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Primitive Education among the Ifugaos: Physical, Mental and Vocational.

FLORENT JOSEPH SALS

Education, formally understood, does not exist in the native tribe of the Ifugaos, and such education is inconceivable. Education as dealt with in this study can be reduced to the tribal law: "So said our forefathers." The educational system, the educational agency, if any, can be reduced to tradition, a tradition from generation to generation, orally handed down; it consists in keeping and handing down the tradition learned from the ancestors.

Primitive education may be called a simple philosophy of life, of which security is the basic aim. The way of living among the primitives consists in how to get a living, how to protect oneself and one's family from the destructive forces of nature and from enemies. It involves an education of the young into a life based on the motive and overwhelming stimulus of fear. Wilds points out that the education of primitive man consists of three processes: (1) the training necessary to satisfy the physical wants; (2) the ceremonial and sacramental training necessary to propitiate the spirits; and (3) training in the customs and restraint necessary for the harmonious living together of the members of the social group.¹

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON IFUGAO

Ifugao is one of the five sub-provinces of the Mountain Province in Northern Luzon. The borders of the sub-province are: on the North, the sub-province of Bontoc; on the East, the province of Isabela; on the South, the province of Nueva Viscaya; and on the West, the sub-province of Benguet.

According to Reverend Father Jerome Moerman, pastor of the Kiangnan Catholic Mission from 1910, the Ifugao tribe must have moved up from the south, from the plain of the Cagayan Valley. Nothing is certain about the original home of the Ifugaos. Beyer states it in this way: "Indications seem to point to the highlands of Burma as the original home of this highly-cultured people, but this is a supposition that will require proof."² They probably passed by Nayon, near the Nueva Viscaya border, for their tribal tales and legends time and again refer to Nayon as a station in their moving up toward Kiangnan, former capital of Ifugao and the most important early settlement. The Cagayan Valley is most probably, therefore, the place from which they moved up towards the mountain region of Ifugao. The close relation between the different dialects of the Kiangnan Ifugaos, the Banaue Ifugaos and Lagawe Ifugaos most probably indicates a common origin, whereas the dialect of the Mayawyaw Ifugaos may indicate that this tribe moved south-westward from the Isabela Province.

It is generally believed that the word "Ifugao" means "the people of the earth." Father Francis Lambrecht is of the same opinion.³ Originally it was not Ifugao, but *Ipugao*, and the inhabitants of the sub-province call themselves accordingly *Ipugao-cami*, "we, the people of the earth." The current legend regarding the name Ifugao which means palay (harvested rice) of the natives, may refer to this origin of the word.

GENERAL INFORMATION

The whole period from birth to manhood is indistinctly divided into three periods among the Ifugaos: (1)

infancy, called the *kinagolang*; (2) childhood, called the *kinaunga*; and (3) adulthood, called the *kakinat-agu*. These three periods of man's life are not defined by exact age limits. The attention of the native is not drawn to that distinction.

INFANCY

Specific names are applied to children during their infancy. The boys are called *lakay* or *mahikon* which means "little, small boy," while the girls are called *aki*, which means "little girl." If the parents have but one child they call their son or daughter by these tender names throughout their lives.

In their early infancy the children are left to the care of an elder brother or sister and occasionally to the care of the grandfather or grandmother. The mother has to go to the rice-fields and has no time to attend to the baby. Usually the mother stays in the field until dark and the elder sister in the meantime cares for the infant in a very primitive way. Because the natives do not use animals' milk, the sister prepares soft rice for the baby. Usually she is lazy, so she takes hard rice and chews it. When the food is sufficiently chewed, she puts her mouth to the baby's mouth and makes the baby swallow the chewed substance. Such a performance by an old man was once observed. Because the grandfather had chewed betel nut, the baby's food was as red as the old man's tongue. This proves that the native does not have any idea of hygiene. Internal diseases are often the result of this primitive method of feeding the young.

