

“Ifugao” refers to the group of people living in Ifugao province located in the central Cordillera mountains of northern Luzon (Llamzon 1978:55). The term is composed of the prefix “i” meaning “people of” and “pugaw” meaning “the cosmic earth.” The word “Ifugao” could also have been derived from the term “ipugo” which means “from the hill.” Ifugao mythology, however, says that “ipugo” is a type of rice grain given to the people by the god of grains, Matungulan (Dumia 1978:1-4).

The Ifugao inhabit the most rugged and mountainous part of the country, high in the central Cordillera in northern Luzon, with peaks rising from 1,000 to 1,500 meters, and drained by the waters of the Magat River, a tributary of the Cagayan River. The area covers about 1,942.5 square kilometers of the territory. Their neighbors to the north are the Bontoc; to the west the Kankanay and Ibaloy; to the east the Gaddang; and to the south the Ikalahan and Iwak. There are 10 municipalities in the province: Banaue, Hungduan, Kiangnan, Lagaue, Lamut, Mayaoyao (Mayoyao), Potia, and the new towns of Aguinaldo, Hingyan, and Tinoc. Tinoc was separated from Banaue and Lagaue. Aguinaldo was divided from Mayoyao in the 1980s. There are a total of 154 barangay, with Lagaue as the town center of the province.

The Ifugao are subdivided into major subgroups, namely Banaue, Mayaoyao, Kiangnan, Hungduan, Lagaue, Potia, and Lamut (Llamzon 1978:55). The 1918 census showed that Ifugao had a total population of 126,000. By 1986 the population had grown to 230,495 (*RR's Philippine Almanac* 1990:193-195). The language spoken in the province is Ifugao, with Ilocano as a second language (Dumia 1978:83).

## **History**

For two centuries when the lowlanders were under Spanish domination, Ifugao life was undisturbed. Then in 1741, the towns of Bayombong and Bagabag were set up in Nueva Vizcaya as a base for Spanish operations. The Spanish used converts like Juan Lumawig of Bagabag to convince the Ifugao to settle in the Spanish towns. Many Ifugao refused to submit themselves or continued to attack Christian towns. In response, the Spanish military employed other tactics. In 1832, Colonel Guillermo Galvey pillaged Kiangnan using Ilocano and Pangasinan troops to punish Ifugao attacks on Nueva Vizcaya and Cagayan towns. In 1847 the military governor Mariano Oscariz “pacified” Mayaoyao, Alimit, and Kiangnan by ruthlessly burning crops and destroying terrace walls, even as he executed three Ifugao for every head taken. In 1850 Oscariz used another tactic—that of divide-and-rule—by using Mayaoyao and Bunhian recruits to attack Kambalo. In 1889 Governor General Valeriano Weyler fomented division by underscoring lowland and highland differences (Scott 1975:79-80, 91-92, 102-103).

Some of the friars who sought to evangelize the Ifugao saw themselves as protectors of the natives, hoping to help minimize soldier abuses against the natives. But when some priests tried to convince the Ifugao to accept either taxation or baptism, they were killed (Jenista 1987:6).

In spite of Spanish actions against the natives, headtaking forays were never stopped completely, and sporadic attacks and battles continued. Even when the Ifugao in garrison towns sought Spanish assistance in raids against Ifugao enemies, the Ifugao continued to rebel against the taxes levied on them and maltreatment at the hands of Spanish soldiers (Jenista 1987:8-12). By the end of the century, the Spanish had made inroads into Ifugao country but had not established effective control of the native population.

In late 1899, General Emilio Aguinaldo called “Miliyu” by the Ifugao, pursued by the Americans, penetrated the Cordilleras. The Ifugao willingly shared with him and his soldiers their camote which was abundant in the region, but the troops demanded chicken and rice which were not very available. The Ifugao were paid too little for their goods, therefore they stopped selling these altogether. Soon Aguinaldo’s men resorted to outright confiscation of food supplies, which earned for them the title “black hawk” or chicken-stealing fowl. This made the Ifugao desire not only the rifles, but even more so, the heads of the soldiers (Jenista 1987:15).

When the Ifugao met the pursuing American troops, they were shocked at the difference. The Americans had complete food supplies and paid good prices for the goods they bought from the Ifugao (Jenista 1987:16). Ifugao headtaking continued, however, this time among American soldiers.

After Aguinaldo’s capture in Palanan, Isabela in 1901, American troops continued to explore the Cordillera mountains. They were usually met with spears by the ferocious Ifugao warriors. Aside from continual battles with the Ifugao, the American troops allegedly spent much effort in learning the people’s culture (Jenista 1987:21). As a result, the Ifugao people had a fairly positive perception of the Americans. They did not meddle with Ifugao beliefs, an important factor for the Ifugao. The Americans made friends with the people and appointed them to positions of leadership in the community. Thus, in the history of Ifugao-American relations, several soldiers and government officials became “apo” (referring to ancestor or god), including Lieutenant Levi Case and Captain Lewis Patstone, who conducted the initial negotiations with the town leaders of Ifugao.

Researchers and nonmilitary personnel, like Dean Worcester of the Philippine Commission of 1900, went to the mountains to study the indigenous tribes in the Philippines. Other governors and government officials intermarried with Ifugao women during their stay. One officer, Lieutenant Jeff Gallman, was considered by the Ifugao as their greatest apo because of his bravery and gallantry.

American presence in Ifugao province initiated gradual adaptation to new realities. The most distinct change was the elimination of the centuries-old practice of headtaking. This was resisted but American superiority in battle, and the respectability gained in battle, made these changes inevitable.

Prestige was ensured through silver-topped canes given to leaders of the community.

The fiery energy of the men was channeled to Constabulary service. Ifugao soldiers replaced lowland troops. The Constabulary uniform was adopted to the Ifugao manner of dressing: a khaki shirt with sleeve insignia, cartridge belt, a specially designed loincloth, the traditional hip bag for the men, a *padang* worn around both legs, and a single-shot Springfield rifle (Jenista 1987:56). Ifugao soldiers were trained in the military arts, and soon became marksmen.

Trail building helped break down the isolation of communities created by years of tribal warfare. Employment opportunities were created. Stores were allowed to sell local goods and produce. In Kiangan and Banaue, the Ifugao were exposed to formal American education, although only children of the prominent Ifugao were able to avail of this. Ifugao workers managed to improve their economic conditions, and disparities in wealth were not very significant. American pacification efforts made no distinct dent on the Ifugao identity.

There were important bills passed during the American occupation, such as the creation of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, the Jones Law of 1916, and election of local officials. The Philippine Commission headed by Dean Worcester created the Mountain Province, composed of seven subprovinces: Benguet, Amburayan, Bontoc, Ifugao, Lepanto, Apayao, and Kalinga (Dumia 1978:36-55).

During World War II, the Ifugao helped shelter guerrillas. Schools were operated by Japanese teachers and Nihonggo was taught. The Ifugao kept silent about the presence of the guerrillas, despite violent means to extract information from them. Ifugao was also the scene of Yamashita's final stand in 1945. After the war, Ifugao families went back to their fields while roads were being repaired.

In 1966 Ifugao gained provincial status through Republic Act No. 4695 (Dumia 1978:49-77).

In politics, warlord rule emerged. But as the traditional political governance became integrated into the national political system, local elections dealt a big blow to warlordism; this was reflected by the victory of independent candidates for mayoral positions. The people, however, have remained largely unorganized. A concrete manifestation of this was the plebiscite on the much opposed Organic Act for Cordillera Autonomy, held in January 1990. The bill was rejected in the Cordillera provinces, except in Ifugao where the "yes" vote won a margin of 2,000.

