

## Conference Paper

# Madweng Pottery Tradition in Santa Maria, Isabela

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**Abstract**

This study investigates the unique indigenous pottery traditions of the Madweng in an Ibanag community in Santa, Maria, Isabela, located in the interior northwestern part of the province of Isabela, Philippines which boasts its huge non-metallic deposit of clay. The Madweng are the Ibanag potters who make, produce such earthenwares. Ethnography as a research design and strategy is utilized to understand indigenous concepts, technology and pottery traditions in manufacturing the dweng. Ethnographic methods like interviews, fieldwork, recording of field notes, direct observation, and smartphones were used for photographs, audio recording and analyzing data. Utilizing mga katutubong metodo sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino (methods in Filipino Psychology) the indigenous method of pakikipagkuwentuhan" (sharing stories), and pagtatanong-tanong (asking around), the Ibanag language was employed to draw information in the indigenous idea of pagpapakuwento" (someone is telling the story). Results showed that Ibanag pottery tradition was introduced by the Kalingas, kept and used as a significant part of an Ibanag heritage from their ancestors. Manu-mano or hand modelling, maffulang or painting, magabba or firing, were some parts of indigenizing methods by the Madweng. Since 1954, no major changes in the method of manufacture from the teachings of the Kalingas except for a minimal technological advancement in manufacturing pots using the hurmaan, or molder. There is a need for intervention of Local Government of Santa Maria to revitalize the community based cooperative and maintain a sustainable livelihood program to hone the skills and uplift the Madweng economic condition.

**Keywords:** *dweng, Ibanag, indigenous pottery, madweng, Santa Maria*Corresponding Author:  
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## 1. Introduction

Pottery in different areas of the Philippines became one of the most essential attribute of heritage and formation of one's identity. Looking back at historical accounts of pottery in the Philippines, pottery culture had become a part of our heritage. Due to

archaeological diggings and historical studies, these traditions were known to have shaped the kind of living of every ethnolinguistic group in the Philippines. Pottery production in the Philippines revealed every ethnolinguistic groups to have its own style, process or technique to assemble and produce. Noteworthy is the process of hand modelling which are ingenuously made by various ethnolinguistic groups in the different regions eventually reflects their identity.

Pottery emerged in many societies and civilizations. The map of the Philippines situates Isabela as the largest province in Luzon in terms of land area. Of the 34 municipalities of the province, excluding the three cities of Ilagan, Cauayan and Santiago. Santa Maria is located in the interior north western part of the province of Isabela. It is a small town, a 4th class municipality with 20 barangays, having a total land area of 14,000.00 hectares good for agriculture [12]. In addition, Santa Maria brags its unique pottery traditions aside from producing a world class beauty and brain Bb. Pilipinas Supranational 2013 and Ms. Supranational 2013 Mutya Johanna F. Datul.

There have been many evidences of the emergence of pottery in the Philippines. According to Scott [16], examination of the earliest samples of Philippine pottery yet found – about 1000 BC in Palawan, with potsherds appearing in a Masbate cave dated 1275 B.C. by C-14 indicates a style of manufacture still employed among unhispanized tribes of the Cordillera Central. This technique is called “paddle and anvil” because the walls of the pot are made thin, smooth, and even by beating the soft clay with a paddle on the outside of the opposite a smooth stone “anvil” held inside. The potter begins by pressing her thumbs down into the center of a lump of clay to spread it out into a pliable hollow hemisphere so that paddling can begin, and then by this apparently crude simple method, produces vessels with thin walls, a sophisticated shape and near perfect symmetry. Various methods of decorating were employed. These could be in shapes, they used sharp and other tools to impregnate discretionary styles and upon making of the potteries.

The technique mentioned by Scott resembles how Madweng also created their own style of manufacturing their own pots. Similarly, the Cultural Center of the Philippines Encyclopedia of Philippine Art [14] disclosed that the Ibanag, Bukidnon, Tausug, Pampango, and Cebuano use a paddle and anvil to enlarge the pot and thin its wall. The anvil used by the Pampango, Cebuano, and Tausug is of stone. The Mandukayan Kalinga use their hands to shape the pot and press its walls thin, then the inside is smoothed by a curved piece of bamboo.