CHILDHOOD

There is no determined age at which the infancy period ends. Most commonly the period of infancy ends when boys begin wearing the G string and the girls the *ampuyo* or skirt. Reverend Father Morice Vanoverbergh states that Ifugao boys begin wearing the G string at about the same time as do the Ibaloy, regularly at about the age

of five or six years.⁴ Many, however, start wearing the G string earlier than that, at about the age of three or four. The nature of the Ifugao does not revolt against this; the early infancy does not need a cover; the children are but small. As Reverend Father Morice Vanoverbergh states it, "Before the age of five or six years, they are simply clothed with their innocence."⁵ The same is to be said about the female infants. The small girls begin wearing the *ampuyo* or skirt about the same age as the boys do the G string. According to some of the most reliable informants, Reverend Father Jerome Moerman, Mrs. Lourdes S. Dulawan and Rosario Malingan, the girls start wearing the *ampuyo* earlier, some at the age of two or three.

PROCESS OF LEARNING

Childhood is the period when the children begin to engage in some little tasks like performing household chores, fetching water, and taking care of their little brothers and sisters. They even go with their mothers to the rice-fields. It is the time for them to learn little by little. When they are accompanying their mothers to the fields, the mother instructs them about the things they see and meet on the way: about birds, about the different corners of the barrio, and about all kinds of taboos and superstitious beliefs. During their early childhood these small ones acquire a certain fear that will accompany them throughout their lives. That fear is brought about through the several tales and stories with superstitious background. Let it be noted that all this happens informally; no parent relates stories in order to instruct the child formally. A most opportune time for relating stories is the time when the mother looks after the condition of the hair and the head of her child. Because of the lack of hygiene the child's hair is quite a favorable domain for lice. While the mother is hunting for these she relates stories to the child in order to keep him or her quiet. This operation lasts sometimes for an hour, and the more stories are related the more quiet the child remains. These are, then,

the first orally-related impressions the child receives. This topic will be discussed more in detail in the section on the mental education of the child.

ADULTHOOD

Nothing particular is to be said about this period. The child's informal education is supposed to be completed by this time. But the period of man's life called adolescence is entirely ignored. The Ifugaos have no understanding or knowledge of that period. As there is no guidance every child has to look out for himself and he roams around, does some little work occasionally and grows up as his ancestors did with no worries for the morrow.

AGE AND MARRIAGE

Age is not an important factor in marriage. As a matter of fact most people have no idea of the age of their children and most children do not know their age.

A group of pupils attending school in the St. Joseph's School of Kiangnan, Ifugao, were questioned concerning their ages. The result of the survey is given in the two following tables.

TABLE I

NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN WHO DID NOT
KNOW THEIR AGE WHEN THEY STARTED
ATTENDING SCHOOL *

SCHOOL	Total No. of cases	Knew age	Did not know age	Per cent who knew	Per cent who did now know
ELEM. SCHOOL	120	22	98	19	81
HIGH SCHOOL	50	12	38	20	80

* NOTE: This table was the result of a survey done in the beginning of the school year 1950-1951, during a period, therefore, when parents and children had come in contact with outside civilization.

NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES TAKEN IN THE BEGINNING
OF THE SCHOOL YEAR 1951-1952

SCHOOL	Total No. of cases	Knew age	Did not know age	Per cent who knew	Per cent who did now know
ELEM. SCHOOL	135	30	105	28	72
HIGH SCHOOL	75	15	60	20	80

With regard to their age, some students tested said they were only about fifteen years old, whereas their appearance was that of a man of over twenty. When they were told to ask their parents, the common answer was: "They do not know also." The reason is simply this: the natives do not have records of the birth of their children; their only concern is to have children and to see them grow up.

When their children have grown big and tall the parents think they ought to marry. Those who have only one or two children often urge them to marry early to be sure to see their grandchildren. It is not rare for an only daughter to be forced to marry and live with her husband even before she has reached the age of puberty. Old Rosario Malingan, one of the most reliable informants, cited twenty-five cases of marriage before puberty among her barrio folks. And such cases are not rare among the natives today. They still keep their ancient traditions; age does not count. If the girl is estimated tall enough, even though she has not reached the age of puberty, she ought, in their opinion, to marry.

