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The Missionary as Anthropologist: Religious Belief Among the Ifugao

FRANCIS LAMBRECHT

I

THERE are two kinds of anthropologists. One may be called the "desk" the other the "field" anthropologist. Both are important. Both complement each other. But it is obvious that the "desk" anthropologist (the university professor, the director of an anthropological museum, the writer of the early history or prehistory of human culture) is entirely dependent on the data that the many field anthropologists can furnish him. For the first task of anthropology is to collect the actual facts—facts regarding physical structure or language or culture. These facts can be gathered most effectively by those who live among primitive peoples.

This is where the missionary makes his contribution to anthropology. The missionary lives among his people. He knows them intimately. He knows as it were their mentality. It seems accurate to say that a very large proportion of anthropological data has been furnished the "desk" anthropologists of the world by missionaries.¹

A missionary, indeed, is in the first place a *missionary* and for this reason he is primarily interested in the salvation

¹ John M. Cooper *Primitive Man* Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference (Washington D. C.) Vol. I No. 1 p. 3.

of souls, in the establishment of the Church among those primitive peoples to whom he is sent by his superiors. If in the course of his apostolic labors he studies the language of his people, as by duty he must do, and studies their religion, their customs, their culture, he does so because he needs it for his work of conversion and so, unconsciously as it were, he becomes a field anthropologist *in potentia*—and *in actu* if it suits him to make notes, to write down during his spare time all that he hears and sees and to make further researches *ex professo*. In this manner the missionary can supply the professional anthropologist with first class information.

I say first class information because his ethnological and linguistic data are based on direct and constant observation, made under a great variety of circumstances, ascertained and checked by further questioning, corrected, completed and improved. It is also first class information because he can give much desired detail and because he can be accurate. Accuracy is the first requirement of all scientific work.

The question might be asked: while he conducts his research work and compiles his data, does the missionary work in accordance with a preconceived plan, with a certain method, with that method which professional anthropologists recommend? The answer to this question is both "yes" and "no." Yes, because he makes use of questionnaires which show him what he ought to observe and ask, how he should put his questions and the like. Although such questionnaires help him considerably, especially in the beginning, the missionary nevertheless after some time finds out what every priest in a parish or a mission experiences when he is confronted with a case of moral theology: he finds that his books do not contain all the answers and can give him only limited help about that very case which he has to solve *hic et nunc*. In the same manner the missionary in his anthropological researches gradually (and in fact quite rapidly) finds himself working along lines that are not contained in his questionnaires. He puts his questions in other ways than those recommended. In a word he acquires a method of his own, a method which (he thinks) is adapted to the understanding, the intellectual level of his people and of his informants.

As anthropologist, a missionary is primarily (I should even add, exclusively) a *field* anthropologist. He gives the facts as they fall under his observation, and that is all. The classifying, the sorting he leaves to others—to the “professional” or “desk” anthropologists. Likewise, he makes no attempts to compare his facts with those observed among other tribes or groups. He makes no efforts to establish relationships or to trace origins.

It may however be necessary for a field anthropologist now and then to interpret an observed fact because his interpretations may block and, in a way, contradict those that are sometimes made by uncautious professional or desk anthropologists. He is indeed encouraged to do so whenever he has independent evidence of an indisputable nature upon the inner meaning of a fact, say a particular rite or custom. Some anthropologists are fond of making guesses and they write long pages which should be called pure fancy. They prove but one thing, namely, their ignorance of the language and their erroneous understanding of native terminology. In this connection Father Cooper says: “The realm of interpretation is and has been the happy hunting-ground of the reckless theorist. A sudden inspiration comes to some dreamer in his studio. The inspiration looks like an idea from on high. It seems at first thought to explain the whole sweep of human culture or of some phase thereof. Evidence is of course needed to buttress the theory. Finding such evidence in the vast storehouses filled with ethnological facts is often as easy as picking pebbles on the seashore. A score or two are assembled and behold a new doctrine is born into an expectant world. The only fault one can find with the theory is that, while it can be harmonized with about three per cent of the available facts, it goes dead against the other ninety-seven per cent.”²

II

Since I am but a field anthropologist, I can tell nothing except the things I have myself observed in the restricted field

² *Op. cit.* Vol. I No. 1 p. 4.

where I was a missionary, namely the field inhabited by the Ifugao: the Ifugao sub-province, northeast of Baguio and Benguet. There are two most salient traits of the Ifugao culture, traits which are in a way characteristically Ifugao. They are: (1) the striking development of their animistic religion, the most extensive and pervasive that has yet been reported in ethnographic literature; (2) the Ifugao's extensive knowledge of genealogies. We shall confine ourselves to the first.

