

philippine studies

Ateneo de Manila University • Loyola Heights, Quezon City • 1108 Philippines

Primitive Education Among the Ifugaos: Religious and Moral

Florent Joseph Sals

Philippine Studies vol. 3, no. 1 (1955): 70–89

Copyright © Ateneo de Manila University

Philippine Studies is published by the Ateneo de Manila University. Contents may not be copied or sent via email or other means to multiple sites and posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's written permission. Users may download and print articles for individual, noncommercial use only. However, unless prior permission has been obtained, you may not download an entire issue of a journal, or download multiple copies of articles.

Please contact the publisher for any further use of this work at philstudies@admu.edu.ph.

<http://www.philippinestudies.net>

Primitive Education Among The Ifugaos: Religious and Moral

FLORENT JOSEPH SALS

In a previous article we discussed the physical, mental and vocational education of the Ifugaos of the Mountain Province.¹ In this article we propose to consider the still more important aspects of their education: the moral and religious. Before taking up the study of the religious education of the Ifugao children, it will be opportune to give some preliminary notes on the religion of the Ifugaos. The statement made by Francis Lambrecht² that religion permeates the whole life of the Mayawyaw Ifugaos, inhabiting the eastern district of the sub-province, can be generalized for all Ifugaos: namely, that (1) their religion is very closely related to their customs; (2) these customs have been their laws since time immemorial; and (3) nothing is so strong as tradition with regard to these customs. As has been stated before, the whole educational process of the Ifugaos can be reduced to this adage: "What our ancestors told us." The whole of the religion of the Ifugaos is based upon tradition, and their beliefs and rites are considered to be ultimately derived from supernatural revelations. Hence it is our task to show how Ifugao children are educated religiously according to norms given them by tradition, customs, and beliefs.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

Bugan and Ballitoc were their most remote legendary ancestors, to whom several revelations were made by their supreme deity, Maknongan. The names of these two legendary ancestors occur in all Ifugao legends; they seem to have had a role in their religious beliefs similar to that of Adam and Eve in the Jewish and the Christian beliefs.

The *baki* is the center of all Ifugao religious beliefs. It is the offering of a sacrifice of pigs, chickens, or carabaos to the spirits for the purpose of appeasing them, thanking them, or asking their favor. Only authorized persons, called *mumbaki*, are allowed to perform the sacrifices and that is their sole function. They have no influence in society merely as a consequence of their priesthood; they do not instruct the young in matters of religion or morals; nor do they form a collective body with hierarchical structure.³ As far as possible, the priesthood is transferred to their descendants by special and appropriate rites, such as instructions, consecrations, and sacrifices. Francis Lambrecht has made a thorough study of the Ifugao priests, their functions, and consecrations.⁴

With regard to the sacrifice, before the animal is butchered the *mumbaki* recites the *baki* proper, wherein he addresses all ancestors by their particular names. Consequently, therefore, every family has a different *baki* or prayer. The sacrifice is accompanied by much drinking of rice wine, and one might conclude that the *baki* is performed much more for the sake of the *primum vivere*, eating and drinking, than in behalf of the ancestors. It is a fact that the more numerous the animals butchered and the more abundant the rice wine offered, the more successful, too, the sacrifice is considered.

As stated in a previous article, legends are often told to children at bed time.⁵ In some of these legends one superstitious belief of the ancient Ifugao is found, namely that the spirit may take the form of a tiny insect. An example of this is to be found in the well-known legend of the origin of Am-

buaya Lake, which is situated about two kilometers from Kiangan. In this legend the spirit took the form of a leech.

The legend of Ambuaya Lake. Ambuaya was the village home of some very prosperous people. One day the *bulalakki* or handsome men of the village went up to Tuplak, a village on the other side of the Atade Mountain, which overlooks Ambuaya. These gentlemen went for *mungayo*, which means an adventure, usually a head-hunting expedition. Only a few women and children remained in the village.

During their absence an old woman and her grandson went to the spring to take a bath. The little boy found a leech clinging to his foot. He pulled it away and crushed it with a stone. While it was writhing in pain the little boy laughed and laughed, not heeding his grandmother's admonitions that it was *pani-o* or taboo to laugh at it. He seemed to rejoice at the poor thing's suffering.