The traditional kinship system of the Ifugao has also been manipulated by traditional politicians. Government programs have had little impact on the economic conditions of the people. Programs initiated by nongovernment organizations, like cooperatives, have been suspected of being communist fronts. Regular military operations in the region have slowed down development work.**Economy**

Agriculture—wet and dry—is the main source of livelihood among the Ifugao. Rice is grown mainly in the terraces, while sweet potatoes and other tubers are grown in

cleared mountainsides. Rice is the chief staple; sweet potatoes rank high in consumption but low in prestige, for it is only rice that is served during rites and feasts (Keesing 1962:309-312).

Since rice production is dependent on rainwater, an irrigation system has been developed, necessitating the building of pipelines, conveyors, and sluices. It has come to a point where the Ifugao have had to regulate the distribution and use of water in their custom law. Since animals cannot be used because of the steep terraces, men upturn the soil with wooden spades after soaking the paddy.

The initial work of preparing the paddies is strenuous. At harvest, workers are paid in shares of sheaves of rice plus meals. Rice bundles are dried under the sun and stored in granaries watched over by carved *bulul* (granary gods). The rice fields may also be planted with legumes or vegetables after the harvest, so even the embankments are useful. The paddies nourish snails and fish that complement their diet. The women gather all sorts of weeds, roots, and decaying matter in piles on the paddies and plant legumes on them. These materials serve as fertilizer for the next crop, in addition to whatever humus can be gathered from the forested areas.

The Ifugao practice a centuries-old forest management system called *pinugo* or *muyong*. It consists of small patches of forest usually tended by adult males in each family. The system ensures conservation of the forest for fuel, housing, and irrigation for the terraces. The pinugo is part of a strict tribal law designed to protect the environment. Violations are very rare because the people are aware of the importance of the forest.

Animals domesticated are chickens, pigs, ducks; carabaos butchered in prestigious feasts are bought from the lowlands. The hunting yield is declining; bird traps are used, also nets for catching bats. Other economic activities include fishing in the streams and ponds, pottery making, basketry, and wood carving.

## **Social Organization and Customs**

Social classes exist in Ifugao society, based on wealth indicated by the possession of ancient porcelain, sacrificial animals like carabaos, pigs, and chickens; household items of value, and a considerable amount of money. The lounge chair *hagabi* is a status symbol, indicating the family belongs to the *kadangyan* class or aristocracy. Those who were captured during head-taking excursions—field workers who do not own a piece of land but serve the *kadangyan*, either as servants or tenants—belong to the *nawotwot* or lower class. In between are the *natumok*, who may own small pieces of land but not sufficient to give them a year-round harvest. The rich Ifugao usually command authority, although fair treatment is accorded to all. Ordinarily, the rich belong to the priestly clan. They perform marriages, recite myths during marriages and victory feasts, and offer animal sacrifices and prayers for the recovery of sick people.

In Kiangan district, the rich are composed of three groups—the *kandangyan* or ordinary rich people; the *ballihung* or *immuy-ya-uy* or middle elite class; and the *himagabi*, the wealthiest.

Kinship is of primary importance in traditional Ifugao life. The success of one is the success of all, and the burden of one is the burden of all. Members of the family are advised to marry within the region or settle near the parents' residence if they marry an outsider. In an Ifugao family, the father has the final say in family activities, such as work in the fields, children's care and training, and feasts. The wife closely assists the husband, and takes his place as head of the family if he dies. Once the fields have been planted and there is sufficient firewood stored, the father can enjoy himself, attending a feast, drinking, gambling, or he may choose to help in the household chores. Fewer diversions are open to women, who are expected to plant and harvest rice, weed the rice paddies, cook, keep house, weave, and sew the family clothes. The wife is allowed to accompany the husband in feasts and ceremonies.

Children are well attended to, especially when still very young. They are expected to obey and respect their parents at all times, and help them with work. Boys are taught to hunt, use arms, work in the field, recite the *baki* or myths, and learn the family genealogy. The knowledge of pedigrees is of paramount importance to the Ifugao. This helps in determining who to invite during feasts and gatherings requiring the presence of relatives. On the other hand, girls are taught to manage the home, work in the fields, and recite numerous ballads, especially the *hudhud* and the love song *liwliwa*.

Chastity is of prime importance to the Ifugao. Children from the opposite sex, including siblings, are not supposed to hold each other or talk about sex. This is considered highly indecent. Brothers and sisters sleep in separate houses as soon as they reach the age of six or seven. They stay in dormitories called the *agamang* under the care of an old man, a widow, or an elderly unmarried woman. When a man decides to settle down, he seeks his partner in the *agamang*. He is expected to bring lots of betel nuts and the needed chewing utensils, so that everybody can share in the chewing session.

By tradition, children follow their parents in the choice of their future marriage partners. Matching is basically made on the basis of wealth and social status. Sons are encouraged to marry early so that their parents may see their grandchildren before they die. During the engagement period, the future husband serves at the girl's home by doing domestic tasks. Three to six months later, the wedding ceremony is performed by the *mombaki* in the girl's home. Newly married couples live separately from their parents to ensure mutual respect and cooperation.

Marriages can be declared void if ominous occurrences transpire, e.g., a bride slips or drops something. Divorce is likewise permitted if the couple does not beget children or if the wife is proven unfaithful. Divorce for childless couples is based on the husband's discretion. Divorce ceremonies are performed by the *mombaki* with an

animal offering in the couple's house. The husband must transfer while the wife keeps the house. The man gets his capital and the woman her paraphernal property. Incest is not allowed in Ifugao law. Marriage between cousins up to the fourth degree is treated with scorn (Dumia 1978:9-22).

An elaborate and expensive ceremony is given to the dead, whether rich or poor. Animals must be slaughtered daily and the crowd, well fed. The family has to look for the funds for this and, if necessary, mortgage their properties to the point of incurring a lifetime debt. Burial methods depend on the age, social status of the deceased, and the cause of death. Children and babies are buried after three days without too much ceremony. Adults who die a natural death are given five days of vigil, sometimes nine, depending on their social status. Animals are offered. If the dead was rich, there is gong playing and dancing.

During the wake, the women sing the hudhud to keep the watchers awake. The Ifugao loudly extol the dead's good deeds. The corpse is placed on a *hangdel* (chair) while a *munwahiwa* (caretaker for the dead) guards the corpse from flies and dirt. Murder victims are allowed three days vigil with only the relatives present. The corpse is placed in a sitting position in front of the house. The women of the family shake the corpse, swear vengeance, and curse the murderers. On the third day a ceremonial war dance is performed (Dumia 1978:20-22).

The traditional Ifugao hamlet or village is small, thus, chiefs and heads have few followers. The rugged terrain acts as a barrier to close interaction between members of different hamlets, and so it is difficult for a political hierarchical system to develop. Custom law provides the Ifugao people with a political system which governs all aspects of their human relations. The Ifugao family is responsible for its affairs. When any custom or law is violated, the victim must seek justice.

There are no particular punishments for crimes. However, relatives of the victims consider justice has been done if their loss matches that of the offender's kin. Revenge is a firm Ifugao tradition. Headtaking, for example, was a ritualized venue for vengeance and glory. Heads were proudly displayed in the Ifugao home as a sign of prestige and gallantry (Keesing 1962:295). When the Americans objected to beheading, the Ifugao argued that they should at least be allowed to cut off a finger of the person killed in battle, to be used in a *cañao* for the gods (Jenista 1987:55).