The Ifugao subdivide the universe into five regions: (1) The Skyworld: they call it *Kabunyan* (i.e. the place where deities are) or also *Angadal* (meaning the region above). (2) The Underworld, called *Dalom*. (3) The Downstream Region, called *Lagud*. (4) The Upstream Region, or *Daya*. (5) The Region of the Earth, or *Pugao*.

The Ifugao clearly distinguish between the geographical and what I might call the "theological" Downstream and Upstream Regions, which lie in the direction of and beyond the geographical regions, beyond the horizon where apparently the earth and sky meet. Their rites speak of the big lake of the Downstream Region—perhaps a relic of a tradition from distant ancestors about the sea. The ordinary road to the Underworld passes by the Downstream Region. Deities or mythological heroes who travel to the Underworld are represented as reaching the banks of the big lake, then diving and so arriving in the Underworld.

The Underworld is an agglomeration of villages of which the houseyards, the houses, the granaries, the rice paddies are similar to those on earth. Even though the Underworld is believed to be at the bottom of the big lake, it is nevertheless perfectly dry for the water is held up at a distance and is as if it were the Underworld's ceiling. There is however, a direct way to the abodes below, directly from the earth to the Underworld. Some rites, especially magical tales, quite often represent one or other deity or a mythological hero as manipulating the comb of a weaving loom, using it as if it were a spoon with which he ladles the earth: then he sinks at once through the earth and like a bird alights on one of the houseyards of the Underworld.

In the Upstream Region there are large forests and a series of villages built on terraces which have been made at various altitudes on the slope of a huge mountain. If deities or mythological heroes are said in the Ifugao ritual to go from the earth to the Skyworld, they follow a path that leads through all these villages of the Upstream Region, traverses the last and after some time, always ascending, reaches the lowest village of the Skyworld where there are again a number of abodes populated by the deities of the Skyworld and by the ghosts of the dead, living in various departments in accordance with the kind of death they were subjected to when they were on earth. This is the long and arduous way to and from the Skyworld.

But there is also a short cut from the Skyworld which a few of the higher deities use, namely to dive from the Skyworld, pass through the air and in an instant land atop one or another pyramidal roof of an Ifugao house, or else on the top of a large tree, the *balete*.

Each of these five regions, including the earth, is peopled by the Ifugao imagination with a great number of deities and sub-deities. There is little of importance that the Ifugao knows about under his sun or under his earth or at the corner of his earth (or wherever his imagination may have carried him) that he has not peopled with supernatural beings.

The Skyworld is inhabited by the Thunderer with his servants that seemingly do the rough work for him. They are the bursters, the rumblers, the overthrowers, the splitters and what not. Thence come his lightnings, his landslides, typhoons and winds, rains and waters.

Besides in a special barrio called Nunggawa live the Deceiver or Forsaker, the sun and moon deities with their wives and their subordinates. They are believed to have dictatorial power over life and death. They are said to be supreme judges who condemn men to death or spare their life. On them depends whether man's headhunting expeditions should succeed or fail. It is due to their interference that man sometimes dies a sudden death, that mothers die at childbirth, that ba-

bies die as soon as they are born. Connected with these dictator deities are the star deities which are said to be the children of the moon. These are a whole legion of supernatural maidens who dive from the Skyworld into the Ifugao's rivers to take a bath, who splash and giggle and cry and then put on their skirts which serve them as wings to fly back to their abode.

In the Underworld lives the Earthquaker with his servants who do the shaking. There he keeps his landslide deities, typhoons, rains and waters.

Besides these the Ifugao worship two important classes of deities, whom we may call the rice culture deities and the foetus-maker deities. They live in special villages in the four supernatural regions (the Underworld, the Skyworld, the Downstream and Upstream Regions).

Of the rice culture deities, those that inhabit the Underworld are believed to be the makers of the rice paddies and the fertilizers of the soil. Their chief is called the Deity-Giving-Growth. Those of the Skyworld give the rice plants. Those of the Upstream Region control irrigation and water supply and those of the Downstream Region are the managers of the rice crops. They are especially invoked during and after the harvest at which time they are said to come to man's abodes, swaggering and wobbling and zigzagging; they drink rice wine, chew betelnut and finally go to dwell in wooden statues which are then put in the granaries where they act as guardians over the rice supply and prevent too hasty consumption or even increase the supply in a miraculous manner.

