

The Kalinga Peace-Pact Institution, *Bodong*: Forging Relationships, Resolving Conflicts, and Fostering Peaceful Co-existence

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Abstract: This study attempts to shed light on Kalinga society's practice of *Bodong* (peace-pact) and its relevance to conflict resolution and the promotion of peace. It presents a cultural heritage in the hope of engendering discussion on missionary approaches among indigenous peoples. *Bodong*'s relevance to conflict resolution and the promotion of peace is laid out through an extensive study of its nature or characteristic and then verified through the local culture bearers and within their own state of affairs.

Keywords: *Kalinga, Bodong, sin-ilian*, peace-pact, conflict resolution

One of the approaches to doing mission in a particular setting is that of understanding the culture that enlivens and gives identity to people. This must be joined by a sincere desire to learn from the people themselves about their own beliefs, rituals, practices, and social organizations. Hopefully, this enables the missionary to avoid viewing traditions or cultural practices as ways inimical to mainstream religion or incompatible with modernity and, thus, unacceptable. Hence, this article hopes to present *Bodong* (peace-pact) as a relevant resource despite its local provenance and

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rootedness in the Kalinga society and culture.

The rugged mountainous terrain of the Kalinga region and the resolute resistance of the different *sin-ilians* (various autonomous tribes) thwarted Spanish colonizing efforts. On the one hand, the Spanish colonizers who ventured into these uncharted territories to set up military outposts and make the inhabitants subjects of the King of Spain encountered harassment from the intrepid warriors who were unafraid of colonizers.¹ On the other hand, Spanish missionaries built a few settlements in the region but failed to establish a permanent Christian mission with an extant Spanish structure in any of the Kalinga *sin-ilians*.

For more than three hundred years, the Philippines had been under Spanish governance until it was ceded by Spain to the United States of America

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¹William Henry Scott pointed out, "It is a strange thing that the history textbooks commonly in use in the public and private schools of the Republic of the Philippines never mention the fact that the Igorot peoples of Northern Luzon fought for their liberty against foreign aggressions all during the 350 years that their lowland brethren were being ruled over by Spanish invaders. One history book says we can never know the history of the Filipino people during the Spanish period because they were slaves to the Spaniards or at least forced to play the role of slaves. Certainly this is not true of the Igorots. They were never slaves of the Spaniards nor did they play the role of slaves. Quite the contrary, Spanish records make it clear that they fought for their independence with every means at their disposal for three centuries, and that this resistance to invasion was deliberate, self-conscious and continuous. That it was largely successful is indicated by the fact that at the end of the Spanish regime, when the Cordillera Central had been carved up into a dozen military districts, the last Spanish census listed one-third of the estimated mountain population as completely independent." See William Henry Scott, *Of Igorots and Independence* (Baguio City: A-Seven Publishing, 1993), 1-2.

under the Treaty of Paris on 10 December 1898. After the civil government was constituted, schools were founded, trails and roads built, and the American colonizer's peace and order was promoted in the region.² Among the Kalinga, there were *sin-ilians* who still posed some problems to the foreigner's design of peace and order.

The Americans, however, did something that brought a modicum of concord in the region. They disciplined recalcitrant *sin-ilians* by 1) the enforcement of *Bodong*, the peace-pact institution, as a means of resolving conflicts and 2) the appointment of Kalinga headmen to police their people. This is a familiar divide-and-rule tactic which, nevertheless, inaugurated a government that ensured mobility among Kalingas with the guarantee of a safe passage.

Nowadays, the *Bodong* does not only concern itself with the adjudication and arbitration of disputes but it also promotes interregional co-existence; hence, it fosters peace in the region. More importantly, the *Bodong* serves as a security measure not only for the safety of the individual but also for the welfare of the

²When Walter F. Hale was appointed governor of Kalinga, he "immediately resumed the construction of trails. Each region was assigned to finish a section of the trail every year, and all able-bodied men had to contribute their labor for two or three weeks. Old trails were repaired and new ones constructed from Lubuwagan to Abbut over Limos, Taga, and Pinokpok; from Lubuwagan to Balbalan; from Lubuwagan to Patiking, joining the old Spanish trail across Kalinga there; and from Lubuwagan to Sumadel." See Jules Deraedt, "Some Notes on Buwaya Society," *Saint Louis Quarterly*, vol. 7, no. 1 (March 1969): 19. Deraedt further wrote, "Whenever a killing was brought to Hale's attention, he sent out his soldiers, mostly Kalinga of other regions, to arrest the culprit and bring him to Lubuwagan for trial. The prospect of being imprisoned for a year or so for murder struck much fear in the Buwaya and other Kalinga. The soldiers were not soft on those who would not admit guilt." Deraedt, 19.