The Ifugao village is headed by a *mombaki*, usually a person who has acquired wealth and distinction. His word is law. He decides what action to take against erring villagers. He usually imposes payment of damages and fines with assistance from older members. Death is rarely imposed as penalty even for crimes such as murder. Disputes are usually settled by three main methods: *ug-gub* (dart throwing); *bultong* (wrestling); and in the past, the boiling-water ordeal where a suspect of thievery was asked to dip his hands in boiling water; if he got scalded, he was deemed guilty, or innocent if otherwise. The Americans prohibited the practice early in the 20th century and this has been stopped. A ritual invoking the gods is performed before the start of *ug-gub* or the

## bultong. **Religious Beliefs and Practices**

For the Ifugao, the universe is divided into five worlds or regions: the skyworld called *kabunian*; the earth world called *puga* or *pugaw*; the underworld called *dalum*; the downstream region or *lagod*; and the upstream region called *dayya* or *daiya*. Beneath the underworld is a substream called *dagah-na*. All the regions of the universe are inhabited by thousands of deities and spirits, yet there is no supreme deity (Barton 1946:10).

The more common deities are Matungulan, gods and goddesses of plenty/god of all worlds; Dimapon, the god of fortune; Manahaot, god of sorcery and deception; Bagob, god of harvest; Bulul, god of the idols; Montalong, god of humans; Bibiyo, fairy gods; and Mabaki, gods and goddesses of war. These deities are known only to the shamans or *mambunong*, who prepare a long time for their profession.

The Ifugao religious beliefs are clearly expressed in various rituals performed by the people for any occasion. Generally called *baki*, the ritual is performed by the *mombaki* and involves different steps for every ritual. Rituals form part of the *gonod* or invocation of the deities or ancestors by name; the *dayum* or prayer to the deities invoked; *aiyag* or invitation for the ancestors to come and possess; the *hikkop*, the possession of the priest by an ancestor or deity; and the *tobal* or the exhortation to the possessing deity or ancestor by a priest or bystander, setting forth the purpose of the feast and the will of the Ifugao village people. Offerings are always part of the rites performed. Offerings range from betel nut, chicken claw, and some feathers to rice wine, pigs, and in some cases, dogs along with pigs and chickens. In minor rites the dried skin and adherent fascia of the pig's jowls are offered. It is taboo for the people, and even the priests, to eat this part of the pig. The more important rites include the rice-planting and rice-harvesting rites, *agba* rites for sickness, weaving rites, hunting rites, prestige rites, marriage rites, death/burial rites. Nearly all rites are performed underneath the house or granary. The hunting, headtaking, and *aiyag* rites, however, are performed in the forest. There are numerous rites, each involving a special deity and ancestor worship.

The more important Ifugao rituals include those related to their daily subsistence. The rice ritual begins with the weeding of the fields called *lukat*; followed by the *pudung*, where the *runo* stalks are stuck up and laid over the field; the *loka* sacrifice, where the rice seedling is taken from the granary; the *ugwidd*, just before the spading of the fields; the *bolnat*, where seedlings are taken from the seed bed; the *kulpe*, following the transplanting of rice seedlings; the *hagophop* just before the women weed the crops; the *paad*, done in Kiangang just before the terrace banks are weeded to prevent rice from wilting; the *hanglag* during the first eating of the rice; the *ingngilin*, performed by the owner during the day of the harvest.

The *takdag* rites involve the whole community and mark the end of the harvest for the rice year. A ritual sweeping of the house called *hikgut* is done when first using rice stored in the attic. When the rice in the attic has been consumed, the *apui* is performed.

Then the rice granary is opened and new bundles of rice are taken out (Barton 1946:109-125).

During wedding rituals, the mombaki inspects the entrails of sacrificial animals to know the wishes of the gods. If the first reading of the entrails is unsuccessful, the ceremony is repeated until a favorable signal is finally made.

The bulul, being one of the most important ritual figures in Ifugao life, is the focus of a long and elaborate ceremony. Every stage of production requires a meticulous ceremony, lasting for about six weeks. Deities are called upon in the forest to approve the type of tree to be used for the carving. A ceremony is held upon the bulul's arrival at the owner's house. Myths concerning the origin of the bulul are recited. The bulul is bathed in pig's blood before it is placed at the house or granary. Shamans must abstain from any sexual activity for about three months. An offering of rice cakes at the foot of the bulul marks the end of the consecration cycle for the bulul.

Another important rite is the agba rite. The agba rites for the sick come in two forms: the spanning of the stick, and the balancing of the egg, bean, or a spheroidal object on a knife blade. In spanning the stick, the name of the right deity or class of deity is mentioned, during which the stick is believed to grow longer. In the *buyun*, the egg stands on the knife's edge. Thus, it is important to determine which class of deities caused the affliction, since invoking and sacrificing cost much (Barton 1946:102).

Among the Ifugao, the woven textiles are associated with religious belief and rituals. One popular expression is that the rainbow is the G-string of Attibungallon ya wanoh Puwok, the typhoon deity. The gods enjoin the Ifugao to offer blankets, skirts, and G-strings. Weaving is traced to a certain deity called Punholda'yan. A magical tale is that of the cultural heroes Bagan and Balitok or Bagan and Wigan who bought the first *ablan* weaving loom from the deity. However, the most interesting display of the ritual significance of weaving is the invocation of deities whose names describe the very process of weaving. It may be said that the Ifugao have deified their weaving process.

Hunting plays a major part in the people's subsistence; thus there are many ritual myths about hunting. The first ritual preceding a hunt is called *pahang di amaiyu*, which involves sacrificing a chicken, and ceremonial days of idleness until omens are found favorable. Then hunting begins with Ifugao rules strictly followed by the hunters. The forest rite is performed at the site of the kill, where the game is cut up. The local *pinading* (place spirit) is invoked to partake of the game. The *dalulag* is the rite performed upon arriving home after the first kill of the season. Recitation of hunting myths follow the rites.

The death and burial rituals involve several steps: the vigil over the corpse, which is tied to a chair; the cutting of the string tied to the finger of the widow and the finger of the corpse; the procession to the place of burial; the walling up of the corpse in the burial place; and the ceremonies to get rid of the dead person's soul. Invocations to the gods and the telling of myths accompany most of these steps.

Feasts are also held in Ifugao society to maintain or secure prestige and rank. The motives may include abundance in life, a miraculous increase in pigs and fowl, and quick growth of children through supernatural favor. There are five prestige feasts which the Ifugao aspire to give in their lifetime: the *uyuawe* or *baiyah*, which involves the invocation of gods for a newly selected priest; the *balog*, indicated by the hanging of a horizontal wooden stick with leaves and wooden knives in the house eaves; the *kolat*, which marks the first cutting of the hair of the eldest son or sons if they are both inheritors of property; the *hagabi*, a celebration focusing on the hagabi chair, a status symbol; and the *kamalig* (Barton 1946:126).

The *halag* or women's ritual is performed in cases of children's sickness, and cases of hysteria or insanity of women. The rite is performed by women and consists of incantation of deities and conversation with the possessing spirit (Barton 1946:166-168). **Architecture and Community Planning**

Ifugao villages are hamlets with 12 to 30 houses, usually located near the terraces which they cultivate, and often near springs and groves abundant in the Ifugao region. Houses may be in clusters as in Banaue or scattered in irregular files like those in the Mayaoyao area (*Folk Architecture* 1989:71).

The Ifugao plant areca nut trees at the edges of the terraces as protection against the heat of the sun. And only those who have pigs surround their houses with fences called *runo* which are made of plants, stones, or sticks planted on the ground (Dacanay 1988:38). Usually, rich Ifugao build their houses in the central terraces. Houses are arranged according to the shape of the terraces. They may be positioned in narrow terraces, spread out or grouped around an open space in wide terraces. House entrances usually face away from the rise of a slope (*Folk Architecture* 1989:75).