Beyer [4], studies had collected, compiled records and data gathered from the different parts of the archipelago made an initial breakthroughs in the formation and

development of pottery traditions in the Philippines even before the pre-Colonial period. These places include; Babuyan Islands, Cagayan and Isabela provinces, Mountain province, Apayao subprovinces, Ilocos Norte Province, Abra, Kalinga, Ilocos Sur, La Union, Benguet, Ifugao and Nueva Vizcaya. During this age, pottery artifacts and other evidences were dug out including jars, storage jars, pots, ceramics, porcelains, burial jars, vases, and other earthen wares. Thus, made Luzon with diverse pottery culture.

Other developments in Philippine pottery, include complexes in their designs and the styles of potters. Characteristically, three pottery complexes have so far been identified and accepted by scholars as markers of different Philippine cultural horizons: Tabon, Kalanay and Novaliches. Archaeological excavations in Palawan from 1962 to 1968 yielded tremendous amount of pottery, including at least over a hundred whole pieces and reconstructable ones. The wares characteristically underwent a complex manufacturing process. As new forms and designs were accepted, the old ones tended to lose local flavour and eventually disappeared. Most of the early earthenware, for instance, were manufactured by what has been called "free hand modelling." This technique included initial work by hand, followed later by the use of paddle and anvil. In the Tabon pottery, it has been classified by the archaeologists into nine types: (1) plain, (2) polished, (3) impressed, (4) incised, (5) painted, (6) organic glazed, (7) incised and impressed, (8) painted, incised and impressed, and (9) incised and painted. Most designs were impressed, incised and painted Jocano [5] explained.

The Kalanay is a pottery complex found in Calanay Cave on the island of Masbate in 1951. Kalanay pottery has complex designs and styles. Kalanay pottery also shows tremendous variations in forms ranging from large jars with wide necks. It is clear from the manner in which Kalanay pots were formed and decorated that the technology transcended purely utilitarian use. Lastly, Novaliches pottery is one of the ceramic industries in Luzon. The artifacts show further improvements in the making of pots, and the tremendous variations in forms and designs indicate that slow wheel was used. Thus, from the discussion of the three pottery complexes, six streams of developments in pottery could be discerned. These are: (1) the experimental stage during which the voice of materials was rather inadequate and therefore the products were not very good; (2) the emergence of better techniques of processing clay and of firing products; (3) utilization of mechanical devices increases production; (4) further improvements of kilning methods; (5) refinements of form better handling of raw materials; and (6) application of decorative designs Jocano added.

Based on these premises, rich pottery traditions have been trailblazing the whole archipelago which reflect a diverse cultural heritage symmetrical to the earthen wares

and pots of each ethnographic group and indigenous people. Basically, most of these stone wares, earthen wares and other pots products are still done in an indigenous way. Hand modelling and firing at a cogon or corn grass are parts of indigenizing methods of making potteries. An example of those ethnographic people who still practice indigenous methods of producing pots and earthen wares, and other products, is the Ibanag community at Sta. Maria, Isabela. Hence, this study focuses on the pottery traditions within their locality, showcasing the Ibanag culture as a whole, and the difference of their pot products from other ethnographic people with the way they make these earthenware's.

Ibanag is a term both referring to the person and the language. The Ibanag is one of the various ethnolinguistic group in the Cagayan Valley, including the provinces of Cagayan, Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya. [6]. Thus, the names and descriptions of pot products are dependent on the ethnographic location or origin of the product. In Sta. Maria, Isabela, pot products are called *dweng*, an Ibanag term derived from *Madweng*, referring to an Ibanag potter who makes and sells pottery products made from clay and other indigenous materials. Clay or mud is the basically the main ingredient of the *dweng* or pot. It contains minerals and other organic materials which are similar to those plant and animal remains. [7]. The *dweng* products of Sta. Maria, Isabela include pots for cooking purposes, vases, storage jars, garden, home decorations, and bricks. Thus, this study focuses within the locality of Sta. Maria, Isabela, most specifically the Ibanag community of Barangay Poblacion 03 and Barangay Quinagabian.