When they went home, the grandmother was surprised to find a spring coming out from under one of the posts of the house. Soon another spring arose, then another and yet another, until the village was like one spring of water. The villagers were alarmed, but they could not do anything. Soon the village was flooded, and finally it turned over with the women and children, carabaos and pigs, and all were buried deep in the lake.

When the *bulalakki* finished their mission in Tuplak they started for home with all their trophies. They were on the path up the Atade Mountain, just overlooking their village. They stopped there thinking to view their beloved village from afar. But what did they behold? Their eyes were dazzled by water. They strained their eyes once more, for they could not believe what they saw; but there was no mistaking the place. That was where their village had been. How the men cursed! How they tore their hair! They ought not to have left the village to the women alone. In their remorse they took the only honorable course expected of them, to show that they were still brave men. They unsheathed their double-bladed bolos, danced the suicide dance, and finally cut off their own heads. (The act of cutting off one's own head is called *mumbotbot*.)

To this day the path along the Atade Mountain just overlooking Ambuaya Lake is called *Botbotan* in memory of that sad event.

Myths abound and even the little boys and girls know many of them and are able to recite at least some of the most popular. These myths are always associated with reli-

gious beliefs and rites. One of the most popular myths is that of the Fight between the Sun and the Moon. It is one of those that small boys and girls can repeat.

The Sun-Moon Fight. One day the sun and the moon met in the sky. Since each of them claimed to be the brighter, they decided to settle their dispute right there and then. They grappled and fought, while people on earth watched. Suddenly the sun seemed overcome by the moon. The light on earth grew dimmer and dimmer. The people became alarmed; they caught their pigs, carabaos and chickens and offered these as sacrifices to their ancestors, beseeching them to interfere in the fight in favor of the sun. In unison all shouted encouragement to the sun: "Do not give up. Strike him back. Revenge. Revenge."

The sun was encouraged by the support given by men. In one supreme effort he rushed at the moon and knocked him down. Taking lime from his pouch he poured it into the eyes of the moon. The moon was vanquished at last and blinded. The sun shone again with all his splendor. Rejoiced at the sun's victory, men on earth danced and feasted for three days.

This myth must have been the result of an eclipse of the sun witnessed by primitive people and inexplicable to them. Through this and similar legends children are taught to have a tremendous reverence for the sun and the moon. In times of trouble they hear their elders calling on them for help. People also call on them to witness the truth of what they say, or the justice of their cause, especially in the case of tribal wars.

As for the prayers and ceremonies of the *baki* only a few of the young people, who desire to become future *mun-bagol* (performers) of the *baki*, take the trouble of learning them. As stated above, this training is handed on to descendants of the same family.⁶ Most children, however, know some parts of the prayers and they may recite them when asked to do so. These prayers differ, each clan having its own *baki*.

The Ifugaos believe in the survival of the soul. The data furnished by Francis Lambrecht⁷ concerning the Mayawyaw Tribe are applicable to the Ifugao Tribe as a whole. He says:

The Mayawyaw evidently believe in the survival of the soul, in such a way that the soul continues living after death. Whether the soul will live for eternity so that it never will die, is a problem which may bother the minds of philosophers; the Mayawyaw simply do not think about it.

Is the soul also spiritual in the mind of the Mayawyaw? The soul is spiritual, if by this one understands that it is something invisible. They have no pure concept of spirituality: in other words, spirituality is mixed up with materiality...

By experience they know that all Mayawyaw die and will die, and they are sure of it, but they are not so sure that all white men also will die. Several times, indeed, some of those who were rarely in contact with civilization, have expressed their doubts about it, in our presence, and even have asked if missionaries and Americans also will die.⁸

This proves that the Ifugaos have an idea of the life hereafter. This idea is, however, a very vague one. The children are told that after death the spirit goes to one of these places: *Kadungayan*, *Mappolwa*, *Tulpuken*, the dwelling places of the ancestors. They do not seem to have distinct places where the good and the bad are to be separated after death. Interviews showed that there is no distinction made between the good and the bad; hence children have no prospect of a happy reward, and consequently this is not a motive of conduct.