The Ifugao house is a three-level structure. The first level consists of the stone pavement, whose perimeter is the size of the edge of the eaves, posts, and girders. A hall pan, a wooden girder which serves as a rat trap, is fitted on each of the four posts. The house cage is the second level of the Ifugao structure, consisting of the room frame, walls, and floor. The roof comprises the third level. Ifugao houses rise to about shoulder height from the ground to the girder. But the posts do not frame the house cage nor directly support the roof. The house cage rests on the posts, and the roof rests on the house cage. The upper frame of the house cage is above head level. The wall boards rise from the floor to about the chest or waist. The roof slopes down and goes beyond the upper frame of the cage to floor level. The *patie* or shelf extends outwards from the top of the wall boards to the underside of the roof and forms a recess that supports the roof (*Folk Architecture* 1989:71).

The interior of an Ifugao house is spherical, with no windows and with only a front door and a back door for ventilation. One of the doors is made accessible through a ladder which is removed at night. The inside is usually made black by the fire from the hearth.

Ifugao houses are classified into the *abong* and the *bale* house. The *abong* are temporary dwellings with pyramidal roofs which serve as old people's homes, as dwellings of poor people, or as dormitories for the children. Simple *abong* huts are also used as shelter in the rice fields.

The *bale* are small houses with a floor area of around 12-15 square meters raised above the ground on four posts. The roof is a steeply pitched hut which is of hand-hewn timber and without windows to protect themselves from the cold. It is made without the use of nails so that it can be knocked down and transferred to another area easily. A fire is provided in one of the corners of the house to protect the house from the damp climate. The heat and smoke serve to dry the roof as well as the grain stored in the upper part of the house. It is not unusual, therefore, to find smoke-blackened baskets and wooden utensils which have been in use inside the house (Lane 1986:59-60).

The Ifugao houses have several striking features. First is the roof which is steep and covered with layers of thatch. The thatch serves as insulator from the heat of the sun while allowing the rain to slide down. Recently, thatch, because it rots and catches fire easily, has been giving way to iron roofs. These have been found to be more durable, and have become a symbol of status and wealth among the Ifugao (*Folk Architecture* 1989:88).

House posts present another interesting feature of the Ifugao house. They are made of *amugawan* tree, are buried 50 centimeters from the ground, and made steady by stones positioned around the posts, inside the hole. Rat guards are fitted 25 x 25 square centimeters in width and 1.52 meters in height, are sharpened to form a large tenon into which the transverse girders are driven (Dacanay 1988:39).

A fireplace is built on a lower plane at the right hand corner of the house. A layer of soil is spread over the area where three big stones are placed, to support pots and jars for cooking. Near the fireplace, jaw bones of sacrificial animals are on display, as a sign of status or to keep peace with the gods. Unthreshed rice is also stored on a platform on the tie beams. The patie shelf is where the jars and plates are placed.

The Ifugao use the small floor space for doing everything. Houses are usually occupied by a couple, and perhaps the smallest child. Older siblings sleep away from the parents in common dormitories for children (Dacanay 1988:40). Furnishings inside the house are rare. An occasional bench which is often a square piece of wood, and a flat slab with the low guard on one side which serves as the bed are about the only notable pieces of furniture. Wood or stone mortars with carved animal heads can be found in the immediate vicinity of the yard or just off the house. These mortars are made of the hardest wood found in the Cordilleras (*Monpaot* 1991). The whole structure is finished through clever use of wood without nails. The house can be knocked down, moved, and raised in one day. Woven bamboo walls are built by the poorer Ifugao.

The Ifugao granary is a smaller version of the traditional house. It has the same features as the ordinary Ifugao house but has been modified to make it rat proof, with a planked roof.

Cecil Tronqued observes that the Ifugao house reflects the Ifugao perception of space. The house as a one-room affair expresses the Ifugao concept of the self as part of his environment. The modularity of the house, or the knockdown principle, relates to the tribe's concept of infinity (Dacanay 1988:42-44). **Visual Arts and Crafts**

Weaving is the exclusive task of Ifugao women. Traditionally, weaving is done for the family's needs, but it is also done for commercial purposes. Girls learn to weave by helping their mother or elder sister, and by actual practice under elder women. Weaving instruments such as the loom sticks, the spindle, the apparatus for fluffing, skeining, and winding are made by the menfolk.

Weaving entails a long process beginning with the preparation of the raw material; spinning; winding or skeining, known as *iwalangan*; dyeing; warping the cotton threads; and finally, the actual weaving, which involves two women or girls who operate the weaving loom.

Weavers from Kiangan, Ifugao classify their works into textiles with and without dyed designs. They weave blankets, G-strings, skirts, upper garments, belts, and hip and handbags. Each type of textile reflects particular social functions.

Blankets have several pieces. The middle pieces are called the body of the blanket or *adolna*. The side pieces are called *balingbing*. A narrow band with fringes called *talungtung* borders the width of the blanket. The right side is the blanket's back or *adogna*. The reverse side is referred to as the *putuna* or its stomach.

There are several types of blankets: the *gamong*, which is for the dead and has several designs (mortar, little men, python, lizard, snake, ladder, and shuttle); the *hape*, which is for the wealthy, usually worn by the young, and has three pieces; and the *kintog*, formerly used to exchange for pigs but now known as *oban* and used for carrying babies.

Textiles with dyed designs of blue, red, and black threads are made into blankets, skirts, and G-strings.

The traditional Ifugao wear for men is the *wanno* or G-string. The part that encircles the body is worn high and tight. The ends hang loose in front and at the back. These are rarely tucked in the G-string when the men work in the fields (Vanoverbergh 1929:201). The G-string is made of dark blue cloth with a red stripe running lengthwise in the middle between two yellow lines which either touch the middle stripe or are woven apart from it.

The Kiangan Ifugao weave six types of G-strings. The ones without designs, often

described as *infra*, can be further classified into subtypes. A *binuhlan* G-string has a large red stripe called *habak* in its middle and literally means “the be-enemy-ed.” The use of the color red (the color of blood) refers to the sun deity, who is the god of war.

The Ifugao G-string is long enough to be wound around the body thrice or twice, with both its ends hanging loose in front and at the back, reaching the knees. The loose end in front is called the *dayude* and the one at the back is called the *iwitan* or tail. Several decorative designs are stitched in the dayude, like the zigzag, frog, little man, shuttle, basket, and knot designs.

The *tinannong* is the poor man’s G-string. It is called such because it is completely white; it is usually about 2 meters long and around 15 centimeters wide. The *piniwaan nilihha* G-string is the richer version of the binuhlan G-string. Its dayude and iwitan have designs similar to those of the *balingbing* of a *bayaong* blanket. The *piniwa* G-strings are similar to those called piniwaan nilihha, except that the design in the former is made through dyeing.

Ifugao boys begin wearing the G-string at the age of five or six. Native upper garments are not used. Blankets are seldom used and are worn short, and cover the neck and the waistline. The more common blankets called *bayaong* are dark blue with narrow red stripes and broad white bands covered with designs. These may represent *linuhhong* (mortars), *tinatagu* (men), *inulog* (snakes), *bittuon* (stars), *bannia* (iguanas), and *hinolgot* (spears).

Men wear their hair short all around the head but the middle part is allowed to grow long, thus giving the impression that they are wearing a cap of hair. Some wear a turban (Vanoverbergh 1929:202).

