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**ROY FRANKLIN BARTON: HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO CORDILLERA
ETHNOGRAPHIC AND CULTURAL STUDIES***

ABSTRACT. This paper looks at the ethnographic contributions of Roy Franklin Barton who studied the Ifugao and Kalinga of Mountain Province. The paper focuses particularly on Barton's major publications on Ifugao which include *Ifugao Law*, *Ifugao Religion*, *Philippine Pagans: The autobiography of Three Ifugaos*, *Ifugao Economics*, and *The Halfway Sun*. *Ifugao Law* was Barton's first publication which has been described by Fred Eggan as "a classic in Philippine ethnology and law of primitive peoples, and a contribution to the study of primitive legal systems." Barton distinguished the religious variations in the different villages including linguistic differences in *Ifugao Religion*. *Philippine Pagans* deal with collected life histories, including the autobiography of an Ifugao woman. In *Ifugao Economics*, he observed the division of labor between men and women, where tasks considered dominated by men or women were interchangeable. Barton provided an account of his life experiences, and the problems encountered during the early American administration in *The Halfway Sun*.

KEYWORDS: Ifugao, ethnography, customary law, Ifugao religion, economics, autobiography, pagans, American administration

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INTRODUCTION

Barton was born in 1883 in West Central Illinois, the son of a physician and well-to-do farmer. He graduated from Illinois State Normal University — in preparation for a teaching career, and was a student at the University of Chicago when he decided to go to the Philippines as a teacher. In 1906, at the age of 23 he left for the Philippines, and was first assigned to Pangasinan as a supervising teacher. One day he met some mountaineers who came down to trade. He immediately applied for a transfer to Mountain Province, first at a Trade school in Cervantes, before he was assigned to Ifugao in 1907, to replace his predecessor William Wooden, who was earlier speared in Ifugao (Jenista 1967: 147).

David P. Barrows, an anthropologist, who had come earlier to the Philippines as chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, and later Director of Education, also encouraged Barton's early studies. With H. Otley Beyer, a fellow teacher who was stationed at Banawe, Barton learned Ifugao and mastered native life and culture in the Kiangnan region. As he grew more proficient it was natural that disputes would be brought to his attention as he made the rounds of the district schools, and their adjudication brought him to the heart of Ifugao society and culture.

In 1916 he returned to the U. S. where he took up dentistry at the University of California. Both Kroeber and Barrows (anthropologists) were at Berkeley and together encouraged Barton to complete his *Ifugao Law*, and *Ifugao Economics*, which were published along with the papers by C. Moss on Nabaloi and Kankanaey, in Vol. 15 of the *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* (1919–1922).

During the 1920s Barton practiced dentistry in a variety of places including Manila. Barton returned to America in 1930 and married, but his marriage ended in divorce. Barton had an alimony judgment he considered unjust and felt bitter about. He went to Russia in 1930 and worked for ten years as a research fellow of the Peter the Great Institute/Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (MAE)¹. There he got Ph. D. in anthropology *honoris causa* and hold a senior research fellow position at the Academy (IAE/MAE) (for full list of his publications and manuscripts, written in Russia, see (Stanyukovich 1979; Stanyukovich, Shaskolskaya 2011); for Barton's photo- and ethnographic objects collections in St. Petersburg see (Kasatkina 2011; Kislyakov 2011: 524–527)). While he was in Leningrad Barton remarried and lived there with his wife Nina Bryun and their daughter Erica until the beginning of the Second World War (see Stanyukovich 2004: 35). His best works were written in

¹ Maria Stanyukovich (2004) a Russian scholar of Philippines studies is acknowledged for her ethnographic research on R. F. Barton's personal and scholarly life and his ethnological related activities in Russia as a Research Fellow at the Peter the Great Institute/Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Leningrad (1930–1940).

Leningrad which includes the famous *Philippine Pagans: Autobiographies of Three Ifugaos*, (1938, first published in London), and the draft of his books on Ifugao religion and mythology. His fieldwork support came from the Academy of Leningrad Institute of Ethnology, while the rest of his field funds were provided by American research organizations such as the National Research Council and the Social Science Research Council. He returned to Russia in 1938. However, Barton had to leave Russia at the intense request of the U. S. State Department and went directly to the Philippines and taught briefly at Sagada² (St. Marys School), before being awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship which enabled him to continue his field researches and began the recording of the *hudhud* series of epics.