There are some Ifugaos who believe in transmigration, as evidenced in the tribal folklore, called *hudhud*. Interviews disclosed, however, that their parents and grandparents had never believed in transmigration. In some *hudhuds* it is related how, when a child dies, he will come out somewhere in a forest, in an old man's hut, or some lonely place. He will not of course know anything of his parentage or where he came from. At the end of the *hudhud* such a child would usually be found by his parents or brothers who will recognize him. As stated in a previous article,⁹ these tribal folk-songs are chanted during the harvest time and during the nights when mourners keep watch over the dead. In these stories the heroic exploits of imaginary supermen of the past are well expressed in poetic language.¹⁰ Children hearing these

folk-songs are thus taught informally the religious beliefs, traditions, and rites contained in them.

EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

When sacrifices are being offered the children are usually present; they hear and witness everything. Thus they learn religious beliefs, traditions, and rites. They are taught to revere the *anitos* or the spirits of the ancestors; they are told of the many bad spirits, who are said to be very jealous of man. These bad spirits are the *bibiyo* or *pipinading*.³¹ In the religious stories children are told that these spirits inhabit big trees, springs, wells and large stones. They are told never to go near the spirits' habitations, never to cut off any limb of a big tree, never to shout when near these places, and to be very careful when one cannot help but pass these spots. The people think that the *pipinading* are just like ordinary men, but invisible to human eyes.

Through such repeated religious stories and legends, the children get the conviction that these bad spirits and the spirits of their ancestors are responsible for every sickness, and that sickness does not come from bodily weakness. Thus, when a dead father or mother wants a carabao or pig, this is made known to the family by sickness; or, if the spirits should be attracted by the beauty of a child, they keep his spirit, which will mean sickness for him. If the parents are not able to appease the ancestors or the spirits satisfactorily, then the child will die, because the *pipinading* will not release his spirit unless he is satisfactorily appeased by an appropriate *baki* or sacrifice. There is a special *baki* for every disease, and the children know well all the different kinds of sacrifices to be performed in special circumstances.

The child is not told to offer sacrifices out of piety. The only motive and dominating stimulus for performing *baki* is fear. The bad spirit or the spirit of the deceased parent or relative is considered as an awesome living being that must be appeased, or else it will cause harm. The missionary-

priest encounters an almost insurmountable difficulty in stamping out this superstitious belief from the minds of the children who attend the Catholic school. These beliefs are so closely related to Ifugao customs, that whenever one teaches that superstition is a false belief, to which Catholics may no longer adhere, the common answer given is: "It is our custom." Four years of teaching experience disclosed to the writer how the minds of children are imbued with these superstitious beliefs. If an estimate of the children who strongly believe in these superstitions were to be given, eighty per cent would not be an exaggeration.¹²

Old men tell the children of the *babagol* or gods, who in reality are but the forces of nature. Thus *Kodyam* is the spirit of lightning; *Kolyog* the spirit of earthquakes; *Amkidul* the spirit of thunder; *Kabunian* the spirit of the sky; and *Tayabban* the spirit of death. They have *babagol* of the different points of the compass, such as *Bagol ad Lagud*, god of the South, and the *Bagol ad Daya*, god of the North. (They have only these two points of the compass.) They have also the god of the underworld, the *Bagol ad Dalom*.

All this shows how deeply the children are influenced through the religious traditions and beliefs of the tribe. Because the life of the Ifugaos is permeated with religious beliefs and practices, the religious aspect of the education of the child is of the greatest importance in his general education. It may be said that the effect of these beliefs and practices on the child is permanent.

MORAL EDUCATION

In this section virtues that make up the moral code will be considered. Among these virtues are bravery, industry, kindness, chastity, hospitality, and obedience, all of which are recommended by parents to their children as typical native virtues. On the other hand virtues such as loyalty to friends and fellow-tribesmen, gratitude, respect, honesty, and truthfulness are not considered as typical native virtues, and, therefore, not so much stress will be laid on them here.

All these virtues will be considered separately, as so many sub-divisions of the Ifugao moral code, which is the same for both men and women. The code on chastity, however, is much stricter for women than for men.