With regard to the foetus-maker deities, those of the Underworld are believed to be the makers and the masters of the Ifugao's houseyard. Those of the Skyworld make the Ifugao's garments: man's geestring, woman's skirt, their blankets, their bags. The chief foetus-maker of the Skyworld, a male deity, is said to go to the Underworld where he makes man's body with the chief foetus-maker of the Underworld, a female deity. The foetus-maker deities of the Downstream and Upstream Regions are in charge of the special rejoicings per-

formed during marriage feasts or marriage sacrifices: the former take care of the rice wine, the latter are the managers of the dance.

III

Thus far my enumeration has dealt with the most powerful Ifugao deities, but by no means does the catalogue come to an end here, for there are a very great number of other deities and spirits, hundreds of them, belonging to quite a number of classes in accordance with their specific attributes and functions. We may call these the "specialists."

Whatever ailment, whatever pain the Ifugao may have is believed to be caused either by the higher deities whose power is more extensive or by such "specialists" with restricted powers. There are deities for stomach trouble who thrust their spiritual spears into man's stomach and so cause him dysentery or cholera. Others give eye-diseases of all kinds and cause blindness. Others cause headaches, malaria, rheumatism, the cough. Likewise, whatever fear or trouble or disgrace the Ifugao may have is caused and controlled by such spirits.

Prominent among these "specialists" are the messenger spirits whom the shamans send to the abodes of the higher deities to invite them to come to the sacrifice. They are sent to the villages of their enemies to harass them and instill fear, anxiety, restlessness into them and thus spoil the aim of their spears in battle. If the Ifugao perform cursing rites, those messenger spirits are enjoined to bring the curse to the dwellings of their enemies, there to mix the curse with their water or their rice and rice wine so that they may drink and eat the curse and so die altogether.

The Ifugao believe also in legions of omen deities and phantoms that foretell and bring about good or bad luck. They are mysterious cobras, pythons, crocodiles, lizards, otters, wasps, birds, that by their appearance, by their call and cry or by crossing one's path cause disgrace or illness or else prevent it; or do so by giving dreams which most certainly will become true if the persons involved should not comply with all that the

shamans advise. The shamans by their prestige are believed to be authentic interpreters of all such visions.

Even the earth (*pugao* as the *Ipugao*, the people of the earth, call it) is inhabited, infested everywhere by evil spirits. They live in big boulders and rocks, in big trees, in forests, in the rivers, along the paths that lead to their neighbors' villages, in a word in every place possible. These spirits are essentially evil; they exercise their malice by stealing souls, the souls of their wives when they are pregnant or have to give birth, the souls of their children, the souls of their pigs, their dogs, the souls of their rice in their granaries, their rice in the cooking pot, their rice wine in the jar. Some spirits come in swarms to their villages and cause epidemics: they mix spiritual worms of all kinds, spiritual little stones in the water that *Ifugaos* have to drink. They invisibly go up and down all paths, go to every house just like tax collectors: one is governor, another *capitán*, *teniente*, sergeant, corporal or simple soldier and policeman.

Finally there are the ghosts of their ancestors. Although these are not really believed to be deities, they nevertheless have the power to molest their descendants, and in fact they do so if they are displeased because they are not favored with the offer of a pig or a chicken. Of course they need our pigs and chickens (so the *Ifugao* think) for they want to display their wealth in their abode of the Skyworld. And that they wish to do so is quite clear from the fact that they make us sick! Sometimes they want one of our children to play with, and in that case they might not be satisfied with one of our pigs. Their displeasure may also be aroused because the blanket in which their bones are wrapped is rotten, in which case they want a new blanket. Or they are displeased because we are selling land or property or heirlooms (gold ornaments, precious jars, gongs) which we inherited from them. And it may be at times dangerous to pronounce their names, they might then think that they are called by us, they might come and roam about; and that would not be good, for, being covetous of what we have—our chickens, our pigs, our rice wine, our little boys

or girls—they might molest us until we give them what they want.

IV

That the Ifugao believe in a multitude of gods and sub-gods and spirits is after all not so very extraordinary, since they belong to those races whose religion is animistic through and through. It is the ritual connected with all their deities that makes their religion something unique.