According to Kroeber, Barton never gave up his American citizenship, and did not accept Communism, nor pretended to be, nor passed as one. "Barton was just too independent and ruggedly cross-grained even to belong wholly to one group." (Kroeber 1949: 92).

When the Philippines fell to Japanese control, Barton was interned for 3 years at Camp Holmes (now Camp Dangwa), and later in Los Banos. Meanwhile his wife was arrested in the Soviet Union and sent to a labour camp and was released only after Barton's death. During his internment, he completed the *Religion of the Ifugaos* (published in 1946), and *The Mythology of the Ifugaos*, published in 1955 (after his death).

Returning to California in 1945, he taught anthropology at the University at Berkeley. At the time of Barton's death in April, 1947, as a result of complications following an operation for gallstones, he was holding the Lichtstern Fellowship in Anthropology at the University of Chicago.

His manuscript of *The Kalingas...* had been completed in preliminary form just before the war and brought to the United States by E.D. Hester, the Economic adviser to the High Commissioner who left the Philippines by submarine from Corregidor in 1942.

BARTON'S ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTRIBUTIONS

Studies in Mountain Province Socio-Political Institutions

Barton recognized that the cultures of all Mountain peoples of northern Luzon are basically similar. In common with his contemporaries, he overemphasized the role of multiple migrations in the settlement of the mountains and the probable length of time required for the development of Ifugao culture. While aware of regional variations in Ifugao through the researches of Father Lambrecht in Mayaoyao and H. Otley Beyer on Banaue, he was not particularly concerned with their explanations.

Bilateral system study — a long neglected field of lateral descent (see Fred Eggan, in *Foreword to Ifugao Law*), Barton's work furthered our

² See Eggan 1969.

understanding of bilateral social systems and anticipated by 40 years the more recent systematic study of the bilateral descent and importance of kinship ties in the cultures of tribal peoples. Barton “describes with clarity and economy the structure of bilateral social systems and their operation” — both conceptual and substantive. These elements are present or implicit in both *Ifugao Law* and in Barton’s study of the Kalingas.

Barton’s major findings was that kinship is the primary basis of social relations and that each individual or sibling group is the center of a kinship or family group whose unity must at all hazards be preserved (Barton 1969: 8). This kinship circle or personal kindred includes all the descendants of the eight pairs of great-great grandparents, extending bilaterally to include third cousins, and is both the exogamous group and the feuding group. The local or neighborhood in contrast is relatively weak, and local groups unite only against distant regions where there are no close kinsmen.

Marriage is an alliance between two kinship groups, but alliance is weak or tentative until children are born. Inheritance of rice fields and heirlooms is in terms of primogeniture, the oldest child receiving the bulk of the inherited property and responsible for support of parents and siblings.

THE HALFWAY SUN

Barton provides a fascinating account of his life and his experiences after arriving in the Philippines in 1906, as well as all the problems involved in the early administration of the Mt. Province. He spent another period with the Ifugao, in the meantime writing the *Half-way Sun*, which Barrows later praised as the most valuable book published on any of the mountain peoples.

Dean Worcester, Secretary of the Interior, picked a group of administrators to be assigned to posts in the Mountain Province — Ifugao was in the charge of Jeff D. Gallman, an ex-army officer, who was restoring peace and order and building trails and good relations with the Ifugaos which Barton greatly admired. He praised Jeff Gallman’s governance of Ifugao using tribal law. According to Barton, Gallman was thoroughly just and had the ability to look at things from the Ifugao’s point of view; “his men loved him.” (see also Jenista 1987). Court decisions involving cases of prison terms of 20 years handed down by the judge for headhunting and/or murder — was not strictly enforced with the intervention of Gallman. Here Barton narrates that he was once confronted by Gallman after a court hearing saying: “Don’t feel bad about the 20 years.” “Hell no” answered Barton — “you’ll have the fellow out in four or five years time.” To this Gallman replied “three” (Barton 1930: 239). The prisoner was later assigned as a *presidente* (headman) by Gallman after he was released from prison. Barton observed the conflict between customary law and state law and has opposed the Philippine Supreme Court’s erroneous belief that pagan marriages were mere matings — and ruled that pagan marriages

were not legal within the statute (1930: 257). Barton defended a case where he protested against this rule in a criminal case that he handled. His ethnographic knowledge about Ifugao and Kalinga indigenous law contributed to the less strict enforcement of the Philippine legal system among the non-Christian people (see also Keesing, Keesing 1934: 145–146).