With regard to more detailed general information about the periods of infancy and childhood, a particular tribe of the Ifugao Region, the Mayawyaw Tribe, may be referred to. Mayawyaw is one of the four districts of the Ifugao sub-province, situated in the eastern part of the sub-province. In his "Mayawyaw Ritual," a study on rites and customs, Reverend Francis Lambrecht describes these two periods of early childhood among the Mayawyaw Tribe. The author says:

The child (*imbale'*), as long as it is a baby (*bu-yug*) is cared for by the father as well as by the mother, and frequently also by the grandfathers and grandmothers or by the elder brothers and sisters. During the day, the baby is carried on the back in a blanket by one of these persons: (*iaba'cha*), they carry (the baby) on the back. At night it sleeps at the breast of the mother, and only exceptionally in a cradle consisting of the lower part of the bark or a leaf of a betel nut tree. The mother nurses her child as long as possible. Cooked rice, softly cooked (*linu'gaw*), or previously masticated, is a supplementary food (*intannung*) of the baby even during the first weeks after birth.

No sanitary or hygienic precautions are taken for the babies . . . It is no wonder that 100 per cent of the babies have skin diseases.⁶

When the baby is grown up a little, it crawls over the ground until it can finally walk; if then when running around in the house or on the house ground it does something which may be dangerous or if it takes hold of something which may harm it, the others, who see it, will stop it and invariably say to the baby: (*pani'yaw*), taboo, or (*law'a'*), bad.

When the baby is about five or six years old, it is called *un'ga*; at this time or age the boy begins to wear his clout—G string—, the girl her skirt—*ampuyo*— . . . At the age of five or six years the child also becomes more independent. It will begin to go out alone, or to accompany the father, and even the mother when she goes to the usually distant sweet potato field. The more a child grows up, the more independent and capricious it becomes, and in this it is rarely opposed by the parents.⁷

The author furthermore makes a quite typical observation with regard to the early childhood of the children. He says:

One meets children everywhere: about the house-grounds, along every path, in the fields, and inevitably where a sacrifice is being offered when they are after a leg or the tail of the sacrificed pig. They see and hear everything, and thus they get most of their education. Whenever they are about to do something which is bad or taboo, some one will tell them: (*pani'yaw*), this is taboo.⁸

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

There is no formal education or training in the field of physical education. The only concern of parents is to see their children grow up strong and healthy. For that purpose parents think that they must feed infants often. When a baby is able to eat, one will hear the mother often say: "Eat, so that you will grow up strong." Whenever the baby cries, the mother thinks that he is clamoring for food. This crying may be due to internal physical pain; but the mother thinks that it is due to hunger, so she starts feeding the infant over again and this often results in vomiting and indigestion. This attitude towards food, namely, to eat as much as possible in order to become strong, remains with the native throughout his life. The Ifugao is happy if he can eat until depletion and the dialect has a specific word to express this satiety due to the use of food: *nadungo* means to be oversatisfied to the point of vomiting or trembling. It is usually due to the overeating of meat.

Another means of becoming strong and healthy is the development of the physical strength and aptitude. The household chores provide ample bodily exercise for children.

BODILY EXERCISES

The children pound rice, fetch water from the spring, split wood for fuel. Other exercises are provided for the children in the routine of everyday life. An example is the indispensable ladder of the Ifugao house, which may very favorably compare with any modern device for developing proper balance of the body. This ladder consists of seven to ten steps about an inch wide. The children have to go up and down this ladder about fifty times a day, an excellent exercise in proper balance.

PHYSICAL STRENGTH

When the boy reaches the age of about nine to ten

years, he is given a special rite, called *kolot*, to insure his strength and bravery. The parents want their children to be strong and healthy and in order to show that strength to others, they perform this rite, which is not a real game, but simply a rite to draw benevolence from the spirit in order to make the boy stronger. Like most of the ritual performances among the Ifugaos, it has a superstitious background. This rite is usually performed in the families of the well-to-do. The boy's hair is never cut until the *kolot* is performed, which rite may take place at any time between the ages of two and twelve. The following is an account of the *kolot* as performed for one of the sons of the most famous *mumbaki* (priest performing the native religious sacrifices) in Ifugao.