COURAGE AND BRAVERY

Boys especially are taught to be courageous. Parents often tell their children that to deserve the name of a boy, *malalaki*, one must be courageous. If a boy comes home with a black eye, the first greeting will be: "Did you return the blow? Why, are you not manly?" If we look for the motive of this courage, it can easily be understood from this instance that for the most part it is revenge. Vengeance is a common motive with most primitives. It is a hard task to stamp this out of the minds of the children who attend school. The humiliated boy is restless until he has given a blow in return. In former ages head-hunting was common among the primitive Ifugaos, and it was considered a sign of courage and bravery, and was highly praised. As a result of environment and education, this attitude of mind is instilled in the child, although head-hunting itself has practically disappeared. Ifugao boys and girls are friendly unless one hurts their feelings. Once their feelings are hurt, they brood until they have taken revenge. Examples of striking exceptions to this rule could be cited here. Let it suffice to say that years of training in the principles of the Catholic Faith enable many Ifugaos to free themselves from this concept of courage, and to consider Christian forgiveness a more heroic courage.

KINDNESS

Kindness is closely related to hospitality. Parents often tell their children to be *makaulle*, or kind to one another. Brothers and sisters should be *mun-u-ullayan*, or very kind to each other. Parents oftentimes point out to their children other brothers and sisters who are kind and are thus worthy of emulation. Boys are taught to be kind to girls especially.

One who easily flares up and who never speaks gently is dubbed as *makabbungot*, or very unkind, and girls shun him.

CHASTITY

The people of the higher class have some strict observances regarding chastity. In the family itself a stern code prevails. In fact there they even have a rigoristic viewpoint with regard to this virtue, and sex is never talked of. The outward policies that rule the relations between the two sexes are quite strict: brothers and sisters may never sleep under the same roof; they must never sit on the same bench; and on no occasion should they ever hold one another. In the presence of brothers and sisters no indecent conversation is allowed. To utter even an indecent word, to *munlabu*, is considered a deliberate insult, and a brother, in order to preserve the family honor, will fight with the violator.

As the Ifugao houses are always small, with hardly more than about ten square meters of floor space, the children of the family, once they have grown up a little, usually at the age of ten or eleven or even earlier than that, have no room to sleep in their own house. They then go to the *agamang*, the sleeping places of the unmarried. The parents will not even accommodate an only daughter within the family, and in most cases even an only child who would have plenty of room at home goes to the *agamang* at night. This *agamang* may be any available place, a house or a hut, constructed in the corner of a house ground either by the parents for their children or by a group of people. At present these sleeping places are disappearing, so that most of the children and young people find their sleeping places in unoccupied houses.

Boys and girls have their own *agamangs*, and they are allowed to choose their own, without any interference on the part of the parents. They just go where they like and most of the time they move from one place to another: one month here, a few days in another place, and another half year again in their earlier sleeping place. The parents do not dare to intervene, leaving their children free in this matter. The fact that boys and girls have their separate sleeping places

does not ensure right sex conduct nor does it preserve purity of morals. There are no real guardians in these *agamangs*, and parents generally do not really care where their children go at night. Too often the little ones are scandalized by the acts and words of the elder children. In the *agamang* some of the boys and girls relate very indecent stories to amuse themselves. Then also older boys go courting the girls in the latters' *agamang*, and the small children witness everything they do. If boys go to the sleeping places of the girls, one must not conclude that they go there to have sexual relations with them. Francis Lambrecht speaks of this practice among the Mayawyaw Tribe, and what he says clearly indicates the idea the young people have towards morality. He says:

One must not however think that boys always go to the sleeping places of the girls to have sexual relations with them; they often go only to talk and to joke with them, and after a certain time go back to sleep in their own *agamang*, or they may just sleep there.

Many girls, although they may allow the boys to come to joke with them, and although they may not be able to chase the boys away if the latter want to sleep in the girls' hut, do not readily allow a boy to have sexual relations with them, unless he be their lover whom they want to marry, or to whom they may have been married by their parents.¹³

.....
If pregnancy is the result of *agamang* sexual relations, usually a legal marriage will follow The child born of such a temporary union remains then a bastard, *inalaglag-a*.¹⁴

The children of the rich are better guarded than the poor children are. This may be due to the fact that these children are sought in marriage at a very early age. Parents plan the match and a certain ceremony is performed as a sign of future marriage. This ceremony prevents other young men from approaching the girl for fear of the serious fines imposed by the Ifugao customs. It is very seldom that for the first marriage boys and girls are allowed to act freely and independently of their parents or grandparents or other near relatives. Sometimes everything is arranged without the knowledge of the interested partners, who then only have

to agree and obey. Moreover many marriages are arranged by the parents between a small boy and a small girl, who are not able to give their consent, or who, at least, have not reached the age of puberty. Some instances are known where a son of a rich family was engaged to the daughter of another rich family right after birth. It seems quite strange, but it is a fact, that children who are very seldom obedient to their parents in domestic matters, fully follow and obey their parents when it comes to the marriage arrangement. Here again the motive of fear is operative, for they think that they will be unhappy if they do not carry out the marriage planned by their parents.

