to Lumawig, "our *apo-dios*," and this example could be multiplied many times over. Indeed, it seems remarkable that the Bontoc-Sagada people can so innocently call Lumawig the pagan God when they participate in, or are party to, almost weekly worship of a whole host of ancestral and nature spirits. Or, to put it another way, nothing less than remarkable is the broadmindedness of a supreme deity who does not object to such competition.

The subject of Cabunian-worship in Kalinga is rendered difficult by the absence of any published collection of texts and the fact that the non-Kalinga investigator is dependent for interpretation upon young men who have little respect for or patience with such female elders as are the repositories of the prayers themselves. At the present time, fortunately, the anthropologist Edward Dozier is doing field work in the Mabaca Valley with the promise of settling this question for one area at least by the evidence of recorded texts. Meanwhile, the following discussion of Cubunian's divinity will be offered on the basis of five years' occasional investigation in Kalinga which, if not conclusive, is at least indicative.

There seems to be little doubt that in Kalinga, Cabunian is the personal name of some individual deity, whether *apo-dios* or culture hero: the stories which recount his wonder-working refer him with a singular proper noun. Moreover, he is thought of as a sort of dispenser of justice with a sway as wide as the concept of "luck" or "fate". In Bangad, for instance, little folk proverbs warning against committing secret crimes which might go undetected among men begin with the phrase, "*Anat a' afunian*—There's Cabunian"—that is, who'll see you if you do it. (Comparison might be made to the Bontoc-Sagada handling of the same situation, which often begins, "*Wada nan adikila*—There's the unseen.") But is this Cabunian invoked in actual prayers? Does he receive actual sacrifices from the Kalingas?

A Mabaca informant stated that Cabunian was addressed by name during a rite performed in the fields in which bits of meat were shaved off a pig's-knuckle as a propitiatory symbol of the "miraculous increase" of the rice. Yet in nearby Balbalan in an interview with the last two survivors of the deserted village of Gobang, which was only a few hours' hike from Mabaca, I was told of a similar pigskin-shaving ceremony in the fields in which *ten* deities were invoked—Cabunian and nine prominent ancestors of the clan. Still further up the mountain, in Balbalasang on the Saltan River, an old man assured me that Cabunian was asked to combat disease-causing evil spirits (*anitos*) in healing rituals, yet when called upon for the actual wording of such invocation admitted that it was really the spirits themselves that were addressed and to whom the sacrifice was offered, not Cabunian. Moreover, Cole's field notes of the early 1900's, on file in Chicago, state that in this same village Cabunian was unknown. Unless Cole's investigation was superficial, it would appear that the Cabunian concept itself has been introduced into this region in the past fifty years. Such a process is not at all impossible. In far eastern Kalinga, where Christianity was introduced by Catholic missionaries, English-speaking natives in Madukayan and Tanudan explain pagan prayers as being addressed to Cabunian *through* the *anitos*, that is, in terms highly suggestive of Christian intercessory prayer and the veneration of saints.

Barton's 1945 volume on Kalinga custom law deals only perfunctorily with native religion but does describe Cabunian as a supreme deity, and then goes back to a 1930 issue of the Protestant *Kalinga Herald* for a prayer in English to illustrate the point. The prayer is concise and presumably can speak for itself:

You relatives of this person who died long ago . . . accept this pig, which we have killed to satisfy you for making this person sick. Have mercy on him, for he alone is able to care for his family, and what is your purpose for making him sick, since you, his relatives, have died? Therefore, I pray you to please stop holding his spirit so that he may recover by tomorrow. Thou, most gracious Kabunian, I pray thee have

mercy on this person, for thou art the greatest person we know on earth who is able to cure sickness.

To this Barton appends as a footnote the following masterful understatement—"Christian influence is obvious in the wording of this prayer." (1949:20)

On the other hand, Mr. Francisco Lambayong of Bangad, the father of one of my students, states explicitly that Cabunian is "our *apo-dios*" and that he receives no sacrifices, and is not invoked, addressed or invited in any way during sacrificial worship. Moreover, Father Alberto Duggom, a native of Kalinga, wrote from Lubuagan on September 23:

Among the Kalingas, Cabunian is a proper name [but] the sad thing is, no prayers are ever directed to him among the people here. Prayers and invocations are addressed to other spirits.

The situation in Bontoc- and Kankany-speaking areas is even more significant for our consideration—in that here Cabunian isn't even a *name* at all! It is true that the word is sometimes used in casual conversation as a proper name, but in prayers it appears in a grammatical form which indicates unambiguously that it is a common noun. This is true in all the Sagada texts examined, and even Vanoverbergh's Bauko texts show Cabunian to be a common noun rather than a personal name, despite the fact that Father Vanoverbergh has chosen to treat it as a proper noun, perhaps out of allegiance to those Igorots among whom he has so long worked and by whom he has been so long loved.