In a barangay profile by the Department of Interior and Local Government of Santa Maria, the Municipality of Santa Maria before have only six (6) barangays namely barangay Mozzozzin, Poblacion, San Antonio, Calamagui, Bangad and San Isidro. History accounts that in after many years in 1941, the barangay Mozzozzin was invaded by the Kalinga people from Tabuk against the Christian people of Santa Maria. The fighting took place for almost a day that many people died which causes bloodshed on the roads. The fighting between the Kalinga and the Christians lasted until almost late in the afternoon that in Ibanag words:

*Nagabian y laban na Kalinga anna tolay na Santa Maria nga Christiano at taw nga nessimu ta barangay Mozzozzin ay nabbalin tu tadday nga barangay na Santa Maria y barangay Quinagabian.*

The fight between the Kalinga and the majority Christians of Sta. Maria in barangay Mozzozzin last until it dusks. This resulted to the creation of barangay Quinagabian, literally means after a night [8].

There are also various forms of clay according to the nature of pot and ceramic products, these include: (1) earthen wares; (2) stone wares; and (3) porcelains. Hence, pottery is attributed in all forms of ceramics, wares and porcelains [10]. In the Chinese context, they are classified into two. First, the "ta'o" is defined as a pot fired in a low temperature, from 800 degrees Celsius to 1,100 degrees Celsius, until the maximum of 1, 150 degrees Celsius. It is the clay which is much known in our context. Usually, it is glazed with a tin or a lead. Second type of ceramic is called "tz'u" or high-fired. The last two, stoneware and earthenware are based on the clay to be used. The stoneware is harder and firmer so it had a higher temperature from 1,200 degrees Celsius to 1,300 degrees Celsius. Usually, it is not glazed with tin or lead Medley affirmed. In general, naming of the pot product is based on the morphology and its function. On the other hand, there are still specifications depending on the historical and cultural context.

According to Jocano [11] large numbers of pottery from Thailand and Annam which date from the late 14th and 15th centuries are also being recovered in the Philippines. It would seem that the largest and best collections of Thai pottery from Sawankhalok and Sukhothai are found in Manila, not Thailand. A few rare and attractive Khmer jars and other vessels are also being excavated in the Philippines.

Scott speak about pottery because of the great local interest in trade wares, and because the types of trade pottery being recovered in the Islands are in many instances unique and attracting world-wide attention., "The Manila Trade Pottery Seminar" was held in Manila last March 18-24, 1968, and attended by 39 of the world's greatest experts on Chinese and Asian ceramics including Kamer Aga-Oglu, Robert Griffin, Millard Rogers, and John Alexander Pope of the United States; Soame Jenyns, Margaret Medley, Alastair Lamb, and Tom Harrisson of England; Bo Gyllensvard of Sweden; Koyama and Mikami of Japan; Chang-wei Chen and Wu Yu Chang of China, and many others. The seminar is being held largely to give the foreign delegates an opportunity to see, study, and discuss the types of potteries from Asia which are being excavated in the Philippines, including new forms which are unknown or unfamiliar to them. In addition, the archaeological excavations made by the National Museum and Mr. and Mrs. Leandro Locsin are yielding data about the ages of types of Chinese pottery, such as the first appearance of blue-and-white, which do not agree with the literary evidences from Chinese sources.

To Scott, perhaps the most beautiful earthenware vessel found anywhere in South-east Asia was recovered from Manunggul Cave, one of the Tabon Caves, in Palawan. This burial jar (it has associated C-14 dates of 890 B.C. and 710 B.C.) features on its cover of a ship-of-the-dead with two figures sailing to the after world. Red hematite

painting between incised lines accentuates sophisticated and attractive designs. One cave in Palawan, the excavation of which has not been completed, contains hundreds of burial jars and other vessels, possibly 500 or more.