The parents of the celebrant first informed their relatives of the date of the coming event. These relatives then brought in their contributions in the form of wine, chicken and cooked rice. The *mumbaki* (performer of the rite) was then called to officiate. The whole night was a revelry, a big pig having been butchered for this night's feast. Everyone had to keep awake. As soon as the first streaks of dawn appeared, there was a stir in anticipation of the most exciting part. An old man planted a banana stalk in the backyard. Suddenly amidst deafening shouts of the crowd, the little boy jumped out of the back door into the yard, and the men started throwing their spears at the banana stalk. One man struck the very heart. He became the representative of the boy. The lucky spear was then smeared with the blood of the butchered pig and kept for the boy's use in the future. They then took a block of wood upon which they cut off the boy's hair with a sharp bolo. The discarded hair was preserved just above the fireplace. This boy would grow up strong and brave; he would never know physical fear.⁹

Means to regain physical strength when lost do not exist. As stated above the people do not have the slightest idea of hygienic measures; they do not believe in medicine. They believe that sickness is caused by the spirit

of an ancestor, who, in one way or other, is displeased because of the neglect or sins committed by the descendants. This belief explains their lack of knowledge of hygienic measures.

GAMES

Among all people a good deal of the physical training of the child comes through play and games. The play repertoire among primitive children is in nothing behind that of other children and includes nearly everything from roaming through the woods to highly organized team games. Native boys among the Ifugaos indulge in two special games: (1) the *uggub* and (2) wrestling.

The *uggub* is a make-believe warfare between two tribes. Instead of spears the little boys use the young shoots of the *runo* plant. Two groups are formed to represent two warring tribes. Shouting their war whoops the boys attack each other with their sticks. Sometimes the game is fought so earnestly that they really fight and the elders have to interfere. Far from being a wholesome game, it is one that nourishes the spirit of vengeance in the young boy's heart. Many a little boy has gone to sleep still smarting from a little wound or a black eye received in the game, vowing vengeance for the next time.

The rules for wrestling are no different from those found anywhere else.

Boys shoot marbles, spin tops, play hop-scotch, knuckle-bones, and hide-and-seek.

Girls also have a special game: they indulge in a rough game called *illalahe*. Two camps are formed, each camp on one side of a given boundary. While the game is in progress the girls sing the *illalahe dupllalahe*, an onomatopoeic word imitative of the clapping of the hands. As a sort of warm-up, the girls spit on the palms of their hands and clap them in time with the music. At a certain word in the song each one tries to pull someone from the opposite camp into her own camp. One would often

see a poor girl being pulled on both sides in the effort of one group to pull her and the other group to keep her. This game often ends up with sprains and dislocations.

Quite characteristic is the fact that the children like to indulge in rough games, games most often resulting in bitter emotions of vengeance, a preparation for vengeance concepts, the real spear-to-spear fights of the later years of their lives.

MENTAL EDUCATION

Francis Lambrecht makes a quite typical statement on how the child is trained mentally. The author says:

In general they see and hear what others do and say, and so they learn how to do what they see, and acquire knowledge of all that they need to know for their daily life.¹⁰

Indeed, there is no formal instruction whatsoever; all knowledge the children acquire comes from what they actually see, and from stories, myths, legends and a special kind of epic song, called the *hudhud*. Boys and girls learn about animals, birds and trees from actual observation.

Stories, myths and legends are narrated to the children usually at bedtime, either at home or in the *agamang*, the separate dormitories for boys and girls. Often mothers tell stories when they are removing the lice from the children's head.¹¹ As it is necessary for the child to keep still for a long time, she bargains with her mother: "If you tell me a story, I'll let you clean my lice." From these stories the children learn of the customs, superstitious beliefs and religious rites of the Ifugaos. They learn how the traditional feasts are performed, such as the *uya-uy*, wedding feast, the *bal-lihung*, feast in honor of a rich man's son or daughter, and the *hagabi*, feast in honor of the Ifugao attaining the full rank of a rich man. They also learn good lessons from these stories, such as unselfishness, bravery, and hospitality.