Not only are there a host of circumstances in which sacrifices are performed or other offerings given to the supernatural beings in which the Ifugaos believe, but every performance is an exhibition of a variety of ritual so great and so complex that one cannot but be astounded and exclaim: "How in the world can they memorize, coordinate, manage to get through such a mass of ritual?" Every rice field activity has its special sacrifice, every ordinary event in the Ifugao's life demands its special performance. *A fortiori* every extraordinary fact or event or whatever they may call extraordinary has its corresponding call on the intervention of their gods. As a rule it is quite expensive to have a dream during the night, on account of the sacrifice that it suggests. It is a troublesome thing to hear the call of a bird for what Ifugao would dare omit the sacrifice that that bird-call demands? But if a member of the family gets ill and continues to be ill, getting worse day after day, then not one but a whole series of performances is indulged in, often to the complete ruin of the household.

Every performance is in itself a ritual complex of invocations of their many deities, of prayers, of incantations, of magical tales, of ceremonial speeches and dances. The invocations! Imagine some ten shamans calling upon their gods, a whole army of them! One recites the names of the deities of the Underworld, another those of the Skyworld, a third those of the Downstream Region and so forth and when they are through, they start anew beginning with the last and ending with the first. Then the whole process is repeated, the gods are called upon, their names chanted with solemnity class by class. The deities and spirits are then supposed to have come

and to enjoy themselves, drinking the soul of the rice wine, chewing the soul of the betelnuts, waiting until the victims are killed. They are therefore called a fourth time to receive the offering destined for them and finally a fifth time, before the Ifugao take their meal, when the spirits are invited to partake of the meal by eating the souls of the victims. An example of an invocation is the following:

Oooo weeee!
 And thou Thunderer of the Skyworld, Friend of the Earthquaker
 of the Underworld.
 Thunderer of the Skyworld,
 Boy Thunderer
 Man Thunderer
 Thunderburster, Clasher, Roller,
 Rumbler, Cleaver, Splitter, Crash Increaser,
 Thou with the big eyelids,
 Thou with soft hair, Shouter, Roarer, Answerer of the Burst,
 Repeater of the Burst,
 Ye Thunderers of the Skyworld;
 And thy Lightning, Thunderer of the Skyworld, Sparkler,
 Flasher, Glitterer, Gleamer, Glimmerer, Glinter, Glistener,
 Ye who are the Deities of the Skyworld;
 Come ye for we perform our sacrifice for the planting of the
 seedlings.

And so it goes on, deities and more deities in rapid succession and with the proper intervals to allow special prayers to be said: invitation prayers, welfare prayers, sacrificial prayers, prayers before the meal, farewell prayers.

To give an idea of the prayers we may quote the following which precedes the first invocation of the deities. It is said before the ritual box by one of the priests whom we could call the master of ceremonies. He puts a fresh betelnut with chew-leaf and some lime in the box and begins:

It is up to you, this betel,
 This is your mission, betel, chew-leaf and lime,
 Go to meet, go to associate, go to converse with the deities,
 The Earthquaker, the Thunderer, the Deceiver,
 The Sun and Moon, the Star-deities,
 Those of the Downstream, those of the Upstream Regions,
 And invite them,
 So that these may live, both this man and his wife,

Invite them that this man and his wife may not die,
 Invite them that this man and his wife may not have a
 death-chair under their house,
 May be protected against the sharpness of knives,
 Against the points of spears,
 Against flood, against slides, against rolling stones, against
 fire.

Oprob of the Underworld,
 Ginubay of the Underworld,
 Pinong of the Underworld,
 Pinong of the Skyworld,

Do not make bad my manner of inviting
 The Earthquaker and the Thunderer and the Deceiver,
 The Sun, the Moon, the Stars,
 Those of the Downstream and Upstream Regions.
 Pinong of the Upstream Region,
 Ginubay of the Upstream Region,

Do not likewise allow that I be mistaken in my invitations;
 Prevent the sneezing of man, of pigs and of chickens,
 That both members of this household may live,
 For they are performing the sacrifice for the seedlings
 So that they may have something to eat during the year,
 So that their rice may multiply,
 Rice for the months of rain,
 Rice for the months of sunshine,
 So that their chickens and their pigs and their children may
 multiply.

V

These invocations, several times repeated, together with the various prayers and their corresponding ritual actions form the essence of any Ifugao sacrifice. Yet the Ifugao can hardly believe in the efficacy of their performances without some story-telling to which they attribute magical power, believing that the very narration of the story will bring about in favor of the household the good effects which they wish to obtain by the offering of the sacrifices, good effects which are indeed mentioned in the tale as having been brought about in behalf of the legendary personages.