The historical backgrounds of pottery in the Philippines and to other countries contributes to a clear documentation on the emergence of the rich pottery traditions of the country. It only proved that Philippines has a great civilization worth saying. At present pottery has become a promising socio-economic activity to many places like in Cagayan, Laguna, Batangas, Bulacan, Albay, Palawan and among others.

Interestingly, Wilhelm Solheim II paper on the Ibanag Pottery Manufacture in Santa Maria, Philippines signifies a new exposition for the Ibanag of Santa Maria who had developed and sustained the culture and heritage of pottery. The empirical findings of this study will serve as a blueprint for local government officials to include in their local economic agenda to revitalize the community based cooperative and a sustainable economic activity specifically for the *Madweng* to advance their economic life. Furthermore, this study will be an avenue for the *Madweng* to be known across the country for their indigenous and unique pottery.

## 2. Objectives of the Study

The paper is determined to investigate the indigenous pottery traditions of the *Madweng* in Santa, Maria Isabela. It sought to describe how *Madweng* pottery is indigenously manufactured at present. Specifically it sought to answer the following questions: What types of *dweng* or pots are being manufactured? Contextually as an artifact, how is the *dweng* or the pot created its own technology? How do the *Madweng* market their products? How did pottery traditions emerged within their locale? What are the challenges, sentiments and experiences of being a *Madweng*?

## 3. Materials and Method

### 3.1. Research methods

Qualitative research [15] presents data as descriptive narration with words and attempts to understand phenomena in "natural settings". Qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. This study employed ethnographic method in describing the indigenous pottery traditions of the *Madweng*

in Santa Maria, Isabela. Ethnography according to Spradley [17] seeks to describe and to understand another way of life from the native point of view. The goal of ethnography, as Malinowski [18] put it, is “to grasp the native’s point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of his world”. It is through “Ethnography offers us the chance to step outside of our narrow cultural backgrounds, to set aside our socially inherited ethnocentrism, if only for a brief period, and to apprehend the world from the viewpoint of other human beings who live by different meaning systems”.

Ethnography as both research design and research strategy was used to gather, or collect data and records from the key informants and to the research locale. This paper utilized Spradley’s Ethnographic methods like interview, fieldwork, recording of field notes, direct and indirect observation, and smartphones used for photographs and audio recording. Fieldwork is the best way to describe the pottery traditions of the *Madweng*, how pots are being manufactured and traded, and understand how pottery traditions was developed and sustained in their local community. In order to grasp the native’s point of view, as Malinowski mentioned, it is necessary and proper to speak the language of the identified key informants.

Spradley explains the importance of language as more than a means of communication about reality: a tool for constructing reality. Furthermore, he said that language learning became the cornerstone of fieldwork. It was the first and most important step to achieving the primary goal of ethnography that is to describe a culture in its own terms, thus the Ibanag language was used in this study.

### 3.2. Selection of participants

The indigenous method of *pagtatanong-tanong* (asking around) which is derived from the Filipino word *tanong* means “asking questions” was used to identify the key informants. According to Enriquez [19] the repetition of *tanong* in *tanung-tanong* means that the question is asked several times to different informants, thus increasing the reliability of the response of the people involved. In the *pagtatanung-tanong*, informants are aware if other informants are available, and thus any individual informant is not particularly burdened by the question. From this method, I was able to select the best key informants whom can elicit my research questions. Three female key informants aged 60-75, were identified. Another three males and eight females in their mid-30s, 40s, and 50’s were also regarded as informants to some casual interviews who were all 100% certified *Madweng*. I have visited them in their homes several times with the assistance of my key informant.

### 3.3. Ethnographic interview

In the conduct of the interview, *mga metodo sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino* [20] (methods in Filipino Psychology) was utilized. *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* refers to psychological theory, knowledge, method and application developed through the Filipino culture.