Boys usually go with their fathers or elder brothers to the forests to get firewood and to catch birds, during which time they learn the name of each bird and tree. The girls know less of birds and trees. Most stories they know were told them during the act of cleaning vermin from their heads.

From the *hudhud* children are taught about the heroes of long ago, supposed to have been their ancestors. These heroes, more or less problematical, cover great distances without suffering any of the weaknesses incidental to poor humanity. Never stopping to eat or drink, they are always as fresh and always as well-disposed as when they set out. The contents of these stories are retained in the children's memory and they in turn will tell them to their children word for word. The *hudhud* is usually very long, about forty pages, but still many can recite word for word several of these songs, which they learned when they were young. The following is an extract from one of the most popular *hudhuds* of Ifugao. The *hudhud* is formally sung during harvest time, one woman acting as soloist and all the other harvesters repeating some verses in chorus.

ALIGUYUN NAK AMTALAW

Aliguyunana, an hi nak Amtalaw, ad dalinda kamaligda ... a ... na ad Hananga.../ An ungaungah Aliguyunana ... ayya ... an hi nak Amtalaw ... hem .../ An ohanan bigbigat, tuh gawana ad Hananga/ An inanamutan Aliguyunana ... ayya, an hi nak Amtalaw ... hem .../ Patuldagnay bawotna hannah hagpon di baleda ad Hananga./

Nakayang, an kanan inanan hi Indummulawana an hi in-Amtalaw/ Pangatmuh nah aluyumi, alubangmih gawana ad Hananga .../ An wadake madadal hi na-

ALIGUYUN SON OF AMTALAW

Aliguyun of old, son of Amtalaw, at their house yard their kamalig-bench in their village of Hananga/. A young boy was Aliguyun of old, son of Amtalaw ... *hem .../* One morning, here in the middle-yard of Hananga/ he came home, Aliguyun of old ... *ayya ...* the son of Amtalaw/ He threw his top up on the entrance beam (*hagpo*) of their house in Hananga./

Oh, my! said Indummulaw, his mother, the wife of Amtalaw/ What are you doing with our jewels, our precious things at the middle-yard of Hananga?/ You might destroy

kodokdon hi gamgamtakuh gawana ad Hananga/ An gamgamak hi Aliguyunatu ... hayyo ... an binuhbuhku/ Adiyak pe magamgaman, an kanan Aliguyunana an hi nak Amtalaw./

Te konak pe mungngayoh hinal-on di nunhalhal-on na bable ... e/ Adim paniding Aliguyunatu ... an binuhbuhku ... u ... u ... Te bimmayakbak tun nadulug an nalagte binahiyu .../ Pagamgaman ka Aliguyunatu ... heyya ... an binuhbuhku ... hem .../ Ta bumoyboykatakah hinal-on di nunhalhal-on nabable./

Ta wadakey dumngalom hi donodnongmu, kaningoh mum bablah unga ... Hi hinal-on di nunhalhal-on nabable./ Ya imbangatmu, Aliguyunatu ... heyya ... a ... an binuhbuhku ... hem/ Ta iyudyudung inamatun hi Indummulaw an hi in-Amtalaw .../ Adiyak pe, an kanan Aliguyunana ... an hi nak Amtalaw .../

Te mungngayo hi hinal-on nunhalhal-on na bable.../ Ot ya abun inlikodnah kob-al di baleda ad Hananga ... aaa .../ Innay-unan indaulnan impaytukna, ingohnodnah nunlugtuwan di kamaligda ad Hananga ... aaa .../ An hinwongnay kubih di gulukaydah kinob-al di baleda ad Hananga./

Daankah na, ama an hi ikenana ... an hi Amtalaw .../ Ildongmuy binuhulmuh hinal-on di nunhalhal-on nabable. Ta ildongkuh

some of our precious ornaments here at the middle-yard of Hananga./ I am going to deck with precious jewels, Aliguyun here, my son/ I won't be decked with jewels, said Aliguyun of old, son of Amtalaw.