As long as a girl is not engaged to someone, she may be courted by any boy, who may take liberties with her. Being single, she will not be censured for this. If the boy finds her to his liking, and if they are of equal rank, he may ask his parents to arrange with the girl's parents for the marriage. If the parents of either boy or girl raise any objection, he will without any further obligations leave the girl. Parents always have the final say regarding the marriage of their children.

Married people must abide by a severe custom. A man may not so much as lay his hand on a married woman. He may not make love to her, for if the husband should catch him even in such a little thing as touching her hand, he will be justified in demanding a fine, or *gibu*, which will be imposed by the family of the offended party. The fines consist of gold, carabaos, pigs, or money. Although this custom seems quite rigoristic, on the other hand there is no such thing as family life. Real love between husband and wife does not exist. Love exists only in a kind of mutual understanding, but nothing more. The only tie that holds husband and wife together is the all prevailing idea of the procreation of the human race. This law is quite strong, and the great motive why parents have their children engaged at an early age is this preoccupation to see grandchildren at the earliest time possible. If the marriage does not have offspring, divorce is often the result, for the Ifugaos consider that their

marriage is not blessed by the spirits, and that they must separate. This conviction is strong, and even those who come in daily contact with civilization can hardly free themselves from this persuasion.

From the foregoing data an idea can be had about the knowledge children have regarding chastity and sex. Most of their knowledge they get from the *agamang*. At a very early age they are fully informed about this matter, but they have no idea of the sacredness and holiness of the marriage bond. They hear and see so many things, and their surroundings are such, that a loftier view of marriage is practically impossible. When parents or relatives talk about marriage or chastity, they do it in such a way that children cannot conceive any high opinion of it. Everything concerning God's law, "Go and multiply," seems so natural, that they have no idea of withholding it from their children. The education therefore which children receive on this point, is completely natural.

HOSPITALITY AND GENEROSITY

These are usually characteristics of the rich. The poor may incidentally be generous and hospitable, if they have the means. In the *hudhud* it is often mentioned that the rich fed the poor in their village. Such men are known then throughout many villages. Of recent years there was such a man, the rich and generous Dulinayan, who was known throughout Ifugao, even in remote Mayawyaw. He often fed hundreds of people in one day; everybody was welcome at the meal. Because of his good name his sons were able to succeed to positions that depended on the choice of the people.

Hospitality is a well-developed trait among the Ifugaos. One is always welcome at the family meal if he should happen to be there at noon time. The rich people are particularly hospitable to rich visitors from another town. A man's visitor is his liability until he leaves the village. If someone should attack him while he is a guest, the host takes it upon himself to help and protect him, even though he should be killed in doing so. Whenever one happens to pass by a

house where people are taking their meal, he will hear time and again: "Won't you come and join us? We are eating," and he will always be welcome at the dinner table. The children inherit this trait; they love and practise it from their early childhood. There is again no formal instruction, but they see and hear it constantly at home. Their parents practise it and they just imitate what they hear and see. Whenever there are visitors in the mission dormitory, all the boys are willing to share their food with them, however little they have to spare. It once happened that two boys were unwilling to share their little food with some visitors. This was considered by the other boys as quite unbecoming. The boys in question will probably never repeat their fault, for they were afterwards much ashamed as a result of the reproaches of the others.