In these dialects, personal names are indicated by the article *si*, while *nan* and *san* are followed by common nouns. "*Wada kanos* (i.e., *kano si*) *Lumawig*—Once upon a time there was Lumawig" shows up in the Bauko texts to contrast with "*Wada kano san kabunian*—Once upon a time there was the *kabunian*", which parallels nicely "*Wada kano nan ipogaw*—Once upon a time there was a man." Again, personal possession is shown by conjunction between the thing possessed and the name of the possessor, so that "*anak Lumawig*" is "Lumawig's child" and "Cabunian's child" should therefore follow as "*anak Kabunian*." This form, however, does not occur in the

Bauko prayers; rather is "*anak di kabunian* — a *kabunian* child", which parallels such expressions as *ba-ey di gamig*, which is a scabbard (literally, "a bolo-house"), not "Bolo's house." And even in the one case where Cabunian is actually invoked, the form is "*Sik-a san Kabunian ay sana*—(literally) You are the *kabunian* there" and not "You, Cabunian," which would be "*Sik-ay Kabunian*."

The same grammatical situation frequently carries over into English when native speakers of the dialects translate the stories. L. L. Wilson printed a story in the *Baguio Midland Courier* of May 8, 1949, which ended with the words: "That is why to this day, Kabunian does not select only old men and women to die; it inflicts death on all." (Wilson 1949) Why "it"? Undoubtedly because Kabunian is not the personal name of an individual male or female. Students in the mission high school in Sagada, in submitting feature stories to the school newspaper or compositions in English classes on the subject of local folklore, also give subtle evidence that in their own Igorot thinking, Cabunian is a category or title and not a personal name. Typical is the following: "On the way to this place there is a place where the old old ancestors believed *the 'Kabunian' or God* stayed for one week. . . ." Simon Aquino also translates "Kabunian" in some prayers (1954:596) and "a Kabunian" in others (1954: 601).

Now, if Lumawig and Cabunian are not the supreme deities they are claimed to be under the *apo-dios* concept, who are they?

Lumawig's name appears from one end of the Cordillera to the other in varying forms—Lawigan, Law-igan, Lawlawigan, Lomawigan, and even Ifugao Wigan, identified in Vanoverbergh's Bauko dictionary as "Lawwigan's name when invoked in the *ayyeng* songs." (1933:501) It occurs among groups of deities or ancestral spirits invoked in Benguet, and among the demigods of Ifugao mythology. Outside the Bontoc area it is a not uncommon family name. There is a Lumawig family living in Asibanglang in the Saltan Valley of Kalinga at the present time, and a Lumawig native to a small barrio above Asiga in the Mabaca valley was at one time in-

carcerated in the Bontoc jail—a circumstance which must have given the good pagan people of that municipality something of a turn. In the recent Provincial elections a Fulag Lumawig ran for councilor in Natonin on the Liberal Party ticket, and a Luis Lumawig was the unsuccessful Nacionalista candidate for vice-mayor of Kiangon (*Mountaineer* 1959). It is not unreasonable to assume, therefore, that Lumawig was an actual man who once lived on the crest of the Cordillera and made such a mark for himself in Bontoc society that he is remembered as a god.

Such deification of a culture hero is not unique in the Mountain Province. In nearby Sagada, the most venerably recalled of the village founding fathers, Biag, is afforded the same treatment in a series of ritual myths which portray him as enjoying a godlike capacity for multiplying his rice supply. He is sometimes called *si Kaan*, presumably a pun on the word *sika-an*, which is what Barton translated “miraculous increase”. Donn Hart of Syracuse, who visited Sagada as a tourist in 1950, wrote Fred Eggan of Chicago that he had learned from an old native named Pignasen (presumably Pekdasen, a sort of dean among pagan priests, since deceased) that “Lumawig, who is also called Biag, was the first man to live in the area.” But for the superior prestige of the Bontoc culture which probably introduced rice terraces into Sagada, Biag might well have accumulated the divinity now enjoyed by Lumawig.