Using the indigenous method of “pakikipagkwentuhan [21] (sharing stories) and the indigenous way of *pagpakuwento* someone is telling the story, I was guided to Spradley’s three most important ethnographic elements in conducting an ethnographic interview. First and foremost an ethnographer must have an explicit purpose, which means that the ethnographer must make the purpose and direction clear without being authoritarian. Second, the ethnographer must be ready for ethnographic explanations, and ethnographic questions. Ethnographic explanations offers that from first encounter until the last part of the interview, a repeated explanations about the project, permissions to record the interview and encourage informants to talk based on their cultural sense must be emphasized. Third, Ethnographic questions guides the ethnographer to ask a descriptive, structural and contrast questions, like describing something, or questions you want to discover of something or questions that you may wish to distinguish objects and events in their word.

### 3.4. Local language

The Ibanag language was used as a medium of communication to the indigenous method of “*pakikipagkwentuhan*”(sharing stories) and to the indigenous idea of *pagpakuwento* (someone is telling the story). This method is a modest way of telling the participants that I came as a fellow Ibanag, to ask their help and share to me their knowledge, stories, and their experiences as a *Madweng* regarding their pottery traditions. Questions were either structured or unstructured, but prepared beforehand to guide me during the course of interview. For this technique, I am guided again by Thompson [22] reminding an interview is *not* a dialogue, or a conversation. The whole point is to get the informant speak. Your role is above all to listen and never interrupt a story.

These indigenous methods were found helpful in keeping the informants at ease and act naturally without noticing pressure from the ethnographer. Being an Ibanag native speaker, the Ibanag language was used in the interview to establish a high degree of friendly relations and to facilitate easily the retrieval of information needed in the



study. This method conforms to Enriquez [23], articulating that the native language is a rich source of concepts meaningful and significant to the local culture.

### 3.5. Data analysis

From the interviews conducted, a strong sense of human relatedness was emphasized again by Enriquez that interrelatedness of individual can be considered the basic unit of analysis. Filipino language is rich with conceptual terms that describe and delineate various forms of interrelatedness.

The researcher being an Ibanag speaker had easily conforms and accord with the informants. Using the smartphone and a voice recorder to document the stories, narratives and explanations of each of the informants, data collected were transcribed, analyzed, and interpreted with the help of my fieldnotes and keen observations. Library works and readings to various relevant sources were also intensified to probe the study. Furthermore, the study of Solheim II was used to examine the validity of the present study.

How valid are ethnographic data? [24] According to Jocano, F., Marquez L., & Caguimbal M., the test for reliability and validity in ethnographic research involves various techniques. Data are valid with reference to the aims and goals of the research project or of the researchers. Descriptive ethnography does not often include explicit accounting of information or of informants in statistical figures. One measure to ensure the correctness of the data is that the information reflects the people's views of their own relationships, institutions, feelings, beliefs and worldviews especially when questions has been asked repeatedly. Most questions are focused on behavioural processes- those sets of specific actions or steps which brings about a desired outcome- and not on numerical accounting of shared information or of behaviour, although if this can be done, it would help. Besides, ethnography has its own unique research method.

For ethical considerations, the researcher adapted ethical principles commended by Spradley in conducting an ethnographic research as follows: be sure to safeguard your informant's rights, interests and sensitivities. Communicate the aims of the interview as well as possible to the informant. Your informant should have the right to remain anonymous and speak "off record." There should be no exploitation of informants for personal gain. Finally, make your final paper available to your informant. Since the research locale is community based, the researcher had asked the permission of the Barangay Captain of the real purpose of the study.

## 4. Results and Discussion

Data gathered from interviews and direct and indirect observation, findings were as follows:

Pottery in different areas of the Philippines became one of the most essential attribute of their heritage and the formation of their identity. In Vigan City, the *Ladaoan* and *Pagburnayan* [25] potteries have shaped their heritage as one of the many areas of pottery traditions in the Philippines, thus, created an identity among the Ilocanos.