Ifugao men carry *butong* (hip bags); the larger kind is called *pinuhha*, the smaller kind *ambayong*. The pinuhha bags are made of white threads, the ambayong of double black thread. The men usually put their betel-nut leaves and lime container, *kottiwong* (small crescent-shaped knife), wooden spoon, amulets, and other things here.

*Batok* or tattooing is practiced by Ifugao men in some districts. In other districts the tradition has disappeared but, in general, men tattoo almost all the parts of their body except the back and feet. Tattooing of the chest, shoulders, and arms is common; less common are tattoos on the face, buttocks, and legs. Younger men tattoo only their necks and the upper chest. The more common tattoo designs used by the Ifugao men are: *tinagu* (man); *kinahu* (dog); *ginawang* (eagle); *ginayaman* (centipede); *kinilat* (lightning); and *pongo* (bracelet).

Many men also wear the *hingat* (earring). The simpler ones consist of a large copper ring or string of small beads; others use a large copper ring from which a ring dangles.

Necklaces worn by Ifugao males are usually a string of 2 to 8 pieces of gold, silver, or copper in a C-shape and worn tight at the base of the neck. Pang-o or amber beads,

which hang much lower than the other necklaces, are sometimes added. In some places, men wear a tight necklace of trapezoidal shells.

Many Ifugao men also wear leglets made of copper wire wound spirally in 20 to 40 coils, gradually increasing in width from above downward. Some wear armlets made of tusks of wild boar. A belt called *ginuttu*, made of round white shells kept together by a string of rattan dyed red, is worn at the waist from the right side of the upper part of the left thigh, and then allowed to hang loose at the left side.

Head ornaments are the *kung-kung*, made of three or four feathers tied to the hair, a piece of white and blue porcelain shaped like a bird, and tied to the hair near the crown of the head.

Ifugao women, on the other hand, wear the *tapis*, a wraparound skirt called *ampuyo* or *tolge*. The ordinary *tapis* consists of a blue cloth with narrow white horizontal stripes and two broken lines of red triangles, and is worn just above the knee (Vanoverbergh 1929:209). Ifugao girls begin to wear the *tapis* by the time they are five or six years old. There are five kinds of Ifugao skirts. The *inggalgaletget* is worn just above the knee. It is full of narrow stripes and is made of two pieces of cloth joined together. This skirt is for working in the rice paddies, but is not in fashion at present.

The *intinlu* is a typical Ifugao skirt made of three pieces of cloth. The pieces are joined together with a *takdog* and other stitches, a black thread alternating with white. The *indinwa* skirt is also typically Ifugao although less frequently woven. It is shorter than the *intinlu* but longer than the working skirt. The *gamit* skirt is made of two equal pieces of cloth joined together by a *takdang* stitch. Red and white threads alternate with white and yellow (*takdog* stitch); its edges that fray are hemmed and have a *bambulud*. *Gamit* skirts are characterized by elaborate border designs which vary according to the type and color of alternating threads woven into the textile.

Ifugao upper *lamma* or garments are seldom woven today because upper garments can now be easily bought from outsiders. The *lamma* used to be a working woman's garment, protecting her back from the sun and weeds during weeding and harvesting. The *lamma* is a short sleeveless jacket of plain white cloth which barely reaches the waist.

The belts or supplementary girdles of Ifugao women are worn to keep the skirt in place. Ifugao skirts are wide, covering the thighs whether the women are walking, squatting, or sitting. However, the upper portion of the skirt usually reveals the navel and the stomach, so the belt helps keep the skirt in place while covering the stomach. Any woven band may be used as a *balko* as long as it is wide and long enough to be wound twice around the waist.

Some Ifugao women allow their hair to hang loose at the back, but some fold their hair up and use a string of beads called *atake* or *inipul*; these they wind several times around the head to keep the hair in place. The *atake* is made of small white beads while the

inipul is of large beads of light colored agate. Sometimes these beads are worn around the neck.

The women put their belongings in the folds of their tapis in front or in a pouch made of cloth similar to that used by men, except that it has no rings and is thus carried in the hands or placed in the folds of the tapis. Women also tattoo their arms up to the shoulder blade, with designs similar to the men. Earrings and pendants used by men are also worn by women. The necklaces hang lower than those of the men, sometimes reaching the navel. Copper bracelets are also used by women.

The Ifugao produce baskets to serve the needs of the household, and many other purposes. They have baskets for winnowing, storing, catching pests, and domesticating animals, storing grains and cooked food, keeping household utensils, clothes, and personal belongings, and for rituals and religious ceremonies. Carrying baskets have been so designed as to leave a person's hands free to carry other loads.

Rattan is commonly used as material for household baskets. Their appearance is somewhat corrugated due to the half-round characteristic of the split-rattan. All baskets have a natural resilience due to the nature of rattan.

Another commonly used material is the *kokolongkoy* vine. The natural luster and resilience of the vine produce baskets with great expansiveness, using the twilled technique called roping. Sometimes the kokolongkoy is split up and used as *butit* or locust jar. The kokolongkoy and rattan materials are used for twining and decorative twill construction.

Bamboo is also one of the favorite materials for use in Ifugao baskets. In Kiangnan and Lagau villages, the split-rattan tradition is commonly used for household baskets, such as the *labba* or farm bowl, *ligao* or winnowing tray, and plaited storage jars.

Rice is cooked only once a day in the Ifugao household, and is then stored in baskets. The *huop*, a square-covered bamboo basket with a tight-fitting cover used to store cooked rice, is placed over the fire to help preserve the freshness of the rice. Meat is also stored in these baskets. In central Ifugao, the *ulbong* or rice-storage baskets are in the coiled tradition, and the form seems to have been influenced by Oriental ceramics.

A very popular form of Ifugao art is sculpture. Most of Ifugao sculptures are carved in wood, although a few are in metal.

The Ifugao mark life crises with rituals and ceremonies which invoke the gods and deities. In these rituals, the bulul is the most common and traditional ritual sculpture. This is used in rituals seeking a bountiful harvest, revenge, or the healing of a sick person.

The bulul is commonly known as the "Igorot rice god" (*Monpaot* 1991:10-11). Bulul are usually made in pairs but there seems to be no rule with regard to sex and posture.

Breasts are rarely indicated, although nipples are visible in both sexes. The bulul are carved as seated or standing human figures, although in some areas figures of pigs are also carved. Bulul height usually ranges from 30-60 centimeters.

The Kiangon “dancing” bulul have separately carved and pegged arms. Stylistic variations range from the cubist to the realistic (Ellis 1981: 196-197).

Bulul wood is usually of narra, a symbol of wealth, happiness, and well-being. When bathed in pig’s blood, it is believed to assume new powers and will grant the owner wealth and prosperity. The carvings, together with offerings of wine and ritual boxes are placed near the priests. The bulul is again bathed in the blood of a sacrificial pig. Later, it is placed next to the first bundles of rice harvest.

Another ritual sculpture is the *komis* or fern tree figures which have a protective function. These usually have shields, spears, and jewelry of whitewood, and are often placed at the entrances and boundaries of villages. Fern tree figures were used in ceremonies before headtaking, and in construction of arches along trails as protection from evil spirits. The pili carving represents a class of deities responsible for guarding property. They are often represented as small human figures with spirit dogs carved from a fern tree or soapstone, and are placed in small grass-roofed shrines.

The *hipag* are minor war deities. They are represented as humans, cocks, boar, or ducks which serve as the medium of the deities. These hipag are ritually smeared with the blood of a sacrificial animal, and are stored in baskets with other granary figures. They differ from the bulul in size, shape, and detail of the base (Ellis 1981:196-197). Containers are placed alongside the figures during ceremonies. Food and ceremonial offerings to the gods are placed inside, and the animal’s blood poured over these boxes. On one or both sides of the containers, animal heads protrude. Surfaces are often decorated with repetitive concave waves (*Monpaot* 1991:16-17).

