

that could function as a source of solidarity, but also cannot admit it, for it is a kind of solidarity, which is wholly incompatible with Christianity? Christianity must break that solidarity with ancestors, which is under the spell of tribal religion and establish a new solidarity, a Christian one.

To achieve this, long range education is, in my opinion, needed. Without neglecting to perform the burial rites and other laudable practices, the missionary ought to emphasize in his teachings all that may convey and reinforce the idea of the new solidarity that is brought into being by Baptism.

He ought to stress that Baptism makes the Christian a child of an almighty, all-wise and all good Father. He should insist on such doctrines as the Mystical Body of Christ, the Communion of Saints and other doctrines focused on Christian solidarity. He ought positively to affirm and declare that the tradition of the ancestors must not and may not be abro-

gated altogether. In fact it is highly advisable that it be maintained in all non-religious matters. But it should be pointed out that the new religion replaces Ifugao ancestry with the ancestry of Christ, who is the Head of the mystical body, with Christian forebears such as the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints, and that in religious matters the new religion replaces Ifugao blood relationship which is based on descent, by the relationship based on faith, which makes of all the faithful one family, all brothers and sisters of Christ and children of one common Father.

The proposal we have made, based as it is on the concept of ancestry will take time to accomplish. Yet, it may in the long run function as a source of solidarity of another kind which with the help of the findings of cultural anthropology, and especially with the help of grace, may contribute to making Christianity among the Ifugaos a twenty-four-hour-a-day affair, a living part of the Ifugao way of life.

Comment on 'The Acceptance of Ifugao Customs into Christianity'

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Father Lambrecht's decades of experience have given him a keen insight into the problems of adopting pagan customs into christianity, whereas the comments which follow come from one with less than four years of experience in a pagan culture. The suggestions which I plan to make are therefore relatively untried, and may be quite impossible of fulfillment considering the many factors which are involved in the process of religious acculturation.

I would like to comment first on a statement made early in Father Lambrecht's paper. "If missionaries raise the problem of adopting into the new religion something of the old, their purpose is to create some resemblance between the two, with the hope of making christianity more acceptable to the natives."

Lest there be any misunderstanding we should emphasize that in seeking to adopt something of the pagan religion into christianity we are not seeking to

compromise christian standards, or to water christianity down. We are not trying to sugar-coat the christianity pill with pagan customs, to make it easier for the pagan to swallow. We are rather endeavouring to find an adequate indigenous expression of christianity that will make it more meaningful to the pagan, and thus hasten the process of acculturation. Father Lambrecht has very ably described the way pagan religion permeates all of pagan culture. Unless we are able therefore to adequately substitute christianity for the pagan religion we may be left with the pathetic remnants of a culture whose very foundation has been eradicated. And to the extent that christianity fails to permeate all of the culture to that extent pagan religion is likely to be retained. If we wish to retain the indigenous culture, we must find an indigenous expression of christianity.

Although the religion of a pagan, animistic society is completely different from christianity we need not say that they are diametrically opposed. There are links—although of a very broad nature. The existence of the supernatural, the spiritual makeup of man, the belief in a life after death, the need for sacrifice to atone for transgressions: these are some of the conceptual links that christianity has with paganism.

Father Lambrecht has gone further than stating that he can find no links between paganism and christianity, he has stated also that there is nothing in pagan ritual, or form which may be adopted into christianity without violating "theologically sound principles." Pagan form is to him opposed to christian form. Here I would like to say that Father Lambrecht's stand need not necessarily be the stand of all sections of christendom. The Roman Catholic church provides for a fairly rigid form and ritual which would make the adoption of certain pagan forms un-

acceptable to Father Lambrecht and to others of the Roman church. The forms which I would like to suggest as possible adoptions might however be acceptable to some sections of the Protestant church.

I used the term *pagan* forms. Forms in themselves however are neither pagan nor christian, it is the attitude of the performer which makes an act right or wrong. We might remember the Scripture which says, "without faith it is impossible to please God." Regardless of the form—whether Roman ritual or Protestant ritual—the basic ingredient must be faith, otherwise it is of no true spiritual value. I would suggest then that any pagan form—that is, form of a pagan ceremony—which can be performed with a living christian faith is acceptable. Let us then turn to some of the basic forms of paganism and see if there are any which may profitably be used as part of a christian ritual. The two basic forms are, 1. killing of an animal—pig, dog, carabao, or chicken, and 2. the saying of a prayer. Each particular ceremony may have a host of minor variations, waving of the chicken, planting of sticks etc. These two forms may be viewed from three angles:

The act itself.

The performer.

The place of performance.

Let us look first of all at the act of prayer. Remember that we are dealing with form—therefore we are not interested in content as such, but in structure.