whole *sin-ilian* in relation to other *binodngan* (those *sin-ilians* which concluded peace-pacts with one another). Through the *Bodong*, two tribes enter into mutual agreement of providing safe passage to the members of each *sin-ilian* with their security guaranteed. Once the *Bodong* is instituted between two *sin-ilians*, the *pagta* (by-laws of the *Bodong*) are binding and members of both *sin-ilians* have to observe them to the letter.³ The *Bodong* emerges as the traditional mechanism to prevent the commission of crime and bloody retribution on either side. If the *Bodong* has not been *nadimok* (literally: dirtied or violated) over the years, the custody of the *Bodong* is passed on within the family of the peace-pact holder.

Bodong's relevance to conflict resolution and the promotion of peace even outside its locale is something that must be laid out. This can only be done through an extensive study of its nature or characteristic which can only be verified through the perspective of the culture bearers and within their own state of affairs. Any attempt to bring the message of the Good News of the Reign of God to people demands this respectful approach.

The Kalinga *Sin-ilian*⁴

Before the charting of the political territorial

³The by-laws of the *Bodong* or *pagta* are unwritten laws which are enacted and ratified during the celebration of the *inom*. Memory is an essential component of the oral tradition among the Kalingas. With many Kalingas who have undergone formal education, however, the proceedings of the *inom* as well as the drafting of the *pagta* are now written down.

⁴For further understanding on the concept of the Kalinga *Sin-ilian*, see Michael Layugan, "The Concept and the Operation of the Kalinga *Sin-ilian*," *Missio Inter Gentes*, vol. 1, no. 1 (January 2015): 81-99.

boundaries of what is now known as the Province of Kalinga, the region had been the abode of a free people who formed autonomous tribes known as *sin-ilians*. Within these tribes was a network of cultural elements that also maintain community equilibrium and tribal relations.

Sin-ilian is a term and a concept which is derived from the *ili* denoting a territorial space and the *umili* designating the inhabitants of the *ili*. The prefix *sin* denotes that it is a singular entity and is distinct from other tribes. These words constitute *sin-umilian*; although, *sin-ilian* is more appropriate. Unlike the Ilocano *ili* which ordinarily refers to the town, the Kalinga *ili* comprises the land which covers the entire reaches of the *ili* as set by the *kais/bugis/kigad* (territorial boundary).⁵ The Kalingas have a high regard for their land since it is the source of their daily sustenance, the location of their residence, and the space for their work and recreation.

The *umili* (people) include the inhabitants whose modes of speaking, custom laws, cultural practices and beliefs are similar. The relation between the *ili* and the *umili* presents no problem to the Kalingas. The two concepts are intimately interconnected. This researcher wrote,

⁵The territorial jurisdiction of the Taloctoc *Sin-ilian* as stipulated in the *Pagta* between Taloctoc and Tanglag covers the following: "From Liyang goes up to Awok (Tagodtod), goes down to Kabikkalangan Creek and goes up to Tomapoy Mountain then to Salangag goes down to Ambotangan Creek then goes up to Pasang and down to Maubol Creek to Tanudan River, crossing Tanudan River goes up to Pappa-it Saddle up to Manokotok Ridge to Tollok Saddle down to Dagawadao at Sawele Mountian, goes up to Mount Atip to Buyayao Mountain to Kabulusan Creek to Inoman to Papatoy Ridge goes up to Poya-ao Ridge downward to Apay Ridge crossing Tanudan River to Liyang." See *Pagta* of the Bodong Between Taloctoc and Tanglag.