If Lumawig is a deified culture hero, he is one with many added attractions, his canon having absorbed legends of far-flung extra-Bontoc currency. There is, for example, a sort of creation myth known among southeast Asian peoples as far north as Formosa (see Li 1955) which appears in several versions in the Wilson-Mallari collection, sometimes with the creator god unnamed and sometimes called Cabunian, and this same legend is reported for Bontoc in the Moss collection of Alab tales with Lumawig as its hero. Then there is the story of “The Man Turned To Stone” (Barton 1955:107-110), called Ihik in an Ifugao version about two brothers, but who shows up as Lumawig’s jealous brother-in-law in Bontoc. Wilson records the incident as follows:

While he was bending to sip the water, Lumawig seized him and thrust him head first into the rock. The water flowed freely through the body of Tangan, the complaining brother-in-law. (1956:155)

(Less delicate is a Tucucan account which identifies the rock thus formed, still extant and readily recognizable by its resemblance to that human orifice out of which the water appears to be flowing.) Even the sacred groves, the natural temples where genuine sacrifice and worship does take place not only in Bontoc but in Kalinga and, indeed, in Southeast-Asian pagan cultures generally, have got into the story. A tale recorded by Wilson attributes the origin of one of the sacred trees itself to the planting of the pole on which the body of Lumawig's murdered son was carried (1956:156), and Donn Hart picked up a story from an old man on the streets of Bontoc that the tree grew out of the boy's body itself. (1950)

It is also possible to recognize in the confusion between Lumawig and his son in the modern Lumawig canon a survival from an earlier plural pantheon in that skyworld or wherever else Lumawig dwelt. Eleanor Moss described the situation succinctly in the introduction to her Alab tales:

The youngest son, who according to the Alab tradition, visited the earth, is sometimes, as the story is being told, called Lumawig, but if you question the person who uses that name the reply is "No, not Lumawig, the son of Lumawig." (1954:6)

Among the Besao prayers translated by Simon Aquino are a number of narratives in which the hero is called Lumawig in the beginning and Cabunian in the end, or vice versa. Robertson in 1914 reported Cervantes versions with the oft-repeated phrase, "Cabunian or Lumawig", and Father Charles Bearms, CICM, has reported in Pugo, La Union, among the *Bago* (i.e., Igorots who have migrated to the lowlands), what is probably the last stage of the development in this direction—"Lumawig, the son of Cabunian."

Barton and Jenks would therefore seem to be quite right in seeing Lumawig as a deified culture hero, but they were certainly wrong in pushing the process through to monotheism.

As we have seen, Lumawig, far from being a supreme deity, isn't even a "*presidente* of the *anitos*," as Cabunian was at one time called in Tinglayan. As a matter of fact, there even seems to have been some resistance to the spread of his cult: in Tetep-an, between Bontoc and Sagada, the important spirits in the sacred groves dislike the odor of butchered carabao meat, and this in an area in which carabaos are butchered in connection with weddings, which in turn are the occasions of reciting the long Lumawig cycle. Moreover, the Lumawig myth has itself suffered acculturation in its extra-Bontoc expansion: in the Bontoc area Lumawig is reported to have descended from heaven on a nearby mountaintop, but in the Sagada and Besao versions the point of his descent is made to be that Ilocos coastal region whence so many good things have been received through trade.

Cabunian, on the other hand, is one of the oldest divine names recorded in the Philippines. It is first found in the so-called Povedano manuscript, "The Island of Negros and the Customs of the Visayans and Negritos," published in Manila in 1572 but presumably written considerably earlier since Povedano traditionally fought on the field of Granada side by side with Columbus (Hester 1954). Don Martin Quirante, who led an expedition into the Lepanto region of the Mountain Province in 1625, reports it as the name of a deity worshipped in those parts (Blair: 20:260-303). One of these accounts says that this deity lives in the sky, and the other that he *is* the sky.

The root of Cabunian is *buni*, which is translated "prayer" by Moss in Kibungan, viz., "*Adi amom nan Iloko di buni*—The Ilocanos don't know the prayers" (1922:366) and on the opposite side of the Cordillera in Mayaoyao, *mumbuni* is the common word for praying or sacrifice. Cabunian, therefore, ought to be something characterized by *buni*, that is, either a ceremony or a deity, either the worship or the worshipped. Thus Barton translated Cabunian in Kalinga as "those to whom sacrifices are offered," and Lambrecht in Ifugao as "the place of the deities." Even as far north as Bontoc and as late as 1905, *buni* was still known, for Jenks writes: "Through-

out the Bontoc culture area Lumawig, otherwise known but less frequently spoken of as Funi or Kambuyan, is the supreme being" (201)

The association of Cabunian with the *apo-dios* concept seems already to have been recognized forty years ago in the southern part of the province where Spanish influence had to some extent made itself felt for several generations. C. R. Moss wrote in 1920 of the Nabaloi: "While it is true that some have a vague idea of Kabunian as the supreme ruler of the universe, the idea seems to be of recent origin and was doubtless borrowed from Christian Filipinos." Of the term Cabunian itself, the same author states: "The Kankanay always use the plural of the personal pronoun to refer to this word, while the Nabaloi use the singular," and he goes on: "In Kibungan—where the people have had very little contact with the outside world—*kabunian* is used as a collective term to denote all the deities." (280-281) This was still the case during a visit to Kibungan in 1945 when I was told by several people that *kabunian* was a group of deities.