The pottery culture in Isabela province is no exception. As stated earlier, the *dweng* products of Santa Maria, Isabela is also an exhibition of their cultural heritage and identity. On the other hand, this culture of pottery also lures some sorts of historical background. According to Solheim, the pottery tradition in Santa Maria, Isabela was primarily introduced by the Kalingas Their ancestors taught the same process and style of forming the *dweng* or the earthen ware which they learned from the Kalingas. A validation from an interview from one of the key informants was told this way:

*"In the olden days in Santa Maria, particularly in the cross section of what is Poblacion 3 now, was claimed to be inhabited by a group of "kalingas". These kalingas were known to be "Madweng" referring to a person who makes an earthenware. "Madweng" actually means "trabahu na kalinga ta ollu nga aggao" (specific work of a Kalinga in the olden days). "minana na kristiyanu ta kalinga ira yawe madweng". (The Ibanag Christians inherited this indigenous knowledge of pottery from the Kalinga).*

### 4.1. Manufacturing the *dweng*

Similar to other earthen wares and pot products, forming the *dweng* products of Sta. Maria, Isabela does not happen in single hour or day. It involves various stages and processes to assure its quality upon utilization. It is made upon using indigenous machines and technologies, and indigenous methods directly manipulated by the *Madweng*.

In manufacturing a *dweng* or pot, the *davvun* or clay is delivered from vast lands nearby their community through a *careta*, carts pulled by tamed animals. The clay is paid in an agreeable amount as Solheim noted that is also paid in kind. But today, one *careta* is worth one hundred fifty pesos (P150.00) whom a *madweng* can consume for four to nine days depending on the capacity to do work. Here is an interesting story dubbed by an Ibanag informant from the barrio of Quinagabian:

*The clay they use every day seems to be absolute. The dig clays from these vast lands fortunately seemed to be miraculous. The main sources of clay are deemed to be not decreasing, instead, the lands remain vast. It is a "miracle," perhaps God has given the people of Santa Maria this gift of land for us to make use of.*

## 4.2. Indigenous tools

The tools and materials used for the manufacturing of a *dweng* includes the *davvun* or clay, *appepe* a flat wooden paddle use to give shape, *batu* or stone anvil to hollow a pre molded round balls, *allig* another stone used for polishing, *addamma* another flat stone to paddle thick clay walls, *taggang* or base rim to support the pot, *kingkil* or bamboo stick used to scrape and smoothening the pot, *aggiri* another bamboo stick used to remove any irregularities, *lupedas* a soft wet cloth. Though not indigenous a commercial paint brush is needed to paint the pot to its natural looks. During the *magabba* firing or cooking stage, dried leaves, *garani* or rice straw, pieces of dried woods, or carabao manure are its main ingredients.

## 4.3. Indigenous chain of operation

The work on pottery proceeds in stages. In the technological context, the indigenous chain of operation of the *dweng* proceeds in many stages. The *davvun* or clay comes from *tana*, a hilly place in the same town who is owned by the Masigan family who once became a Mayor of the Municipality. The clay is delivered by *careta*. In forming a *dweng*, either the clay is pounded manually or grinded, and is stored in a humid place covered with plastic ready for the *Madweng* to "*mammakkal*" the process where the clay is being formed in round balls ready to be hollowed. *Malattukang* is an Ibanag term literally means to make a hole, but in this process the hole refers to the usage of a small and quite elongated type of stone used to create a hollow in the pre molded round ball clay to look like a *batu* or stone. These molded clay is covered or wrapped individually with plastics to maintain its moist ready for the next stage "*matuvugan*". *Matuvugan*, literally means to add. *Matuvugan* comes from a root word "*tuvug*" meaning "*in addition*". In this process additional *davvun* or clay is being mounted to increase its height and width. Gradually as it widens, a *pempel*, a rectangular, flat wooden paddle is used to paddle the pot while inside is an *adadamma*, a flat stone, supports the *appepe*, while the *Madweng* paddles to ensure the right shape of the earthen jar. This stage needs to be dried and covered again for some hours to form the lid of the pot.