This Kalinga *sin-ilian* is kinship-based. The *sin-ilian* manifests a cohesive pattern of relationships among members with the *sin-ilian* as the center of their allegiance. The Kalinga *kanayun* (kindred) is an essential factor in the making of a *sin-ilian*. Every member is related either by blood or by marriage. The members of a *kanayun* exhibit strong familial bonds. In contrast to those who belong to the *sin-ilian*, the *dayu* are those who come from other tribes.⁶

Sin-ilian refers to a people who have lived and worked together long enough to get themselves organized within a well-defined territory (*bugis*). When one says, “*Italoktokak*” (I am from Taloctoc), it means that his/her identity is closely associated with the Taloctoc *sin-ilian*. The self embodies the *sin-ilian*. When the Kalingas say, “*sin-iliankani* (we are a community), identification with the *sin-ilian* is over and above the self, and one’s affinity with a particular *sin-ilian* is clearly manifest in relation to other tribes.

The affairs of the *sin-ilian* are governed by a council of elders (*angkamalong-ag*) and headmen (*pangats*). As Roy Franklin Barton pointed out:

Pangats are powerful individuals who have been selected by a long informal process whereby they grow in popular influence and recognition and are elevated to the rank in which the domestic aspect of the Kalinga state is lodged.... People go to them for advice and

⁶Layugan, 84.

assistance in all kinds of matters. Every pangat holds at least one or two peace pacts and helps to determine the regional policy when emergencies arise.⁷

Barton further mentioned that “Wealth, lineage, family connections with other pangats, personality, cooperativeness, fairness (meaning supraprimacy vision), oratorical ability, a record of having settled cases of controversy between kinship groups, and above all a reputation as a dangerous man were formerly the principal factors entering into selection.”⁸

Patoy (Manslaughter), Kayaw (War) and Balus (Revenge)

The Kalingas have gained the distinctive appellation of head-hunters by local as well as foreign authors.⁹ In bygone days, widowed Kalinga men (*mapangis*) let their hair grow signifying a period of *domdom* (grieving).¹⁰ For these widowers, they can only do away with widowhood if they venture to another tribe to kill somebody and end their grief so they can cut their hair. Nonetheless, the repercussion of this action is retaliation against the transgressor from the other tribe. As a consequence, a vicious cycle of reprisals takes place. Francis Billiet and Francis Lambrecht have this to say:

⁷Barton, 147.

⁸Ibid., 148.

⁹While any part of the body of the victim may be taken as a *siwat* (trophy), the head is preferred. The lower jaw is used as a part of the handle of the *gangsa* (gong). Secondary participants or accomplices of the slaying may take one or the other part of the body.

¹⁰Kalinga males who let their hair grow without having a haircut can also signify their intention of avenging (*balus*) the death of a kin.

Inasmuch as headhunting raids not only created retaliation and counter-retaliation, revenge and counter-revenge expeditions, but also caused alliances among weak groups against strong groups and promoted expeditions for the sake of recreation and pastime, gratification and satisfaction, warfare became the normal condition among the Kalinga people, and headhunting became a custom law.¹¹

They further claimed, “This typical bellicose spirit of the Kalinga, generated by the urge for self-conservation, gave rise to the custom law definitely approving headhunting and killings.”¹² Dean Conant Worcester had this experience in this account:

Accompanied only by another American and a former insurgent officer, he [Dean Worcester] entered a Kalinga village in northern Luzon and found assembled there more than a hundred fighting men armed with shields and head axes. One of the several chiefs present – fortunately in command of these men – was friendly; the others after a whispered

¹¹Francis Billiet and Francis Lambrecht, *The Kalinga Ullalim* (Baguio City: Catholic School Press, 1970), 6. The claim of the two Belgian priests that headhunting raids form alliances among Kalingas lacks supporting evidence. Alliances are formed between two *sin-ilians* by forging a peace-pact and that bond holds true for both communities that entered into such agreement. It does not follow that the alliance between the two *sin-ilians* form a union against another *sin-ilian* with which one of either two is in conflict. The provisions of the *pagta* cover only the relationship between the two *binodngan*.

¹²Billiet and Lambrecht, 7.

conversation among themselves suddenly run away. The friendly chief explained that they had urged him to kill the Americans at once and so discourage the further intrusion of white men. Now they have gone to collect their own people and prepare an ambush. The friendly chief and a few of his men got the visitors safely past the ambushade, but then the mob that had been assembled followed and surrounded a village where Worcester and his companions took refuge for the night. In spite of the intervention of the friendly chief, the savages shouted that they would have their heads.¹³

Kalingas were known in the past for the raids they conducted and for waging wars (*kayaw*) with other *sin-ilians* to exact revenge. These skirmishes were face-to-face confrontations with another tribe using spears and shields and head axes.¹⁴ The battles involved

¹³Arthur Pier, *American Apostles to the Philippines* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1950), 76-77.