Ifugao Religion — caught Barton’s attention and his observation that almost every man is a priest and the pantheon of deities rival that of India. By 1912 he had published two articles on Ifugao rituals, and had completed a preliminary manuscript, “*The Religion of the Kiangnan Ifugaos*.”

Barton’s Ifugao mythology and ritual applies to the people of the middle course of the Bula River the part immediately west of Lagawe Gap, specifically the inhabitants of the Kababuyan River valley and Kudug, and the Kiangnan and Nagakadan Valleys on the southside.

Barton’s notes were preserved during his internment at Camp Holmes (now Camp Dangwa) throughout the War and edited in the United States and published in 1946 entitled *The Religion of the Ifugaos*, as Memoir 65 of the American Anthropological Association. His *Ifugao Mythology* was published posthumously in 1955 in *American Folklore Society*.

The recording of Ifugao myths was begun by Father Juan Villiaverde, Dominican missionary in Kiangnan during the periods 1868–1872 and 1891–1897³. He died enroute to Spain in 1897, leaving a manuscript entitled “*Supersitiones de los Igorrotes Ifugao*,” edited by Father Julian Malumbres — archivist of the Dominican order in Manila.

Barton recorded at least 1 500 deities known by name and are divided into about 40 classes. The myths deal with sympathetic magic — about a hero-ancestor or gods or other supernatural beings who in the past were confronted with problems similar to those which worry the Ifugaos in the present, and how they resolved the problems.

The language of the myth is in the present tense. Myths are followed by a *tulud* (“pushing,” “compelling”), the purpose of which is to bring to the place the rites of the principal actors of the myth, or else the *mana* or talisman power about which the myth relates, or the powers of beings that stand behind the myth.

A B U W A B

Myths are called *uwa* or *abuwab*, its recitation is called *bukad* (Barton 1955: 4). Before the myth is recited it is important that a *gonob* or simple invocation of the names of all the characters in the myth should be mentioned. From 1 to 15 priests officiate in the rituals; and only related priests officiate in family rituals.

³ Father Francis Lambrecht (CICM) has published 56 myths from Mayaoyao in his series, *The Mayawyaw Ritual*. Barton has also collected a large body of myths of which 13 myths from Kiangnan have been published.

Analysis of Ifugao Abuwab

Barton analyzes the myth qualities from several angles. He considers the myth as an instrument of ritual magic. He discusses the classification, affiliations, and possible origin of the principal motifs in the Ifugao corpus of myths. For example, on page 1, of *Ifugao Mythology* (1955), he states that there are definite indications that Ifugaoland was settled by migrations from various directions: he is of the belief that “a migration of Kankana-ey, or proto-Kankana-ey from across the Cordillera to the west,” has occurred in the past. An indication, he believes, is the very close kinship between the modern Kankana-ey and Ifugao languages. He is also of the belief that the Silipanes migrated into Ifugao by way of the Alimit River and spread into Lamut valley, while another group branched out by way of the Ibilao (1922: 420).

CULTURAL VARIATIONS WITHIN THE SAME REGION

He also noted the variations in Ifugao cultural practices, such as those that distinguish the wet rice agriculturists from dry rice cultivators among the Silipanes, who also have a different religion and speak a different dialect from other Ifugaos. He states that Lamut to the south speak a different dialect from the other Ifugaos, and build their terraces without stones (without retaining walls). They also practice tree infant burial, and practice their own distinctive ritual. He points out the Mayaoyao as having a different pantheon and ritual, a different dialect with some lexical differences, different color preferences and ornamentations.

Myth and Folklore

Barton made a distinction between *myth* and *folklore*. Myth, according to Barton are used ritually, they enter into the framework and constitution of the culture and the world viewpoint, and are taken seriously.

Explanation of different versions or myth motifs

Myth carrying general motifs — according to Barton is due to the stream of migrants (carrying their own culture including their myths) reinterpretation and addition which causes variation in myth versions. Barton describes the processes that occurred:

1. Intrusion of extraneous motifs from other myths;
2. Strained integration, or “faulting” due to the difficulty of making the old motifs fit together in a new story, a difficulty that has often been awkwardly rationalized;
3. Reshuffling of the motifs when it did not permit of infinite interpretation because the very statement of it imposed limitations.

Ritual Significance of Myths

First, there is sympathetic magic as a whole and some of its situations that may afford parallels with the present.