I am going on a head-hunting expedition through the neighboring villages/ Do not conceive that, Aliguyun my son ... For look, these rows of jars of wine are bubbling over .../ We are going to deck you with jewels, Aliguyun here, my son ... *hem* .../ So that you will go gallivanting about in the neighboring villages./

So that if you should come upon a girl, who is worthy of you, your equal in rank of beauty, in the neighboring villages/ Then you bring her home, Aliguyun here, my son ... *hem*/ So that your mother, Indummulaw, wife of Amtalaw, will sit with her .../ No, I won't, replied Aliguyun, son of Amtalaw .../

I must go on a head-hunting expedition in the neighboring villages/ He just then turned round to the side of their house in Hananga/ He took a chicken from the chicken coop at the side of their house, the center line of the sitting place at Hananga/ At the same time he went under the house, he jumped on one end of their *hagabi* [a wooden couch under the house of the rich] in Hananga./

Where are you there, father, old man Amtalaw?/ Point to your enemies in the neighboring villages, So that I will point thither with

diy hinagohok an gulukay ... eeee
.../ An nakabog-ak ikenatu an
hi Amtalaw ... hem/ Komman
maid pey binuhul ikenatu an hi
Amtalaw .../

Te bibyaw kun am-in di miliyan
hinal-on nunhalhal-on nabable/
Ilgomku mon kanan Aliguyunana
... an hi nak Amtalaw/ Hapi-
hapit Ikenana ... an hi Amtalaw
.../ Ayyuday bibyaw hi hinal-on
nunhalhal-on nabable/ Kon adim
paniding, Aliguyunatu, an binuh-
buhku!/

Kakaldong di binuhulmi Idenana
... an hi Panga-iwan/ Kanak ot
ay-ayyam ot ya abuy ihungdum ad
dalinda kamaligda ad Bilibil/ Ta
binabbaik ot di tinaundan Ikenana
... an hi Panga-iwan ... Ya
imgangatmu, Aliguyunatu ... oy-
ye ha! an binuhbuhku .../ An
hapit Aliguyun ... "An kon an-
han ohan mablah nunhalhal-on na-
bale ... e?"/

De ot ya abun intungenay hina-
gohonay gulukay hi nunlugtuwan
di kamaligda ... a ... a .../

Innunantun hinagohok an gulu-
kaymih gawana ad Hananga .../
Ya yumaggudkan hinagohok an
gulukaykuh gawana ad Hananga!/
Te ihungduk di nginayawku ad
dalinda kamaligda ad Bilibil ...
hem/

by *hagoho*-offering of a chicken.../
He burst into a laugh ... this Iken
Amtalaw ... hem/ But there are
no enemies of this Iken old man
Amtalaw./

For all those people dwelling in
the neighboring villages are my
friends.../ I shall go to any at
random to kill anybody, said Ali-
guyun, son of Amtalaw/ Spoke
the old man of old: what a great
pity for my friends in the neigh-
boring villages./ Do not conceive
that, Aliguyun my son./

Well, point to our enmity with
the old man of old Panga-iwan/ I
should say that you just go for
pleasure to the house yard their
hagabi-bench of Bilibil .../ And
if the offspring of the old man of
old Panga-iwan is a girl ... then
you should bring her home Ali-
guyun here ... *oyye ha!* my son!/
But said Aliguyun: "Why, are they
the only rich people in the neigh-
boring villages?"/

Behold, he just went on with his
hagoho-offering of a chicken there
on the center line of the sitting
place of their *hagabi*-bench/

"How is it, my *hagoho*-offering of
our chicken at the middle yard of
Hananga? Be favorable unto me,
my *hagoho*-offering of our chicken
at the middle-yard of Hananga!/
Because I must go head-hunting
up to their house yard *hagabi*-
bench of Bilibil... hem."/

The educational value of these epic stories is obvious,
for usually the children are present when the stories are
sung and through them they learn about customs, heroes

of the past, sacrifices, rites, and reverence for elders and parents.