¹⁴Billiet and Lambrecht, however, claimed that "their headhunts were characteristically ambush operations. Hidden in the midst of the vegetation at a short distance from the enemy village, the warriors lay in wait until one, two or a small group of villagers, unaware of the danger, approached the place where they were hiding; as soon as the leader had given the signal of attack, they hurled their spears, cut off with their head-axes the heads of those who had been wounded or were already killed, and ran away homeward as quickly as they could." Cf. Francisco Billiet and Francis Lambrecht, *The Kalinga Ullalim II* (Baguio City: Igorot Culture Research Studies, 1974), 19. *Kayaw* connotes a face to face confrontation between two tribes. In fact, a testimony to this claim is a name given to a place in Taloctoc called *papatoy* where the battle took place. On this site, the people from Tongrayan waged a war with the inhabitants of Taloctoc. The battle took place within the

seasoned warriors whose killing adventures were for gaining influence, renown and the right to show off such acts of valor in tattoos known as *dakag*¹⁵ that decorated men's chests, arms or shoulders.

Patoy (manslaughter) is also a form of vengeance known as *balus*.¹⁶ “Nu adika bumalus, papandika amameson” (if you do not retaliate, you will always be abused) is used as an argument to justify retribution. Vengeance is *lex talionis* and a swift and equitable means to put into execution what they understand as justice. Even a slight wound inflicted by another is not taken slightly. For as long as blood is drawn, there is a need to seek the intervention of a disinterested tribe to negotiate for a settlement to avert a possible war. In Kalinga, taking another's life is a means to even the score. “Because of blood relationships, revenge as a form of retribution is tolerated and is even justified.”¹⁷ *Balus*, which in its literal sense is the taking of another's life to avenge an injury or killing, can also mean to exact material reparation known as *wergild* (The value set in

vicinity of a high mountain in Buyayaw and was later on named *papatoy* which literally means killing. While we do not discount the incidence of ambushes, we also maintain that there were head-on clashes between tribes. An innovation in the conduct of war includes instruments of engagement like high powered guns instead of spears and head axes.

¹⁵The tattoos on men's bodies depend on three categories of warriors: *maalmot* (tattoos on the chest) – one who has killed a few; *mengol* (tattoos on the chest and arms) – one who has killed many and *gangad* (tattoos on the chest, arms and back) – one who has killed many and is also wealthy.

¹⁶*Balus* can mean to kill somebody to even the score. It can also mean one who suffers from having done something that is considered as a taboo. For example, if a Kalinga male gets a *dakag* (tattoo) but did not kill anybody, he will be *mabalus*. In this instance *mabalus* means to suffer physical or psychological ailment. A male Kalinga should not have tattoos if he did not kill or participate in the killing of a person.

¹⁷Layugan, 84.

the *pagta* of the *Bodong* upon the life of a person in accordance with a fixed scale and paid as a compensation to the kindred of the slain person or as a fine for some serious crime). This indemnification, however, can leave the offender's family penniless.

Although the practice of head-taking is no longer popular, Kalingas still wage wars as a means of retaliation or of carrying out a personal vendetta to avenge the death of a kin. In this instance, it may be difficult to settle disputes between two *sin-ilians* without an existing peace-pact between them. In the case of two *sin-ilians* with existing peace-pacts, the matter is brought to the attention of the *nangdon si Bodong* (peace-pact holder) who initiates the negotiations through an intermediary known as *mansakusak* to resolve the transgression.¹⁸ In the event that a member of a *sin-ilian* kills another from a *binodngan*, however, the peace-pact holder of the one who murdered may kill the culprit or one of the transgressor's relatives (*ibutu* meaning to avenge)¹⁹ to carry out justice. Since the *Bodong* was *nabug-uy* (severed) because of the death of the victim, the peace-pact between the two *sin-ilians* is terminated (*gopas*), for the death or injury of a person may lead to the severance of the peace-pact between two tribes. Tribal war ensues. This is known as *papatoy* or *kinabagaang*.²⁰

¹⁸The *mansakusak* (negotiator or intermediary) comes from a neutral tribe. The culprit's *sin-ilian* looks for somebody from another neutral tribe to initiate the talks for the resolution of the problem.