Second, the characters and sometimes the incidents and objects of the myth are regarded as supernatural entities that can be controlled by the myth recitation,

Third, there is *mana* or magic power in the myth itself.

Cross-Cultural comparison of Myth Motifs

Barton looked elsewhere for comparison of motifs with other cultures. He stated that it is the myth motif, not the myth that is the unit of historical connections in mythology. He further categorizes motifs into two groups:

1. General — those brought into the present habitat (found throughout Indonesia, Polynesia, the Americas, Europe, Asia and North Africa).
2. “Recent” — those that have grown up since the immigration: “recent” traditional; “invented,” (made-up/manufactured outright).

PHILIPPINE PAGANS: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHIES OF THREE IFUGAOS

Alfred Kroeber, in his obituary of Barton — paid high tribute to the book and expressed the opinion that it was not properly appreciated because Barton’s accompanying comments were not couched in the standard personality terminology borrowed from psychology and psychiatry. Nancy Oestreich Lurie (1963) considered Barton as among the last of the self-trained ethnologists and one of the best.

In this book, Barton collected *Life histories* — as narrated by informants in their own words. During Barton’s time there were very few studies dealing with women. Barton demonstrated his interest in both the lives of Ifugao men and women in his collection of the autobiographies of the three Ifugaos. The collection of autobiographical data requires familiarity and long-standing relationships between the ethnographer and the group that he studies so that a particular informant will not be constrained or able to embroider unduly on the facts nor by repressing information (Lurie 1963).

Barton is always careful to indicate where his theoretical concerns are being set forth and where his informants are speaking for themselves by his use of extensive footnotes. As a further check in evaluating the information, he describes his periods of exasperation and pleasure and the conditions under which he collected data as well as his informant’s attitudes toward himself and onwards. The reader is enabled to assess and trust the reliability of Barton’s information in a way that is impossible in more ‘objective’ studies which try to give the impression that if the ethnographer is not invisible he is without personality in relationship with informants (Ibid).

Barton's objective of presenting information so that the reader experiences the effect of living among the Ifugaos as he lived among them is tested in the final section of the book entitled "*an Ifugao Liberal*." Here Barton sets forth a case involving divorce among the Ifugao and asks questions of the reader at given stages of the narrative regarding the underlying motivations of the participants in the affair. "To his great credit he did not seek to popularize his information by simplifying or sensationalizing but explicitly notes that this book is addressed to a mature audience willing to understand other people on their own terms." (Laurie 1963).

IFUGAO ECONOMICS (1922)

Aside from the inventory of Ifugao food derived from agricultural production, hunting and gathering of wild fruits and vegetables and forest products for domestic use, he was able to identify 20–30 varieties of camote (sweet potatoes), corn, taro, cacao, coconut, and coffee⁴, among others. He observed the exchange and commerce practices of the Ifugao which include livestock (chickens, pigs, ducks, carabao, blankets, cotton, brass rings, pots, salt, spears, bolos, and slaves captured in raids or in payment for debts, Chinese jars and gongs (through middlemen). Barton observed that dogs were valued for hunting.

He further observed the division of labor between men and women, and found tasks that are often considered as dominated by either male or female as interchangeable in Ifugao. These activities include cooking, baby-care, preparation of the rice-fields, transporting harvested rice to the granary. He commented on the usurious interest rates —where rice loaned in one year doubles the next; money lent at 100 per cent interest per annum; and a chicken borrowed over time becomes a carabao. In such transactions the *Mombaga* are especial persons who are skilled in collecting debts and are given a fee for their services.

IFUGAO LAW

Fred Eggan (1969) considers this book "A classic in Philippine ethnology and the law of primitive peoples" and a contribution to the study on primitive legal systems. Political theory during the time Barton was doing his investigation of indigenous law considered societies without the state institutions or central government as having no political organization or government or law.