Magical tales form therefore an important part in almost all ritual performances. In some instances the narration of one or more tales is believed to be far more important than the offering, say of a chicken or of some dried meat.

As this point may be of interest we subjoin an example of such a magical story. The shaman, squatting before the usual ritual box or some other ritual objects as the case may be, begins with an invocation of ancestors who in their time were also narrators of magical tales and to whom he owes his knowledge. Then he starts:

Matagu cha Bugan ya Wigan ad Chu-ligan.... Bugan and Wigan were living at Dukligan, their chickens and pigs and children were in good health, they cultivated their rice in their fields at Dukligan. And it happened that Bugan and Wigan had harvested their crops and they had spread their rice bundles in their houseyard at Dukligan and the sun had dried them and then they had stored them in their granary, but they did not take from their rice supply and did not pound their rice.

And Wigan of the Skyworld looks down and he says: Why is it that Bugan and Wigan of Dukligan do not take from their rice supply, why do they not pound their rice? And Wigan of the Skyworld dives down from the Skyworld and lands on the top of the roof of Bugan and Wigan's house at Dukligan, he glides down and says: Why then, Wigan and your wife Bugan, don't you pound your rice? And Wigan the Ifugao and Bugan say: We do not pound, as we ask it of you, Wigan of the Skyworld. Wigan of the Skyworld says: All right then, where is your mortar? Wigan the Ifugao says: There. Wigan of the Skyworld says: No good, do not pound your rice in this; wait a little, I shall get one for you.

And Wigan of the Skyworld disappears, he goes to the place where there are many rocks, first to Mount Kalawitan, then to Mount Amuyaw. There he takes a slab of stone from the rock and makes of it a mortar. He takes up the stone mortar, rushes through space and puts the mortar down in the houseyard of Bugan and Wigan of Dukligan. Here, he says, in this you shall pound your rice. And Wigan of the Skyworld asks again: Where is your pestle? And Wigan the Ifugao answers: There. Wigan of the Skyworld says: Not good; wait and I shall give you one. And Wigan of the Skyworld takes hold of his finger, cuts it off and it becomes a pestle. He gives it to Wigan the Ifugao, saying: This is good, with this pound your rice.

And Wigan of the Skyworld says again: Where is your winnowing basket? There, says Wigan the Ifugao. It is bad, says Wigan of the Skyworld. And he pulls off one of his finger nails and transforms it into a winnowing basket and giving it to Wigan the Ifugao he says: This be your winnowing basket.

Wigan of the Skyworld speaks again and asks: Where is your water? Wigan the Ifugao says: Here is the place where we fetch our water. No good, says Wigan of the Skyworld, this water is not good.

And again Wigan of the Skyworld disappears. He goes to Tinubuwán and looks for good water at Tinubuwán. He canalizes it, he drives it to Dukligan and when it flows over the dike and into the houseyard of Dukligan he says to Bugan and Wigan of Dukligan: This is the water you shall drink.

And now henceforth, adds Wigan of the Skyworld, pound your rice, and cook your rice with this water, and when you are satisfied drink this water, and your rice will multiply and you will have rice during the months of the rain and during the months of the sun. Yes, say Bugan and Wigan of Dukligan, and they get some newly harvested rice from the supply and they pound it in the stone mortar with the pestle Wigan of the Skyworld has given them and they take the winnowing basket of Wigan of the Skyworld and winnow and then they cook their rice and when they are satisfied they drink the water Wigan of the Skyworld has made to flow into their houseyard.

And on account of this their rice multiplies and they have rice during the months of the rain and during the months of the sun. And they, Bugan and Wigan, live at Dukligan and their rice and their pigs and their chickens are in good condition, and their children are healthy.

This Bugan and Wigan represent the wife and the husband, i.e. the household in whose behalf the ceremonies are performed. In some places the shaman narrator adds an express application, saying for instance: Not in Dukligan but here in Banawol shall this be accomplished, not in favor of Bugan and Wigan but in favor of this household and their rice shall multiply and their chickens and their pigs and their children.

VI

Since the shaman narrator has displayed in his tale the beneficial intervention of a deity called Wigan of the Skyworld (and this is quite often the case in such magical tales) the question might well be asked: Who then is this Wigan of the Skyworld who voluntarily comes to help man?

This question raises another concerning the Supreme Being of the Ifugao's religion. Anthropologists are able to say today that most peoples have at least some idea, clear or confused, of a Supreme or Superior Being. We may ask: In the

case of the Ifugao, is there any place for a Supreme Being in this maze of deities of all kinds, great and small, invoked and addressed and represented in their various activities in a great variety of rites?