Fear is deeply implanted into a child's heart until it becomes an obsession. For example, when the child asks why people offer *baki* (the offering of a sacrifice) when his brother is sick, his mother will tell him that it is for the purpose of appeasing the spirit of his grandfather, who made his brother sick. Or he might see some old folks going to the mountain performing the *munayak*, or calling back the spirit of the sick retained by the *anitos*, *bibiyos* or *pipinadings*, all bad spirits responsible for harm and misfortune. The boy will be obsessed by fear of these spirits, that abound in trees in the forests, rivers, mountains, and rocks. Then, too, when at night an owl hoots or a *kilkilang* (night bird) calls out, parents tell their children that someone in the neighborhood will die, for these are birds of omen. When a snake, lizard or a *pitpit* (tiny red bird) crosses the path, parents tell the children that this crossing forebodes ill luck. Very naturally children fear these birds and snakes. The *kilkilang* is the night bird that says *keke-keke* and parents tell their children that this bird eats the hearts of little children, especially of the new-born ones. The children are told that if the *pitpit* sings near the place where they are walking, they will meet success, but that they will meet bad luck if it crosses their path.

Children are taught to revere the dead, especially the ancestors. This reverence seems to be inculcated into the mind of the child from early infancy. This reverence, then, is very strong, for as will be seen later in the study of religious education, all Ifugaos believe that the souls of the ancestors live on after death. Children often witness the so called *danglihan* after death (the killing of carabaos and pigs for the solace of the dead). Thus it is that children do everything, even to the extent of selling everything they have, just to produce the *dangli*, carabaos and pigs, for a deceased parent.

All messages are transmitted verbally. No system of

writing exists among these people. Long distances are run by messengers.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Vocational training evidently requires special teaching. Vocational training with the Ifugaos begins from early childhood; no formal instruction, however, is ever given. Children get their knowledge and skill by imitation or through experience.

Farming is the leading Ifugao industry and it is the most appreciated occupation. The most strongly developed trait of an Ifugao is love of his field. At an early age boys and girls are taught to work in the fields. The age at which they begin going to the fields often depends upon their being wealthy or not; poor children learn to work earlier than the rich ones. There is no aristocracy consisting of families that do not work or whose children always stay at home, while others provide for them. That is something unknown among the Ifugao Tribe. If the parents are poor, little girls about ten years old are taken along with them to the fields where they are taught to weed, to plant rice, to pick up shells, and other things one must know about farming. These poor children have to help their parents in providing the family sustenance.

Boys and girls belonging to richer families are not taken to the field that early. In the field the work is ordinarily divided among men and women and thus usually boys go with their fathers and girls with their mothers. Women do the cutting of the grass, the pulling of weeds, planting, and harvesting; men do the plowing or the turning over of the earth with wooden spades, and forming the terrace walls. One of the first things that parents teach the children is the exact boundary lines of their fields. They show them the only markers of the boundary line, stones or tree trunks dug deep into the earth. In case trouble arises in the future, these stones or tree trunks are dug up. A common comment by the authorities, especial-

ly the American Military Governors, was: "The Ifugao loves his land so much that he would rather die than lose a square foot of it." This was and still is proved by the many boundary line cases formerly brought to the military governor and at present to the deputy governor and mayor, for amicable settlement. The *bultung* or wrestling is the Ifugao way of settling boundary disputes; but the government authorities have forbidden this without previous permission from them.

Besides the ordinary work of the girls which consists in going to the rice-fields with the mother, catching fish, and picking up shells, one important thing a girl must know is weaving. She is taught how to weave the tapis or *ampuyo* or skirt, the G string, the *bayya-ung* or blanket of the rich, the *hape*, which is the ordinary blanket, the *gamit* or covering for the dead *kadangyan* (rich), and the *lama* or short blouse of the women. As boys learn to farm by watching what is actually done by their elders in the work, so the girls are trained to weave merely by looking on, by watching what mother is doing, and how she does it. Weaving is not considered a profession only for expert women. Every woman and girl who respects herself has to know the art of weaving. Several periods of teaching how to weave were witnessed. The mother was doing the work actually; she was manipulating the hand loom, the only weaving instrument used in Ifugao. The daughter sat by her mother who gave instructions: "Do this." "Now lift this up." "Sit this way." "Tighten your thread." These are practically the only primitive instructions the girl receives. Through frequent assistance at the weaving performance, she learns little by little the art of weaving. Notwithstanding their primitive instruction women become real experts in this art.