"*Mabibigan*" is a root word for *bibig*, literal word for mouth. The lid of the pot is formed using the *batu* stone anvil and the *appepe*, flat wooden paddle. This is done systematically and carefully with the aid of a wet soft cloth called "*lupedas or gami*" a soft rug which is used to trim the edges of the rim of the pot. The process take an hours to dry after it proceeds to "*matannag*". This technique is called the "*ma forma*" stage where the earthen jar is assured of its form and appearance using the *appepe and the batu* to slowly enlarge the pot. It is also in this way that little cracks is being patched by a *davvun* or clay. Likewise, the *kingkil* a small or an inch wide and around 9 inches "*pasingan*" or bamboo is used to scrape the rough portion of the jar in which a *gami* is used to refine and make the pot smooth. After it dries, the pot is ready for "*matumpo*" stage, the pot is turned upside down, like a body the pot do not have yet a foot to stand alone so the base needs to be levelled or flattened using the *appepe* and the *batu* to stand up on its own, this leads to the next stage "*matakayang*". *Matakayang* in Ibanag means "*meddan tu takki na*" meaning to add support. In this process a *tàngang* (a pre formed clay patterned from the lid of an aluminium pot ) is designed to hold the pot in place until it dries.

After all the process were systematically done, the pots are now ready for the *maffulang* stage. *Maffulang* means to color or to paint the pot to make it more attractive. A kind of "*davvun*" or soil is used to color or paint the pots. The *davvun* is soaked for a while in water to soften the soil ready to be kneaded until it becomes fine, residues are being strained to ensure the finest quality of the produced mixture. The natural color of red comes from the minerals of the soil itself. The *Madweng* uses brush to paint the pots manually. To facilitate the painting faster, is the use of the potter's wheel, manually operated by the foot will yield more than a hand does. After *mafulla*, the pots will be dried for a while and proceeds to *makkili* stage. Using a *lupedas* fine cloth, for the finishing touches, uneven or rugged parts of the pots are scraped. Likewise *akkingkil* is another step to keep the pots shiny. When this is done, the pots are now ready for *magabba* or firing/ baking or cooking stage.

The *magabba* is an Ibanag term which means to cook or "*mallutu*". The last stage for all kinds or types of *dweng*. Not all the *Madweng* is doing this stage. Some opt to cook their own *dwengs* because they find it more profitable while others especially those who produce less find practical to sell at a very minimal price to their co *Madweng* who is more financially stable. The *magabba* or *maluttu* firing stage is usually done in the *Madwengs* own workshop or within an open area adjacent to their houses.

The *Magabba* or the baking stage is a busy and a laborious day for the potters, it takes a whole day from the preparation down to cooking and cooling. As told by one of

the *Madwengs*, the *magabba* is done during the hottest ray of sunshine. In the cooking area, the *dweng* is well arranged on top of the evenly scattered pieces of woods or the carabao/cow manure and evenly covered by *garani* as each side is protected by unused or rejected *dwengs* to anticipate in case a possible collapse happens. Then the firing begins. Cooking must be done with so much prudence and caution, one has to be alert. Cooking hours depends on the products and its volume but definitely ranges from a minimum of 3 to 5 hours.

Solheim II in his study mentioned that baking is done every Saturday afternoon and the fuel burns in about an hour if the weather is dry. Today cooking or baking or *magabba* depends on the volume of the production and can be done in between of the week with the grace and permission of a very good weather. No rituals are made during the cooking or *magabba* as what Solheim (1954) and the present study, both agreed the quality of the pot depended on the potter alone.

This indigenous way of cooking has been introduced and practiced for a long time and until the present. With the strength of the heat of the sun, the wood or the manure, and the rice straw, the *dweng* will be cooked when ashes of the *garani* turned into white, thus no traces of smoke cloud comes out within the area. Cooling comes next as the area is carefully open called "*malattukang*". The ashes are carefully set aside to check the *dwengs*. Reddish in color signifies a good output while a blackish in color indicates being uncooked. After the whole process is done, the *dwengs* are now ready for square off.

#### 4.4. Marketing

*Solheim II* and this study found out that potters do not market their own pottery but sell it to middle-men who visit them, buying directly, and taking the pots to market. Today, a new scheme is introduced, a fellow *Madweng* who is financially able buy the raw produce in a minimal amount, cooked the pots and looked for a middle-men to dispose the pots. To ensure the pots will be sold to their fellow *madweng*, sometimes advance payment is given especially when fellow *Madweng* needs money badly. He added, any superstitions or folklore that the Kalinga may have had concerning pottery or its manufacture were not passed on to this Ibanag group. The present study also agreed with Solheim II, and said the Ibanag potters knew of, or at least expressed, no prohibitions or observances to be made before, during, or after the making of the pottery. The quality of the pot depended on the potter alone.