Bontoc prayers usually have a binary structure, with the first part being a good deal longer than the second. The first part may be termed *prayer origin*, or *prayer basis*. The second part *resultant invocation*. The whole is said with a special prayer intonation and specialized vocabulary and metaphor in the vernacular. If we place prayer in a larger

structural position within the behavior of the pagan group, say group religious practices, we find that it is not an extemporaneous prayer, although the text may vary from one speaker to another. The prayer is learned by hearing it constantly repeated.

This brings us to the speaker or performer of this particular act. He is usually an old man—the oldest in his family—more rarely an old woman.

The place of the performance is at the place where the animal has been killed and/or in another place where symbols of the killing are displayed.

Having viewed the form of the prayer, let us look at some of the features which could conceivably be used by a christian innovator, providing of course it does not violate the established ritual of one's particular church.

The structure of the prayer could be binary, containing the same types of manifesting data. Recall the first part prayer basis or prayer origin. In the pagan prayer this is often a ritual myth centered around a culture hero, *Lomawig*. It may tell of his marriage, or a headhunting foray he took part in, of his making of sugar cane wine, or his role in the Flood and so on. Always ending with the statement that he said this particular prayer (illogical though this may be) to protect himself from his enemies, or to make his wine powerful, or to make his children, pigs, chickens etc. strong and healthy. Then he travels taking the prayer from one barrio to another in most of which he says the prayer and the prayer benefits become manifest. Finally he arrives in Guinaang and he gives the prayer for the Guinaang people to say.

The second part is the Invocation. It is addressed to either the ancestors i.e. the grandparents or great grandparents

of the one for whom the prayer is said, beseeching the blessings of the prayer, or to the spirits who dwell in the two sacred groves of trees. These *pakdel* spirits are always specified, those in one tree being the increasers and the strong or brave ones. The other spirits being the *cool* ones. These are invoked to give increase and strength, or to make *cool* as the case may be. *Cool* here is only used in this religious sense and has the idea of tranquillity, well being, health and productiveness as against heat, fever, anger, unproductiveness, anxiety etc.

In our Christian usage then, prayer origin could consist of passages from the Gospels or Epistles upon which the theme of our invocation is going to be placed. These may very well be centered around some related act in the life of Christ, for example, one of the miracles, or a parable. The invocation itself must of course be directed to God, however the form may be retained. Instead of "our *pakdel* at *papattay* (the place of their tree) who is the increaser, increase our crops etc," we might say, "our God in Heaven" (placing Him in this location or some other relevant place) and then list His Attributes which are pertinent for that particular invocation before actually asking for the particular blessing.

I mentioned special intonation. Many ministers in prayer use other than everyday conversational intonation. Why not use the indigenous prayer intonation and enhance the prayer value of what is being said to the pagan mind?

I mentioned also special prayer vocabulary and special metaphor in the vernacular. The vernacular must be retained. This is the link in form. One should hesitate to use special prayer vocabulary where it interferes with the understanding of other participants in this ceremony. Words like *cool* might be retained if

the meaning is understood or may be readily taught. Metaphor may also be retained where applicable.

This brings us then to the christian prayer in its larger setting. It should be taught, and for these special ceremonies at any rate, not be extemporaneous. It should be recited by the oldest member of the group participating, who knows the prayers. This may be interpreted by themselves to mean, the oldest christian present, or the person who has seniority by virtue of the fact that he has been a christian for the longest period of time. It may be prayed by a woman if there is no suitable man present, and if the group considers it appropriate.

The location is also important. Usually the killing is in, or outside of the house. It may be in the fields if a carabao is being killed. The prayer then should likewise be situated where the Christian ceremony is performed. If in the house the prayer should be there also.

We could likewise analyze the killing of animals and I believe if we did so we would realize that killing of animals (*not* sacrifice) need not be tabooed. A vital part of all pagan ceremonies is the feasting. This of course should be retained

in conjunction with Christian ceremonies. The problem arises, where will they get the meat for their feasts if we taboo killing of animals? At the present time, in the more conservative bariros all meat is sacrificed meat. There is no other. It would seem wisest then to allow the killing of animals in conjunction with the feasting, divorcing it if possible from the preceding ceremony. However a prayer might still be said over the carcass of the animal—a Thanksgiving type prayer—preceded by the recitation of the Lord's feeding of the 5,000 for example as the *prayer basis*. This could be the time when meat is blessed, instead of at each meal, as we Christians practise.

In conclusion everyone engaged as a Christian innovator in a pagan community should be prepared to examine closely every facet of the pagan culture for religious implications. The weaving customs, the working groups, the sleeping habits, the songs, and the dances etc. should be studied, that as much as possible be abstracted for Christian usage, and wherever the line must be drawn, an adequate Christian functional substitute be supplied which is acceptable to the Christian community.