If any one were to ask this question of the Ifugao shamans, it is quite likely that the answer would be "yes" and just as likely that it would be "no." And yet if the answer be perchance negative, it would certainly be an error to conclude that the Ifugao believe in no Supreme Being: for on other occasions the same shaman will give an affirmative answer. It all depends on how the question is put and under what circumstances. Moreover, it depends on the shaman's guess about his interlocutor's preference. If he guesses that his interlocutor would be delighted to find that the Ifugao believe in a Supreme Being, he will say "yes"; if he thinks that the negative answer is preferred, he will oblige with a "no."

There is a further complication. Let us suppose that he said yes; further inquiry about the name of that Supreme Being will make the shaman call that would-be Supreme Being the Thunderer of the Skyworld, or else the Foetus-Maker Deity, or else the Forsaker or the Sun-Deity, and perhaps even the Earthquaker of the Underworld. Again, it all depends on the manner of putting the question. What missionary among the Ifugao has not said on account of such confusing answers which made him no wiser than before: "They don't know themselves!"? And certain field anthropologists have simply and categorically concluded: the Ifugao who have a thousand and more gods have no Supreme Being.

Nevertheless, in spite of all such conclusions it must be affirmed that the Ifugao *do* believe in a Supreme Being. They have a confused, a very confused idea of a Supreme Being. The anthropologists in question would have come to this same conclusion if they had put their question in the right way and on the proper occasion.

Most certainly this proper and unique occasion is the narration of a magical tale of the kind we have just given, in which the beneficent action of a certain Wigan of the Skyworld is

the main idea of the tale. When the shaman is through with his tale, if the anthropologist were to ask: "Who is this Wigan of the Skyworld?" the answer would be: "Well, he is the chief of all the others. We do not invoke him for what is the use of doing so? He is good, he helps, he never thinks of causing us harm."

It would be wrong procedure to enter into more details, asking, for example: "If he is the chief of the other deities, why does he not prevent them from causing harm to the Ifugao, allowing them to make them ill?" Questions of this kind would only induce those poor shamans to make contradictory statements. After all, the Ifugao's belief in a Supreme Being is very confused and has practically no influence on his manner of worship nor on any of his multiple ritual actions.

As any number of questions concerning the Ifugao's beliefs in a Supreme Being will obtain but contradictory answers, so also direct inquiries concerning his many gods, great and small, will but create confusion—not indeed in the mind of the informant but in the mind of the inquirer, since a definite Ifugao answer is in effect indefinite and misleading to one who has but an imperfect comprehension of the mentality of the people with whom he is dealing.

Missionaries rapidly come to such a conclusion. If they wish to gain clear and accurate cultural information, they know that the best way to get it is to observe and listen. They select good informants and make them recite invocations, prayers, songs, tales. It is through these things that one gets an insight not only into the religious beliefs of the people but into their mentality as well. This is so because religion is intimately connected with their economic, social and political life, and all the manifestations of these are sacred for they belong in the final instance to Custom, the supreme Ifugao law.³

³ BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE. On the Ifugao the most complete work is the monograph by the author of this article, Father Francis Lambrecht C.I.C.M., entitled *The Mayawyaw Ritual*. Five installments of that monograph have been published in Washington D.C. in the *Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference* Vol. IV as follows:

No. 1 "Rice Culture and Rice Ritual"; No. 2 "Marriage and its Ritual"; No. 3 "Death and Death Ritual"; No. 4 "Property and its Ritual"; No. 5 "Priests and Go-Betweens." A sixth installment ("Illness and its Ritual") was published in the *Journal of East Asiatic Studies* (Manila) Vol. IV No. 4. A seventh installment ("Hunting and its Ritual") awaits publication.

Besides Father Lambrecht's monograph, there are the two articles by Florent Joseph Sals C.I.C.M. published in PHILIPPINE STUDIES, viz. "Primitive Education among the Ifugaos: Physical, Mental and Vocational" PHILIPPINE STUDIES II (1954) 266-285 and "Primitive Education among the Ifugaos: Religious and Moral" PHILIPPINE STUDIES III (1955) 70-89. There is also Roy F. Barton "The Religion of the Ifugaos" published by the American Anthropological Association (*American Anthropologist* Vol. 48 No. 4 Part 2).

With the exception of some folklore, that is all that has been published about the Ifugao.—*Editor*