OBEDIENCE

Parents exhort their children to be obedient to them and to their elders, but they can provide no incentive for this virtue. Children on the other hand are very capricious, and this most probably because of their knowledge that they will never be punished. Children are very seldom, if ever, punished for disobedience or for any fault. For example, when a woman requests her son to go to the spring and the boy says: *Adiyak*, "I don't want to," the story ends here. The woman has to go for the water herself. There is no reproach whatever, there is no motive offered by the parents. As stated above,¹⁵ there is no separate place for the good and the bad in the life hereafter, so there is no reason from that source why the young boys and girls should try to be good. They will be punished neither here by their parents nor by the spirits hereafter. The young boys and girls know the reason why the parents don't punish them. The parents are so obsessed with fear of their ancestors' spirits that they are afraid to touch their children. They are convinced that the spirits of the ancestors do not favor punishment of children. Some of our informants thought, however, that Ifugaos have a kind of obedience. But years of experience have shown the contrary: children are never taught to obey. When they

come for the first time into the atmosphere of a Catholic school, they simply do not know what obedience is. One often hears the words repeated by little tots: *Adiyak*, "I won't do it." Fear of corporal punishment often gives them the necessary incentive to obey, but then only because of fear. They can be trained, however, and quite a few of them have become obedient after some years of training.

GRATITUDE

There is no Ifugao expression for "thank you". If a person is grateful for a favor shown him he will just say: "I will remember it." This is an equivalent of "one good turn deserves another." They simply do not know what gratitude is. This lack may be caused by: (1) forgetfulness; although they say that they will remember it, they easily forget it. At the time they may have the intention of rendering something in return, but they practically never do so. Missionaries among the Ifugaos testify that very seldom, if ever, has any gratitude been shown them for the innumerable things they have done for the Ifugaos during all these years. Four years of experience with students have shown the same. This is one trait, therefore, to be inculcated into the minds of the students attending school. Ingratitude is also caused (2) by lack of civilization, for it is especially those who seldom come in contact with civilization who are at a loss to understand and respond to kindness. Small boys coming from distant barrios were tested. When given something, they looked open-eyed seeming to ask: "Why are you giving that to me?" Two little boys from the barrio Haliap were given twenty centavos to buy candy. They could not believe their senses. When the candy, however, was bought for them they readily accepted it.

RESPECT FOR PARENTS AND ELDERS

Respect is confined to external forms. Children are taught certain gestures which apparently show some respect, but which in reality are but the results of superstitious beliefs. Such gestures are: walking in front of one's elders,

standing a moment when an elder leaves the meal table before the children are finished, and not answering back when reprimanded. These gestures of respect towards parents and elders are based upon the *panio*, which means taboo. If one does not observe these practises he will not be lucky or will meet ill luck. For example: Ifugaos believe that if a child should walk behind his elders, all the bad luck will be his. The same is true if the child should not rise when an elder leaves the table before him.

As soon as children are able to talk, parents start pointing out to them those whom they should call by respectful yet endearing names, although children call their parents by their first names without offense. Respectful children call their mothers and aunts *ina* and their fathers and uncles *ama*. Uncles are sometimes addressed as *ulitta-u*. This word is also used when addressing an elderly man not related in any manner to the speaker. It is simply a respectful address. The strong attachment an Ifugao has for his home is not a sign of respect for his parents. When boys are asked the reason for absence during class days, the reason most often is a sort of homesickness: they had to be at home for a day or two, and they wanted to see their parents. This is not out of filial piety, it is rather attachment to their homes.

HONESTY

"Thou shalt not steal" is a law engraved by God upon the hearts of men. The concept of honesty prevalent among the Ifugao Tribe is, according to the informants, based upon this rule: mine are the things in or around my house, yours are the things that are in or around your house. Others say that the Ifugaos have real concepts of mine and thine. It is a fact, though, that dishonesty for the sake of a little gain is so often witnessed by children in their parents that it is no wonder that honesty is not held in esteem by them. If they abstain from stealing, it is again because the idea of taboo is related to the motive of honesty, not so much because it is a sin. For example a rice granary is considered as quite sacrosanct. One seldom hears that rice has been stolen

from a granary. To steal fruit along the road, to steal vegetables from the fields, to pick up lost things seem not to be considered thefts. Children herein follow their parents' example, and many things which others consider as theft are not considered such by the Ifugaos. If a man finds a peso bill on the floor he will try his best to keep it, although he may know that the money belongs to the man next to him. And if the man who found the money is observed, he will not admit that his act was theft. If accused, he will answer: "Why do you call me a thief? I did not come to your house to steal." If one goes into a house at night and steals something, his act is properly called *mangako* or stealing, and if known, he is disgraced. A man resents very much being called a thief, and he may demand a fine from the person who called him such, if there is no evidence of the theft. In fact, boys are afraid to call anyone a thief. It has been observed that whenever anything is stolen, they never say that it has been stolen, they rather say: "Something is lost." If they call another boy a thief, a serious fight is the result. The motive preventing theft is not a moral law binding in conscience; it is rather shame mixed with the fear of being caught.