Barton has contributed to the study of Cordillera customary law, with the publication of his studies on *Ifugao Law* and *The Kalingas: their Institutions and Customary Law*. The specifically legal contributions of Ifugao Law to the study of primitive law are well known through the work of E. A. Hoebel who

⁴ Introduced to Ifugao in 1911, but was produced, largely for export.

was a friend of Barton. While Barton never claimed adherence to any school of anthropology or jurisprudence “his work made him an anthropological behaviorist and a jurisprudential realist,” as described by Hoebel in his book, *The Law of Primitive Man* (1954). Barton not only analyzed the structure of Ifugao law but made it a living reality through the use of case studies. The use of case studies material made it possible for other scholars to utilize the data in terms of their own analytical frames of reference.” Hoebel (1949), in his “*Introduction*” states — the great theoretical interest that resides in the Ifugao way of life is that it presents us with an anachronistic political organization, i. e., a system controlling inter-group relations within the tribe and between the tribe and the alien world that operates with little or no institutionalization of government. Barton clarified the misunderstanding about Ifugao armed conflict/warfare —it was not between villages but rather, between feuding families, and rarely between villages. Further, they have developed through the ages a most elaborate system of substantive property law and personal law — a system that operates almost entirely without benefit of government. The Ifugaos are the star example of how far a system of private law can go. They demonstrate that anarchy is not necessarily synonymous with disorder. Their system also shows up quite well the limitations in a legal order that depends primarily upon the kinship group for its operation (Hoebel 1949: 2–3).

Kalinga Law — In 1916, Barton spent 4 months as supervising teacher among the Kalinga. He found similar institutions but often in different or more developed form, which enabled him to see Ifugao life in a clearer perspective when he began to record Kalinga disputes. He later returned to Kalinga in 1941 for more systematic recording of legal cases for his Kalinga customary law.

Kroeber stated that “The Kalingas, taken with the Ifugaos, represent a type case of the movement from a predominantly kinship organized state over to the territorially organized state.” (Kroeber 1947, Hoebel 1949). However, Edward Dozier’s study of the northern Kalinga has both clarified and corrected Barton’s earlier views. The northern Kalinga are dry rice cultivators who reside in small hamlets that are grouped into endogamous regions, kinship circles or personal kindred, but outsiders treat the region as a kinship unit and may kill any member to satisfy vengeance. Here authority resides in the hands of leading warriors but the development of peace pacts has led to the rise of influential headmen who adjust disputes within the region and act as pact holders. But Dozier found that in the last analysis the pact holder represents his kinship group rather than the territorial unit, and furthermore, kinship is the basic bond.

CONCLUSION

Barton was drawn to the Cordillera to educate the pagan mountain people and eventually became attached to them. His studies made him understand and respect their cultural worldview. At the end of his book’s journey of the *Halfway Sun* he had this to say:

... With government, schools, and a brand of education to them of doubtful value, we are fast destroying a culture incalculably old. Whether they profit more than they lose by the process, no one can be sure. It might have been more propitious to have merely helped them out of the trap of headhunting and to have left them the rest of their culture, with appeal to our courts only when necessary to avoid violent terminations of controversies... our pagans did not have to be prepared against a civilization that often exterminates primitive folk... But someday, if we, ourselves attain a higher civilization, we may long... for just such beauty spots of primitive culture as now in our possession for making other folk like ourselves, we are destroying (Barton 1930: 296–297)

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РОЙ ФРАНКЛИН БАРТОН И ЕГО ВКЛАД В ИЗУЧЕНИЕ ЭТНОГРАФИИ И КУЛЬТУРЫ ГОРЦЕВ

АННОТАЦИЯ. В статье рассматривается вклад в этнографическую науку Роя Франклина Бартона, изучавшего народы Горной провинции Филиппин ифугао и калинга. Основное внимание уделяется важнейшим публикациям Бартона по ифугао, в том числе «Ifugao Law», «Ifugao Religion», «Philippine Pagans: The autobiography of Three Ifugaos», «Ifugao Economics» и «The Halfway Sun». «Ifugao Law», первую публикацию Бартона, Фред Эгган описывал как «классический труд по этнологии Филиппин и праву примитивных народов, а также вклад в изучение примитивных правовых систем». В «Ifugao Religion» Бартон определил религиозные, а также лингвистические различия между деревнями ифугао. Книга «Philippine Pagans» посвящена собранным исследователям историям жизни, в том числе автобиографии женщины ифугао. В «Ifugao Economics» Бартон рассматривает разделение труда между мужчинами и женщинами, при котором занятия, в которых доминировали те или другие, были взаимозаменяемы. И, наконец, в «The Halfway Sun» Бартон приводит историю своей жизни и исследований и пишет о проблемах, с которыми сталкивался при ранней американской администрации.

КЛЮЧЕВЫЕ СЛОВА: ифугао, этнография, обычное право, религия ифугао, экономика, автобиография, американская администрация

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