

2. Keley-i (Dikkalay, closer to Kalanguya) of Tinoc

The Kalanguya has three variants:

1. Iddaya
2. Itabuy
3. Itinec

The basic subsistence technologies for the Ifugao are wet rice cultivation in massive rice terraces covering entire mountainsides and dry cultivation for other crops like sweet potatoes. During off seasons, the terraces are planted with vegetables. Some amount of food gathering is still practiced, along with minimal hunting in the remaining forested areas. One subgroup is noted for its wood carving—usually associated with rituals—and all the others are involved in weaving.

The Ifugao are famous for their very complex indigenous religion marked by a cosmology that includes hundreds of deities. There are elaborate rituals that accompany personal and social events, participated in by choirs of ritual practitioners who are almost all adult males. The Ifugao are famous, too, for their prodigious oral epic literature.

2. The Ifugao Agricultural Cycle

As early as 1545 to 1000 BCE in Bannawol, the present town of Banaue, there is evidence of residential occupation in the area. By the seventh century, through the period between 1195 and 1380 CE, in Bungahalian and Nabyun, respectively, the presence of terraces have been reported, but between 1486 and 1788 CE in Bocos, Banaue, there was definitely a rapid expansion of terraces with the rise of rice cultivation.

The terraces are fragile in construction so much that no draft animal, like the carabao, can be used to plow the field. Instead the soil is cultivated by hand using wooden spades. Rice is planted at the beginning of the year and harvested around June.

The fragileness of the environment and the human agricultural technology is reflected in the Ifugao cultural attempts to control it through means of numerous rituals they associate with cultivation. This is not surprising since the Ifugao traditional religion has a pantheon of deities, numbering at least two thousand.

Harold Conklin, the American anthropologist who began extensive ethnoecological research in Ifugao in the early 1960s, published the results of his investigation in his book, *Ethnographic Atlas of Ifugao*. Although his research did not cover the entire province of Ifugao and mainly concentrated in the North Central Ifugao agricultural district of

Bayninan and its environs, his research gave a detailed description of the Ifugao agricultural cycle, which is important in understanding the practices and beliefs associated in working on and cultivating the terraces. It also points out variations in agricultural activities, which could explain why the punnuk is only practiced in certain areas and not in the entire province.

As explained by Conklin:

Keeping track of agricultural events in an Ifugao community requires some knowledge of the local system of time reckoning. For calendric purposes that system depends heavily on the recognition of successions of observable environmental changes and agricultural activities related to terrace maintenance and rice cultivation. Because districts differ in their ecological settings and because owners of ritual fields have some leeway in initiating agronomic activities, no two districts, even adjacent districts, follow identical schedules. Thus the annual and essentially seasonal calendars of Ifugao are specific to particular districts. Similarly, and because precise dating by some external system such as the Gregorian calendar receives little attention, successive years rarely have the same number of days. The precise termination of each local Ifugao year is determined not by celestial phenomena but by the conclusion of harvest rites; activity for a particular calendric date is specified in terms of an inter-calibration of various phonological fluctuations and local cultural activities.

The agricultural year is totally partitioned into two phases, four seasons (subdivisions of the two phases), and fifteen periods (sub-divisions of the four seasons and the shortest time-span divisions in the system). In turn, these divisions are correlated with two separate successions of important events: twenty-two stages of agricultural activity and twenty-three associated rituals (or clustered series of rituals). Although these stages and rituals are calendrically ordered, they consist of discrete occurrences, which are frequently separated by long intervals. Culturally, the designated ritual events constitute the most significant points marking the progression of the agricultural year.

The following matrix will show the composition of the Ifugao Calendar based on the research of Conklin with the corresponding terminologies in Tawali Ifugao of Brgy and Hapao in Hungduan.

Composition of Ifugao Calendar

DIVISIONS OF THE AGRICULTURAL YEAR		
	Terminology in the North Central Ifugao Agricultural District (Based on the Ethnographic Atlas of Conklin)	Terminology in the South Central Ifugao Agricultural District (Specifically the Tuwali Ifugao in Brgy. Hapao, Hungduan) * No equivalent term
Phases		
preparation of fields	<i>payo</i>	<i>payo (field)</i>
production of grain	<i>page</i>	<i>pageh (rice grains)</i>
Seasons		
off season	<i>iwang</i>	<i>kiwang</i>
planting season	<i>lawang</i>	<i>haw-ang</i>
dry season	<i>tiyalgo</i>	<i>tiyoago</i>
harvest season	<i>ahitulu</i>	*
Periods		
initial postharvest period	<i>lu'luwah</i>	<i>huowah / howah</i>
early off season	<i>'iw'iwang</i>	<i>kiwang (off season)</i>
mid off season	<i>ginawang-di-iwang</i>	*
late off season	<i>na'iwang</i>	*
terrace work period	<i>ahi amu</i>	<i>kahitamuwan</i>
rice planting period	<i>ahihopna</i>	<i>kahihopnak</i>
soil working period	<i>ahilawang</i>	<i>kahihaw-ang</i>
rice transplanting period	<i>ahiboge</i>	<i>kahitunod</i>
field completion period	<i>ahi'ulpi</i>	<i>kopih</i>
early dry season	<i>bo'bo'lana</i>	<i>bokbokoana</i>
height of dry season	<i>tongtong-di-tiyalgo</i>	<i>tiyoago</i>
rice booting period	<i>mumbiyah</i>	<i>pimmingot nan pageh</i>
rice heading period	<i>'ahibuhbuh</i>	<i>munbuhbuh di pageh</i>
rice ripening period	<i>holdang</i>	<i>munhodang</i>
rice harvesting period	<i>'ahitulu</i>	<i>kahiani</i>