INDUSTRY

Laziness is the most despised trait among the Ifugaos and industry is the topmost virtue. There are sayings about laziness that go: "He who is lazy will soon find his bowels dry," or, "Her fingers are pointed." Pointed fingers denote laziness in the owner. Women especially are industrious and they go to the fields to plant *camotes* and harvest the rice. Men are less industrious. They plow the fields, but they spend most of the time at home where they do domestic work. Children are told to be industrious, and the incentive they are given for this virtue is that they otherwise will be looked down upon by others. Lessons on the virtue of industry and thrift are never taught formally, but are pointed out as the occasion presents itself. For instance, while walking along the road, if parents see a girl working in the field, they will

start praising the girl, and exhorting their own girl to be as industrious.

BOASTING

Boasting is not considered a fault. When drunk, men vie with one another in boasting about their wealth. It is a very common sight to see along the roads drunkards, who can hardly stand, shouting at one another, each one trying to prove that he is the richest of all. A drunkard will first announce to everybody that he is drunk from rice wine, that he is very wealthy, and that the ancestors of his ancestors were all wealthy people. Then follows a whole litany of his riches, consisting of ricefields, granaries, carabaos, wine jars, gongs, and gold. Among them wealth is not counted in money.

Children learn to imitate this boasting spirit. Even in their play they pretend to be drunk and start shouting that they are drunk, and that they and their ancestors are wealthy. One instance was observed during the Christmas period of 1951. An old man passed by the convent shouting and howling about his riches and the riches of his ancestors. He asked the parish priest to come with him and to see the riches he possessed. Soon afterwards some small boys in the dormitory were imitating old Anannayo. Most of the principles concerning their moral code they thus get by hearing or seeing what others say or do.

TRUTHFULNESS

Lying is one of the most common faults with the Ifugao children, and they do not seem to understand that it is wrong. Nobody as a matter of fact has ever told them that it is wrong. In daily contact with boys and girls attending school, it has been observed that this fault is most common. The parents at home never, or very seldom, reprimand their children for this fault, which is most commonly practised by the parents themselves. It seems almost customary to tell lies in order to evade shame. This shame, together with a certain fear, seems the motive for telling lies. The most habitual answer of students is "Yes"; they practically never say

"No." Their intention is not to deceive, it is customary to say *yes*, although they know the answer should be *no*. When boys and girls arrive at school age, because they have not been reprimanded by their parents or elders for this bad trait, they do not consider it bad. School education must try, therefore, to give them right motives for eradicating this habitual defect.¹⁶

MOTIVES FOR MORAL CONDUCT

The real element in the motives proposed to the child to get him to obey the moral law is (1) fear of the displeasure and vengeance of the spirits; and (2) fear of fellow-beings, which fear arises from that pitiless law of all primitive men, "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." Sometimes children are frightened into good moral conduct by threats or bugaboos like ghosts and witches. This motive of fear seems to remain with them even after they have come in contact with civilization and Christianity. Although a higher attitude towards life enables them to give up primitive customs and superstitions, they still return to some of them from time to time, often because of this fear they have of supernatural powers.

To this motive of fear could be added the absence of the motive of reward or punishment. Because people have no definite concept of the life hereafter,¹⁷ children are never taught to expect reward or punishment from supernatural beings. Besides, on the whole no one seems thought less of because of bad moral conduct, for that is an attitude of mind which paganism simply does not possess.

Sometimes the pride, shame, and ambition of a child are appealed to. If a boy wants to steal a pig, someone might say to him: "Suppose you are caught, will you not be much ashamed? Your ancestors were all wealthy people and it has never been said of them that they ever stole anything. Would you be the first thief in the family?" The motive of shame seems to be the strongest motive next to fear. When the Ifugaos relate stories about boys or girls and are asked the reason for certain actions, they answer: *Buma-in*, which means, "he or she is ashamed." Children often act or refrain from acting out of shame.