However, in this same Kankanay-speaking area, several natives thought that *kabunian* was the sun or the sky, but couldn't be sure which. This is not very surprising. *Kabunian* is the common Ifugao word for sky, and it has been used in a similar way in Sagada-Besao ballads. "*Mapseng pay san kabonyan*" and "*nakag-aw et san kabonyan*" in several songs means "the next day in the morning" (Barton MS). In a long ballad about the orphan Dongdongyapitan, the young heroine goes searching for her mother among the burial caves and eventually finds her married to the sun (*agew*); the next morning this spectral stepfather goes out about his business as follows:

<i>Tan-owet nintikid si Kabonyan.</i>	At cockcrow Cabunian rose up
<i>Ta ena et apsengan</i>	To go and shine down
<i>Inayan ay litagwan.</i>	Indeed, upon mankind. (Scott: 1956:18)

Vanoverbergh, who, as has been remarked, treats *kabunian* as a proper name, defines the word in his dictionary thus:

"Name of the Igorot God, one in nature, much less cared for and feared than the *anitos* or spirits; his name is often added to that of the different periods of the day." (1933:103: entry under *bunian*)

In modern colloquial Igorot, *kabonyan* is used in exactly the same way "God" and "a god" are used in English. Such non-Igorot wonder-workers as engineers who hang suspension bridges on their threadlike cables over Mountain Province gorges are referred to as being like *kabonyans*, and a Bauko prayer has the people comment of a hero who miraculously does ten men's work in a day, "*Ay ken oppay kabunian di!*—Why, he must be a *kabunian!*" (Another example, incidentally, of the word's being a common noun.) I one time heard a government official chiding a man who, to keep from being involved in a court case, had kept quiet about a robbery he saw only to be victimized himself for his pains. What the officer said was something like, "Now, this wouldn't have happened to you if you'd been a God-fearing man and reported the robbers,"—and the word *kabonyan* was used. The very words used by that Roman Catholic priest quoted above—"The sad thing is, no prayers are ever directed to him"—are testimony to the currency of the concept, for unless the writer was thinking of Cabunian in some sense as God, why should he have deplored the fact that no prayers were directed to him?

Even in Kalinga, where information so frequently indicates that Cabunian is a specific deity's personal name, there remains some real doubt as to his genuine individuality. Both in Balbalasang and Tinglayan, rather widely separated areas, I have spoken to natives who could not decide whether there was only one or more than one *kabonyan*, and the case of the Mabaca-Gobang inclusion of his name in a group of others has already been mentioned. Again, in Pinokpok municipality, informants were confused as to Cabunian's sex, saying that although they ordinarily thought of him as a male "creator of all good things," when they spoke of the divine introducer of rice, Cabunian was thought of as a goddess! And among the Tinguian, as reported by Cole early in the century, *Kaboniyen* is associated or even equated with a deity with the

highly suspicious name of *Kadaklan*, which is simply the superlative form of the adjective "big." (1922:298)

In conclusion I offer one last example which conveniently illustrates the major arguments of the thesis. This is a section of BAYANG'S DEMANG NOTES, a unique description of the religion of Sagada, including specific prayer texts, written in Igorot by a pagan authority who speaks no English. Bayang has grouped five stories together under the heading, "*Nan Limay Tindon Lumawig—The Five Enlightened by Lumawig*" (Bayang: 1955: 29-39). In the stories themselves, however, Lumawig's name is not once mentioned as enlightener or as anything else. On the contrary, the instituting deities are referred to explicitly as "*nan kabbey isnan pidená*—those who dwell in the inner fields" or as "*nan kabonyan*," and, moreover, they are referred to in the plural. One can only conclude that in a fond attempt to credit Lumawig, "our *apo-dios*," with theological significance, the author used his name in this manner but that, when it came really to setting down the stories themselves, he could not so cavalierly treat the venerated teachings of his ancestors.

Our conclusion, therefore, is as follows: that Cabunian is a class or place of deities; that Lumawig is a culture hero turned into a god; and that either or both have become the subject of an *apo-dios* concept through religious acculturation.

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