The hagabi (see logo of this article) is a huge long bench carved out of one single piece of wood, whose seat rises in the middle from either end. The ends of the hagabi usually has animal forms. The hagabi’s creation and delivery from carver to owner’s house entails many people and rituals. It is thus a sign of wealth and prestige, and is found only underneath the rich Ifugao’s house. **Literary Arts**

The Ifugao do not have a system of writing, but their oral literature—recorded traditions, beliefs, and rituals — attest to the vast wealth of literary arts in the region.

Ifugao riddles entertain and educate the young. These include (Lodriguito 1978:39-43):

*Waday ohan makaphod an babai an kanona di adolna*  
A beautiful lady eats her body. (Candle)  
*Patayom nih-an di inana ahim ta alan nan imbabalena*  
Kill first the mother, before you get the child. (Banana)  
*Dapa-om ke nan balena ya mumbuttikan nan kumbale.*  
Touch the house and the owner runs about. (Spider)

When in groups, the Ifugao use proverbs to give advice to the young. Proverbs are also used to stress a point even in ordinary conversations. Professionals use proverbs in their lectures. Here are some:

*Hay mahlu ya adi maagangan.*

The industrious will never go hungry.

*Hay “uya-uy” di puntupong hi kinadangyan di ohan tago.*

The feast is the yardstick of a person’s wealth.

*Hay itanum mo, ya hidiyeh aniyom.*

What you have planted is what you will reap.

*Hin pinhod takun munhida itlog, munpaptok hi manok.*

If you want to eat eggs, raise chickens.

Myths relate incidents which “happened” when the world had not yet been created and humans had not yet taken control of their material possession, arts, and culture. Ifugao myths concern hero-ancestors, gods, and other supernatural beings who solved problems like those of the modern Ifugao. Myths are in the past tense but the nature of the myths is historical present. When recited, usually in barked-out, terse phrases, myths are often followed by the *tulud*, which literally means “pushing,” and which aims to bring to the ritual venue the principal actor of the myth or the magical powers which stand behind the myth. In the *tulud*, the myth characters, priests, “push” the character from one place to another; the form is repetitive. The charms used by the myth character from the ritual site are taken by those living between the site where the ritual was held and the place where the myth supposedly happened. The person takes it home; the charm is borrowed by another Ifugao who lives near the area, and so on, until it is brought to the home of the person for whom the ritual is performed. At the end of the myth, the clincher *kalidi* is chanted, and the narrator enumerates the benefits which should be obtained from the recitation. The recitation usually ends with the phrase “because thou art being mythed.”

There is an origin myth about the earth’s first inhabitants. Kabigat went on a hunting expedition with his dogs. He saw how beautiful the trees and springs were, and he told his father Wigan that he would like to descend to the earth and live there. Wigan allowed Kabigat to build his house on earth and later on requested his daughter Bugan to descend to earth and look after his brother’s meals. Kabigat meanwhile felt alone and, upon seeing how the roosters reproduced, resolved to do the same with his sister. Soon after, Bugan was pregnant and became so unhappy that she wept and resolved to kill herself. She told Kabigat that she would go hunting for *isda* (shellfish, greens, etc.) but instead followed the river’s course until she reached the sea. While waiting for someone to take her life, Kabigat came and Bugan cast herself into the sea. Instead of going down, she stopped at the rice granary of Ngilin Mangongol. Having witnessed the tragedy, the latter asked why Bugan was weeping, so Bugan told him her story. Ngilin comforted Bugan. She, however, refused to be comforted, so Ngilin brought her to Ambummabbakal. After having been informed of the circumstances, he burst into laughter. For greater assurance, they went to Muntalog, their father. Having heard the story, he applauded the conduct of the solitary brother and sister, and told them not to

worry (Beyer 1913: 98-102).

Another popular tale from the Kiangnan region, "The Great Flood," continues the story of Kabigat and Bugan. Wigan of the skyworld created earth. He put his son Kabigat and his daughter Bugan on earth so that they would be ancestors of all human beings. Kabigat and Bugan knew they were brother and sister, so they ran away to the downstream region and married there. Bugan gave birth to three deities: Ampuwal, the ancestor of all evil spirits; Ngilin, the ancestor of jealous spirits; and Ambummabakal, ancestor of all Matangulan gods. Kabigat and Bugan then returned to earth, where they had many children. Their descendants intermarried and soon the earth was populated. So Wigan of the skyworld caused the Great Flood to drown all living beings except for Balitok and Bugan. The two, who were brother and sister, were saved by the raft they made. Ten days later, their raft landed near the top of Mount Napulawan, some 20-30 kilometers north of Kiangnan. When the earth was dry again, they went down to Oton Valley and settled on the hill of Kiangnan, where they lived with their many children for the rest of their lives.

The Mayaoyao region has another version which speaks of the lubu or Great Flood but explains that Wigan of the skyworld caused the lubu so that it would flatten the surface of the earth, enabling him to hunt stag more successfully with his dogs.

Other Ifugao legends which have been recorded include "The Legend of the Ambuwaya Lake"; "The Origin of the Pitpit or Bird of Omen"; "Why the Dead Come Back No More"; and "How Lagawe Got Its Name."

Important too are the magical tales called *abuwab*. Among the Mayaoyao Ifugao, these tales are believed to possess mystical powers similar to requests granted through prayers. Examples are the *poho-phod* and *chiloh* tales, usually recited in death and sickness rituals among the Mayaoyao Ifugao. These tales are immediately preceded by an invocation to ancestors who were also priests and who are always called upon during the rituals. The *abuwab* is usually about the legendary husband and wife Bugan and Wigan, said to live in Chuligan (Dukligan) or Bayukan. Antalaw represents the father of Bugan and also the living father of either husband or wife for whom the rites are being held. Sometimes the tale deals with another Wigan, a brother of Bugan who represents the relative of either husband or wife. Tales in which fights are narrated are about Pangulchihon and Pangudyawon. They are the descendants of Bugan, daughter of Antalaw. They represent the warriors or sometimes just children or descendants of Wigan. Sometimes these magical tales begin in Chuligan, at the legendary house of Bugan and Wigan but end at the very house of the husband and wife for whom the rites are being performed (Lambrecht 1932:13-15).

Ifugao epics are chanted romances recounting the origins of the people, the life and adventure of Ifugao heroes, the valor of men and the beauty of women, as well as ancient customs and traditions. The *hudhud* are chanted while working in the field or during funeral wakes. A soloist does the narration while a group of choristers support or comment on the narrative.

The *Hudhud Pumbakhayon ad Daligdigian* (Hudhud of Pumbakhayon at Daligdigian) is believed to be the first hudhud (Billiet 1970:63). In the story, the hero Aliguyon arrives at the bank of the Lobong ad Lagud or “Lake of the Downstream Region,” to which all the water of the rivers flow (Billiet 1970:15). He calls the crocodiles inhabiting the lake, and they emerge and follow his command, forming a line that stretches forth towards the mysterious island which is the hero’s destination. The crocodiles let him walk on their scaly back, and he dives headlong into the deep waters, arriving safely afterwards in the abode of the underworld gods (Billiet 1970:63).

Another popular hudhud is the *Hudhud hi Aliguyon* (Hudhud of Aliguyon) which is about the long battle, between Aliguyon from the village of Hannanga and Pumbakhayon from the village of Daligdigian, which lasted for years. The two men were equally skillful warriors. Their duel ended only when Aliguyon asked his comrades to bring his hip bag to Pumbakhayon’s house as a sign that he wanted Bugan, Pumbakhayon’s sister as his wife. When Pumbakhayon accepted his proposal, the wedding was held at once; and Pumbakhayon prayed that the gods bless the couple with children and that they may become rich Ifugao aristocrats. Pumbakhayon returned to his village with Aginaya to celebrate their own marriage.