Boys watch their fathers build a house. Francis Lambrecht says there are only two kinds of Ifugao habitations: the hut or *abong*, and the house or *bale*.¹² Because the huts are very simple in construction, the boys hardly need any instruction on that point. No exact measure

is used for the construction of the Ifugao *bale*; it is a simple four-post affair, although the houses are truly remarkable. The boy watches his father from nearby and afterwards he will repeat exactly the same procedure his father used. The houses are uncomfortable, but the young man will not even try to improve the construction. He has but little to store away: just a few baskets, some firewood and some rice. All he needs is a shelter against the rain, a sleeping place at night, a place to cook his food, and to store his few belongings. The need of some comfort is not urgent, therefore, and the houses all over the province of Ifugao are very much alike. The boy is told how the parts of the house fit together, although no nails are used. He must be able to take them apart later on to be carried away, and put again in another place in the course of one day. The use of the rattan strips is shown to the boy. Rattan is used for binding pieces of boards together, to prevent the rung from coming out of the ladder, and for other uses.

Cooking is not an art since no one is particular about the way the Ifugao common food, which is invariably rice and *pihing* (soft vegetables), is prepared. Boiling and roasting are the only known methods of cooking. An Ifugao, in fact, will rest content if he has rice. During feasts and successful days of hunting there is plenty of meat, but there is no other way of preparing this except boiling, roasting, or drying it for future boiling or roasting. Because of this primitive method of preparing food, Ifugao children do not need any training in this matter. That is the reason why there is never any progress in that matter either. The Ifugaos prepare their food as their ancestors did, and coming generations will do the same.

Boys are also taught how to make the fence around the house ground. The most common fence is the *runo*-fence, a line of *runo*-sticks planted close together in the ground and serving as warp, and one or two horizontal *runo*-sticks intertwined in the middle and at the top

serving as weft.¹³ With regard to the terrain for the house ground, the boy is told that he should not put his house on terraces that can be used for rice-fields, but on poor irrigation terrain. The need of drinking water is urgent; he should, therefore, build his house where drinking water is available.

Like other children the world over, the Ifugao children have their make-believe plays of hunting, fighting, cooking, and keeping house. In these plays they imitate the occupation of their elders. They make clay pots and plates, clay figures of carabaos, dogs, and other animals. Dolls are unknown to the little girls.

The foregoing pages contain a description of the physical and mental education of Ifugao children together with the steps by which they are formed in the vocational pursuits which occupy their adult years. A future article will discuss the even more important aspects of religious and moral education among these people.

¹ Elmer H. Wilds, *The Foundations of Modern Education* (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1942), p. 22.

² H. Otley Beyer, "Myths Among the Mountain Peoples of the Philippines," *The Philippine Journal of Science*, VIII, D, 2. (Manila: Bureau of Science, Division of Ethnology, 1913), p. 98.

³ Francis Lambrecht, "The Mayawyaw Ritual, 1. Rice Culture and Rice Ritual," *Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference*, Vol. IV, No. 1, December, 1932, p. 3.

⁴ Morice Vanoverbergh, "Dress and Adornment in the Mountain

Province of Luzon," *Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference*, Vol. I, No. 5, November 1, 1929, p. 202.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

⁶ Francis Lambrecht, "The Mayawyaw Ritual, 2. Marriage and Marriage Ritual," *Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference*, Vol. IV, No. 2, March, 1935, p. 185.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁹ Related by one of the informants, Rosario Malingan.

¹⁰ Francis Lambrecht, "The Mayawyaw Ritual, 2. Marriage and Marriage Ritual," *Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference*, Vol. IV, No. 2, March, 1935, p. 186.

¹¹ *Cf. supra*, pp. 269-70.

¹² Francis Lambrecht, "Ifugao Villages and Houses," *Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference*, Vol. I, No. 3, April, 1929, pp. 124-125.

¹³ Lambrecht, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