SEQUENCES OF EVENTS		
	Terminology in the North Central Ifugao Agricultural District (Based on the Ethnographic Atlas of Conklin)	Terminology in the South Central Ifugao Agricultural District (Specifically the Tuwali Ifugao in Brgy. Hapao, Hungduan) * No equivalent term
Stages		
weeding, treading, and wet mulching time	<i>'ahilamun</i>	<i>kahihoamun</i>
spading time	<i>'ahigaud</i>	<i>kahigaud</i>
wall cleaning time	<i>'ahiloba</i>	<i>kahoyba</i>

second weeding and wet mulching time	'ahibalin	kahikaw-ih
margin cleaning time	'ahidaluh	kahigabut
soil preparation time	'ahipaphod	}kahihopnak
rice panicle planting time	'ahihopna	
green manuring time	'ahibuluh	*
dike finishing time	'ahibanong	kahibanong
seedling transplanting time	'ahiboge	kahitunod
field marking time	'ahi-ulpi	kopih
second field marking time	'ahihogophop	hagophop
seed planting time	'ahi'oho'	*
swidden clearing time	'ahi'uma	kahiuma
swidden planting time	'ahitanum	kahitanum
rice weeding time	'ahi'ago'o	kahikagoko
irrigation tending time	'ahipaliyan	*
wall weeding time	'ahilupung	kahihopung
margin weeding time	'ahipadig	*
rice toasting time	'ahihanglag	*
early reaping time	'ahi'udol	}kahiani/kahibotok/kahiudo (reaping/harvest time)
rice bundling time	'ahiboto	
Rituals		
district welfare ritual	ubaya	hulin
initial agricultural rite	lu'at	*
rice consumption rite	'apuy	in-apuy
rice loaf ritual	ba'le	bakle
seed bundle rite	lohwang	*
seedbed declaration rite	'opdah	hookah di binong-oh
construction completion ritual	'ulpin-di-pa'aggau	*
mature seedling rite	bage	*
field completion and marking rites	'ulpi	kopih
final field marking ritual	hagophop	hagophop
general agricultural ritual	tinungul	tungul / tunguo
pond-field medicine ritual	tamol	*
irrigation works ritual	'ulpin-di-ala'	*
crop growth ritual, part one	'alup	*
crop growth ritual, part two	topdad	*
thunderstorm ritual	gito	*
typhoon ritual	puwo	puwok
preharvest ritual	hanglag	mamageh
early harvesting rite	lodah	hodah
main harvest rites	pumbot'an	pumbotkan
joint kindred harvest ritual	baddang	baddang
induction of ritualists	liyah	liyah
concluding harvest rites	tungo	tungoh

SEQUENCES OF LUNATIONS		
	Terminology in the North Central Ifugao Agricultural District	Terminology in the South Central Ifugao Agricultural District

	(Based on the Ethnographic Atlas of Conklin)	(Specifically the Tawali Ifugao in Brgy. Hapao, Hungduan) * No equivalent term
Lunar Months		
July-August	'it-iti	kitkiti
August-September	Panaba	manaba
September-October	'ohyab	?
October-November	Dawe	?
(November-December)	(battan)	?
November-December	'okal	okah
December-January	'amduyung	kamaduyung
January-February	Letong	litong
February-March	Bihbih	bihbih
March-April	Luya	huoyah
April-May	'upu'	upuk
May-June	Lodona	hodoh
June-July	bakako	bakako

3. Punnuk: The Traditional Tug-of-War of the Tawali in Barangay Hapao, Municipality of Hungduan, Ifugao, Northern Luzon, Philippines¹⁰

(1) General description

The punnuk is a tug-of-war game among members of three communities in barangay Hapao, town of Hungduan in the province of Ifugao. The several-round competition is held at the River Hapao. It is the final activity in the **huowah** or ritual-activities observed after the completion of harvest. The enactment of the punnuk formally puts to a close the agricultural cycle, and signals the beginning of a new one upon its consummation.

(2) The huowah

A. Baki and Inum

The two ritual activities in the huowah that precede the **punnuk** are: the **baki** and the **inum**. Both are sponsored by the **dumupag** or designated lead family in the harvest. Both are enacted on the same day and at the ground floor area of the traditional house of the

²Based on the Country Report "*Punnuk: Closing the Harvest Season with the Tug-of-War along the River Hapao*" by Norma A. Respicio, Ph.D. presented during the 'Gijisi Juldarigi Festival' and International Symposium on Traditional Tug-of-War in East Asia, 11-14 April 2013, Dangjin, Republic of Korea.