Another hudhud, *The Hudhud of Dinulawan and Bugan at Gonhadan*, narrates episodes relating to Bugan’s search for a husband and her marriage to Daulayan, Aliguyon’s long-lost brother; and the courtship and wedding of Aginaya, Aliguyon’s sister, and Dinulawan, Bugan’s brother (Lambrecht 1967).

The *alim* is a narrative chanted by the rich during prestige rituals or the funeral of a prestigious person. Chanted by two groups of male singers representing male and female personae, the alim sings of the virtues of the rich, and when performed at wakes, narrates the life and achievements of the dead person. **Performing Arts**

The Ifugao have various types of musical instruments and songs for different occasions, particularly during village rituals and social gatherings. In general, Ifugao music can be classified into instrumental and vocal, with vocal music often performed without musical accompaniment.

Among the percussion instruments, the gongs commonly called the *gangsa* or *gangha* are the most popular. The gangsa is an ensemble of 3 to 4 flat gongs played in special rhythms, while the gangha is usually made of brass or bronze. The individual gongs are called *tobob*, *hibat*, or *ahhot*. The manner of playing the tobob, the low-pitched gong, with clenched fist, is unique to the Ifugao.

The other gongs are played with sticks that strike the inner surface of the gong—the *hibat* producing resonant tones and the *ahhot* producing the dampened sounds. During harvest rituals the *libbit*, a small conical drum, is added to the ensemble. Another percussion instrument is the *bangibang* or *pattong*. It is a pair made of straight or boomerang-shaped wood. Sound is produced by striking or banging the instrument.

The *langitang* is generally used during burial rituals, to drive away spirits, and revenge rituals for a slain Ifugao.

The *bikkung* is a mouth instrument made of brass or bamboo. It is commonly played by men and women during courtship sessions or at night. The brass bikkung is slightly thinner than the bamboo bikkung but serves the same purpose.

The *ayyuding* and *babbong* are string instruments made of bamboo and rattan. The ayyuding is made of a whole bamboo node with the strings carved out of the bamboo's skin. It is played by striking the strings with a stick. The babbong is a rattan strip instrument usually played by children before harvest time. It is believed to hasten the ripening of the rice grains. The *tadcheng* is a similar instrument with four strings strummed with the fingers. The guitar has recently become popular for accompanying songs.

Wind instruments include the *ungiyong*, a nose flute made of bamboo. The mouth flute called *tongali* has six holes and can be blown from both ends of the flute. The *hupip* is a mouth flute made of runo reed. It is as thin as a ballpen. These instruments are often used to express one's personal feelings.

Vocal music covers a variety of forms. Men and women, young and old alike, sing. There are trained chanters for rituals and other social gatherings, with the people exchanging comments on the chanting.

Chanting or singing is done individually, e.g., when putting a child to sleep, or, more often, as a group. The latter have a lead chanter or singer. Songs learned from other tribes or lands are usually sung individually.

Generally Ifugao songs can be classified into ritual songs and nonritual songs. Ritual songs are sung during religious occasions; some songs require responses while others are extemporaneous. A ritual song is the *alim*. Nonritual songs include the hudhud, the *liwliwa*, and the *salidummay*. The *liwliwa*, used to express love, protest and other personal emotions, is sung in debate form by groups of men and women and their leaders. The *salidummay*, which can express ideas or emotions, is usually sung antiphonally by groups of men and women.

Songs are also known according to the historical period they represent. One song which narrates the introduction of land transportation in 1930 is about a husband and wife who traveled by automobile. Songs about World War II can be easily recognized because of their themes and characters. Songs about love became popular during the American Occupation, and some have adopted tunes like the popular "Leron, Leron Sinta" (Leron, Leron Beloved).

Dancing has always been part of Ifugao life, taking center stage during rituals, religious activities, and special occasions.

Wilcox (1912:109-112) has given us a vivid description of Ifugao feast dances. The dancing lasts for nights, with the sound of gongs serving as a signal to the villagers. Men and women participate in the celebration. When they dance, their eyes are focused on one point on the ground, about 90 centimeters from where they are standing, their knees bent down a little, their left foot in front, their hands outstretched with their fingers joined, right hand akimbo behind their right hip.

The dance steps follow a slow shuffle with slow turns and twists of the left hand and a fast up-and-down movement of the right hand. While kneeling in front of the dancers, the gong players hold the gangsa on top of their thighs with the convex side held up. They beat the gongs with their hands, the right hand giving the downward stroke, the left hand serving to dampen the sound. Speeches are made in between these dances, with the resounding “whoooo-o-eee” serving to silence those present so that the speech may be delivered.

Dances are also performed as part of rituals. The Ifugao dance *batad* is performed during village feasts and religious rituals involving sacrificial animals (Obusan 1989). During wedding feasts, the *iteneg* is performed to announce to the whole village the union of the man and woman. There are incantations, prayers, and animal sacrifices. As soon as the pig’s bile shows signs favorable to the couple being married, the native rice wine *tapoy* is passed around and the *imbajah* dance begins. More incantations and bile examination are conducted before the couple is asked to dance. The groom sports a hornbill headdress while the bride wears a headdress with a brass female figure. The couple then performs the *tadek*, depicting a rooster courting a hen. They carry a half-dead chicken with their left hands and offer these to the gods.

During prestige feasts like the *cañao*, where the feast giver’s social status is further defined, all those who ate during the feast are obliged to dance during the three- to four-day celebration (Obusan 1989).

The *paypayto* is performed by farmers as a break from fieldwork. At the end of the day, the farmers get together, sip tapoy, pound their gangsa, and dance the paypayto. It is an imitation of the high-flying birds who are disturbed by the hunters and fly away to safer places. The paypayto is an all-male dance which allows the dancers to show off their skill in jumping in and out of striking sticks. This thrilling dance usually lasts until the wee hours of the night (Obusan 1991).

The dance *dinuyya* is performed by men and women during major feasts in the municipality of Lagaue. There is no limit to the number of dancers here. And they may move as they please as long as they follow the movement patterns. The dancers may form one line or dance alone. Different types of gongs or gangsa are played. One of them is the *tobob*, about 25 centimeters in diameter, which is beaten with the open palms. Another type is the *hibat*, played by beating the inner part of the gong with a soft stick (Orosa-Goqingco 1980).

Other interesting dances are the *idaw* which depicts war between two tribes in the

Cordilleras (Obusan 1989), and the headtaking dances. Wilcox describes a headtaking dance he witnessed. It is performed by a long line of men, accompanied by a slow cadenced sound. The warriors, armed with shields and spears, continually walk backward, lunging at the next man. A pig tied by the feet to a pole follows the warriors. The men beat curved instruments with sticks and make resonant sounds. Musicians march along with the warriors and lean in unison, first to the right and then to the left, striking one end of their instrument and then the other. As soon as the dancers reach the hilltop, the pig is laid down in the middle of a big circle made by the warriors and the actual dance begins. Two or three men chant, march around, and spear the pig. The dance is repeated, and an old man runs out to remove the spears. Then a man, chanting, without looking at the pig, and without stopping his speech, suddenly thrusts his spear into the pig's heart, withdrawing the spear so quickly that the blade remains free from the pig's blood (Wilcox 1912:112).