These are some of the sentiments a *madweng* experience as to their whole life is dedicated to forming a *dweng*, and yet they remain poor and felt no progress at all. Their income is not enough to sustain their basic needs not even to make gusto of their wants. In an interview, they said:

*"We do not have land to till on that is why we opt to become "Madweng". I remember, my mother who is also a Madweng" from Poblacion 3 told me that then Mayor Esguerra of Santa Maria wanted to tax the Madweng to give them the license to operate legally, however the proposal was declined since the income is just right to feed the family."*

*We grew up with this kind of work, we inherit it from our parents. Since we did not finish schooling, we live this way forever a madweng.*

## 5. Conclusion and Recommendation

Pottery making in the Ibanag community of Santa Maria is a living heritage from the Kalinga who taught the *Madweng*, an Ibanag potter in manufacturing a *dweng* or pot. The *Madweng* who had formed an identity of being patient learned the process of forming and making the *dweng* products through simultaneous watching and careful observation from their ancestors. Hence, they retained these fundamental steps and tools to honour the heritage that was given to them. Some *Madweng* are forming and producing *dweng* products not just to market them and gain money for living but some had an unfathomable reason that shapes their heritage and identity in rendezvous. Some are still in captive of forming and creating *dweng* potteries because it became an everyday body routine. Making pots allure oneself and making it a part or as a form of leisure time and recreation. Most of the *madweng* did not finish their education, but amazingly admitted their knowledge and skills in pottery making were products of imitation and sacrifices. Like going to school every day, and must passed the grade levels, a *madweng*, should study and learn the proper techniques and develop the skills in order to excel in her/his produce. Thus, forming the identity of the Ibanag *Madweng* people are known as industrious, affable and optimistic. Overall, the greatest attribute of this heritage is used and preserved until now by the present generation of the *Madweng* families within their localities.

The pot products and earthen wares manufactured and produced are also based from their ancestors' discretionary style. A *hulmaan* or a molder was introduced and made a quite increase in selected produce like the *charcoal*, and the *pasu* or *masitera*, or a pot for the plants with different sizes. Although, there are some improvements

and innovations, they still uphold the indigenous way of forming and making *dweng* products.

*Madweng* women can actually do all kinds of earthenware's which only signifies that women are more resilient than men in terms of pottery making. The study strongly recommends a local government intervention to revisit barangay Quinagabian whose resident potters claimed themselves to be the first potters in the town. Since production is very limited due to a very limited capital, and no direct selling of the products, the *madweng* being less educated needs to be capacitated with enough free trainings and workshops to improve and enhance their skills in pottery making. With the advent of modern technology today, a community based cooperative or a sustainable livelihood program is highly recommended to uplift the skills and economic condition of the Madweng of Santa Maria, Isabela in the light of one ASEAN Economic community [22] that is highly integrated and cohesive; competitive, innovative and dynamic; with enhanced connectivity and sectoral cooperation; and a more resilient, inclusive, and people-oriented, people-centred community, integrated with the global economy.

## Appendix



**Figure 1:** Some indigenous tools in forming a *dweng*.

## Author's Note

1. Dr. Raquel R. Geronimo (Faculty of Teacher Education- Philippine Normal University (2) Special thanks to Dr. Carlos Tatel Jr.-University of the Philippines Diliman, Mr. Joshua R. Cabaccan Philippine Normal University and to Mr. Gene Geronimo and Ms. Jesusa Tagapan of the Department of Education Division of



Figure 2: A careta- a cart pulled by a tamed animal.



Figure 3: Magabba or Baking stage.



Figure 4: A 75 year old madweng with the researcher.

Isabela, and the Madweng of Barangay Quinagabian, Santa Maria, Isabela (3) The views and narratives expressed are those of the participants and the author.(4) +6309358991305



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