Encouragement, praise and flattery are at times resorted to. Parents will hold up the example of an industrious child to their children, or praise and flatter a lazy one in an effort to make him work. Praise and flattery in themselves are quite insufficient motives, but if parents were stricter with their children, these motives might give the child additional moral incentive to do good.

Delinquents are scolded and made subjects of ridicule by non-relatives only. Parents or relatives never go so far, for that would be displeasing to the spirits of the ancestors and bring about misfortune. Other people may go as far as spanking or whipping the child, but members of the family of the child will not; that would be considered taboo. Parents and relatives may give another kind of training, a kind of moral instruction and exhortation. They do not do that directly and consciously, however, with the idea of giving the child the necessary formation, but rather informally through stories and anecdotes. There is always a certain moral lesson contained in these stories, and children learn from them. An example is the story of the selfish boy, which is often told to selfish children.

The Selfish Boy. Once a boy caught a fat bird in his snare. He brought it home and roasted it. When it was cooked he pulled up the ladder of the house so that no one could come in while he ate. The mother soon came from the field; she asked Uwet, her son, to put down the ladder, but he would not. His hungry mother pleaded: "Uwet, just give me even only the claws, or the bill, or the wings." And he went on eating while his poor mother cried under the house. The angry mother then went to call all the ghosts of Alino to come and eat the boy. Very soon they all came and began feasting on Uwet. He shouted to his mother: "Mother help me, they are eating my head, my feet, and my arms." But his mother only said: "Why should they not eat your head (bill), your feet (claws), and your arms (wings)?" The selfish boy thus was eaten by the ghosts of Alino.

Another reason why parents rather prefer the child to go wrong than to have recourse to corporal punishment is the affection they have for their children. Parents prefer to suffer anything rather than to see their child in need. They are not solicitous, however, about the proper upbringing of

the child. A mother for instance goes hungry just to let her child have enough to eat, but at night she does not care where the child goes to sleep.

What was said in a previous article regarding other aspects of the Ifugao's education may be repeated concerning his religious and moral education. Hardly any of it is imparted formally. It is picked up by the child as he participates in the life of the family and tribe, listens in on tales and conversations or observes the ways of the elders. What he thus sees and hears becomes at once the standard of religious and moral conduct and the reason to justify it: "It is what our ancestors told us."

¹ "Primitive Education Among the Ifugaos." PHILIPPINE STUDIES. II (Sept. 1954), 266.

² Francis Lambrecht, "The Mayawyaw Ritual," 5. "Go-Betweens and Priests," *Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference*, Vol. IV, No. 5 (December, 1941), pp. 714-715.

³ According to some informants, the *mumbaki* have great influence simply because of their office as *mumbaki*. As a matter of fact most commonly these priests belong to the rich class, called *kadangyan*, and the rich class has much influence and authority in all matters.

⁴ Francis Lambrecht, *op. cit.*, pp. 729 ff.

⁵ PHILIPPINE STUDIES II (Sept. 1954), 276.

⁶ *Cf. supra.* p. 71.

⁷ Francis Lambrecht, "The Mayawyaw Ritual," 3. "Death and Death Ritual," *Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (March 1938), p. 329.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 329-330.

⁹ PHILIPPINE STUDIES. II (Sept. 1954), 277.

¹⁰ The *hudhud* has no musical value. It is sung in a very monotonous tune with no variation whatever. It is more indicative of the mental capacity of the relator who continues singing for hours and all from memory.

¹¹ PHILIPPINE STUDIES. II (Sept. 1954), 280.

¹² Regarding the motive of veneration for the spirits of ancestors through sacrifices, it seems that this cannot solely be explained by fear. The Ifugaos seem to believe that the spirits of their ancestors will protect them in time of danger. Recently in a quarrel a man was badly wounded. When after three days the man had not died, a relative of the stabbed man remarked: "You see, no matter how much anyone harms you, if the spirits of your ancestors do not permit it, you will not die."

¹³ Francis Lambrecht, "The Mayawyaw Ritual", 2. "Marriage and Culture," *Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference*, Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 170 ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

¹⁵ *Cf. supra.* p. 74.

¹⁶ There are no rules regarding etiquette, politeness or courtesy. Most primitive people as a matter of fact have no idea of these social virtues.

¹⁷ *Cf. supra.* p. 74.