Other dances performed by the Ifugao are the *bongabong* (funeral, war, or revenge dance), where the male dancers shake their spears and shields; and the *monghimo*, another death ceremonial dance, which requires all male relatives to wear the sacred leaves called *dongla* on their heads while dancing with spears in a row as they accompany the body to its grave (Orosa-Goquingco 1980).

Aside from dances, the rituals constitute the forms of drama among the Ifugao. Every ritual follows a general pattern. It begins with an invocation to the ancestors. This is followed by the possession of the priest by the ancestors. The ancestors may sip wine through the priest. The *mamonghal* or leader priests assigns the different deities to the priests present. The *makalun* or messenger is asked to intercede with the deities according to the purpose of the rite. Possession by the deities occurs after the pig or other sacrificial animal has been offered. The priest commands the deity to come, and through the priest, the deity makes its presence felt through the possession note "tsay-ay-ay" (Kiangnan) or "Ki-ye-e-e-eh" (central Ifugao). It declares its habitat, expresses satisfaction in the feast and wine, and goes home. The sacrifice of animals, usually chickens, is done after the deity has left. While this goes on, the priest mentions the names of the deities to whom the offerings are made. Then, myth recitations related to the rite is performed. A quenching rite, performed by throwing boiling water from the cauldron into the coals is done and an invocation is again performed. • G. Atienza with notes from F. Prudente/Reviewed by F. Hornedo

Barton, Roy F. *The Half-way Sun; Life among the Headhunters of the Philippines*. New York: Brewer and Warren, 1930.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Autobiographies of Three Pagans in the Philippines*. New York: University Books, 1963. First published in London, 1938, under the title *Philippine Pagans*.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Religion of the Ifugaos." In *American Anthropologist*. New Series, Vol. XLVIII, No. 4, Part II (October 1946).

- Beyer, Henry Otley. "Origin Myths Among the Mountain Peoples of the Philippines." In *Philippine Journal of Science*. Vol. VIII, No. 2 (1913), 85-116.
- Billiet, Francisco. *Studies on Kalinga Ullalim and Ifugao Orthography*. Baguio City: The Catholic School Press, 1970.
- Cole, Mabel Cook. *Savage Gentlemen*. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company Inc., 1929
- Conklin, Harold C. *Ethnographic Atlas of Ifugao: A Study of Environment, Culture, and Society in Northern Luzon*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980.
- Dacanay Jr., Julian. *Ethnic Houses and Philippine Artistic Expression*. Manila: One-Man Show Studio, 1988.
- De los Reyes, Angelo J. and Aloma M. de los Reyes, (eds.) *Igorot: A People Who Daily Touch the Earth and the Sky*. CSG Series Vol. II: Cordillera History. Baguio City: Cordillera Schools Group, 1986.
- Dulawan, Lourdes S. "The Ifugaos." In *Unitas*. Vol. XL, No. 1 (March 1967), 4-52.
- Dumia, Mariano A. *The Ifugao World*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1978.
- Ellis, George. "Arts and People of Northern Philippines." In *The People and Art of the Philippines*. Museum of Cultural History, University of California at Los Angeles, 1981.
- Folk Architecture*. Text by Rodrigo Perez III, Rosario S. Encarnacion, and Julian E. Dacanay Jr. Photographs by Joseph R. Fortin and John K. Chua. Quezon City: GCF Books, 1989.
- Jenista, Frank. *The White Apos: American Governors in the Cordillera Central*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1987.
- Keessing, Felix M. *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*. California: Stanford University Press, 1962.
- Lambrecht, Francis. "Ifugao Villages and Houses." In *Catholic Anthropological Conference*. Vol. I, No. 3 (April 1929), 117-141.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Mayawyaw Ritual*. Part I: "Rice Culture and Rice Ritual." In *Catholic Anthropological Conference*. Vol. IV, No. 1 (December 1932), 1-167; Part II: "Marriage and Marriage Ritual." In *Catholic Anthropological Conference*. Vol. IV, No. 2; Part III: "Death and Death Ritual." In *Catholic Anthropological Conference*. Vol. IV, No. 3 (March 1938), 327-493; Part IV: "Property and

Property Ritual.” In *Catholic Anthropological Conference*. Vol. IV, No. 4 (October 1939), 495-711; Part V: “Go Betweens and Priests.” In *Catholic Anthropological Conference*. Vol. IV, No. 5 (December 1941), 713-754; Part VI: “Illness and Its Ritual.” In *Journal of East Asian Studies*. Vol. VI, No. 1 (1957), 1-28.

\_\_\_\_\_. “The Hudhud of Dinulawan and Bagan at Gonhadan.” In *Saint Louis Quarterly*. Vol. V, Nos. 3 & 4 (September-December 1967), 267-713.

Lane, Robert. *Philippine Basketry: An Appreciation*. Manila: Bookmark Inc., 1986.

Llamzon, Teodoro A. *Handbook of Philippine Language Groups*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1978.

Lodriguito, Benjamin G. “Ethnic Proverbs, Riddles, Legends, and Plays.” In *Journal of Southern Luzon*. Vol. VIII (July 1977-January 1978), 39-93.

Lorica, Loreto Q. “Teaching in an Ifugao Community.” In *Philippine Education*. Vol. X, No. 2 (1955), 32-33.

Lorin, Rosario. “Ifugao Literature.” In *Salimbibig/Philippine Vernacular Literature*. Edited by Joseph A. Galdon. Quezon City: The Council for Living Traditions, 1980.

*Monpaot Cordillera Functional Sculptures*. An Ethnographic Exhibit Curated by David Baradas. Bulwagang Fernando Amorsolo, Cultural Center of the Philippines. (4 February-4 March 1991).

*National Geographic Magazine* (September 1912).

Obusan, Ramon A., dir. *Sayaw, A Video Documentary on Philippine Dance*. Tuklas Sining Series. Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1989.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Unpublished Dances of the Philippines*. Souvenir Program. Cultural Center of the Philippines (25-26 October 1991).

Orosa-Goquingco, Leonor. *Dances of the Emerald Isles*. Quezon City: Ben-Lor Publishers, 1980.

*Philippine Folk Dances and Songs*. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1966.

*RR's Philippine Almanac: Book of Facts 1990*. Aurora Publications, 1990.

Scott, William Henry. *On the Cordillera*. Manila: MCS Enterprises Inc., 1969.

\_\_\_\_\_. *History on the Cordillera*. Baguio City: Baguio Printing and Publishing Co.

Inc.,1975.

Vanoverbergh, Morice. "Dress and Adornment in the Mountain Province of Luzon, Philippine Islands." In *Catholic Anthropological Conference*. Vol. I, No. 5 (November 1929), 181-242.

Wilcox, Cornelius De Witt. *The Headhunters of Northern Luzon; From Ifugao to Kalinga, a Ride through the Mountains of Northern Luzon, with an Appendix on the Independence of the Philippines*. Kansas City: Franklin Hudson Publishing Co., 1912.

Worcester, Dean. "The Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon." In *Philippine Journal of Science*. Vol. I, No. 8 (October 1906), 791-875.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Field Sports Among the Wild Men of Northern Luzon." In *National Geographic Magazine*. Vol. XXII, No. 3 (March 1911), 215-267.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Head-hunters of Northern Luzon. (Covers Negritos, Ilongots, Kalingas and Ifugaos.)" In *National Geographic Magazine*. Vol. XXIII, No. 9 (September 1912), 833-930.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Non-Christian Peoples of the Philippine Islands." In *National Geographic Magazine*. Vol. XXIV, No. 11 (November 1913), 1157-1256.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Philippines: Past and Present*. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1914.

Zabilka, Gladys. *Customs and Culture of the Philippines*. Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Co. Inc., 1974.