¹⁹If the peace-pact holder does not avenge the death of a member of his *binodngan* (counterpart), he will be *mabutot* (his stomach will be enlarged).

²⁰*Kinabagaang*, that is to wage war with another *sin-ilian* or to kill somebody from another tribe, is also known as *kayaw*. To kill within a *sin-ilian* is known as *binoboloy*. It is usually a feud between two clans.

Barton in his research on the Kalingas wrote, “The Kalinga region has a political organization that is rather feeble so far as domestic affairs go but has a hard crustacean shell with respect to foreign affairs.”²¹

While some Kalingas today resort to the jurisdiction of the courts to resolve their disputes, others within the *pidlis* (peace-pact jurisdiction) still follow the procedures of arbitration and adjudication by settling their differences between themselves through the mechanism of the *Bodong*. Crimes which are not blood-related like stealing, property disputes, and the like are arbitrated through the peace-pact institution. This action finds a solution to the problem, and the prospect of future reprisals can be avoided. If it should happen that a person from the other tribe lodges a complaint (*sukun*) before the peace-pact holder, the latter, being the competent authority, can resolve the problem. If he cannot bring it to a successful issue then he informs his counterpart, so both of them can work out a compromise agreement that will end the dispute and then in such case, it becomes a *sin-ilian* affair. In this instance, the peace-pact is not severed (*bug-uy*). The peace-pact holders convene the *among* (assembly) to discuss the issue in order to arrive at an amicable settlement. They invoke the by-laws of the *pagta* which both parties ratified during the celebration of the *inom* (literally it means to drink; it is a celebration which concludes the *Bodong*) of the peace-pact. Crimes such as stealing, property disputes are settled by exacting fines known as *dusa* which is an indemnification in the form of payment that includes land, animals, precious beads, rice fields, cash or in any form to which both *sin-ilians* agree.

²¹Barton, 138. Domestic affairs involve activities within the *sin-ilian* while foreign affairs refer to outside interactions.

Collective Guilt

Every member of the *sin-ilian* embodies the whole community. Hence, any untoward incident involving one of the members of the community may affect the rest of the tribe. Such being the case, an individual who commits a crime puts other members of his/her community at the risk of being the object of any reprisal from the aggrieved *sin-ilian*. Since the guilt is shared, the *sin-ilian* also shoulders the indemnification which has been agreed upon during the settlement. As pointed out by the researcher, “Since the *sin-ilian* is the subject of the *Bodong*, wrongs are also imputable to the *sin-ilian*. For example, if individual X killed another person from another *sin-ilian*, X’s *sin-ilian* is bound to answer for the crime. Revenge becomes a duty for every member of the aggrieved *sin-ilian*. Thus, life taken away is repaid by another life.”²²

This author further maintained, “While the *sin-ilian* evolved for the protection and preservation of the individual, the individual ultimately found to his discomfort that the *sin-ilian* often destroyed the very security it was created to impart. Since the whole *sin-ilian* is responsible for the wrongs committed by a member, the other members are also bound to answer for the crime they never committed.... As a consequence, innocent members can become victims of revenge from the aggrieved *sin-ilian*.”²³

Forging Relationships

The headmen of Kalinga functioned in maintaining peaceful extra-*sin-ilian* alliances by acting as *lumilintog* (arbiters), as *tukunan* (advisors) and as

²²Layugan, 86.

²³Ibid., 97.

nangdon si Bodong (peace-pact holders). Since the *sin-ilian* was composed of different kindreds, various headmen emerging from these kinship groups convened as a council. Such association of headmen was spontaneously formed, and the basic operatives were economic and defense needs, in conjunction with smooth *sin-ilian* relations as well as extra-*sin-ilian* interactions. The Kalinga headmen exercised least governance; notwithstanding, there was harmony and order within the *sin-ilian*. The headmen were classified as *maalmot* or *mengol* (fierce warriors), *lumilintog* (judges/arbiters) or *nangdon si Bodong* (peace-pact holders).

The Kalinga *Bodong*

The *Bodong* is a *sin-ilian* affair. It is also interchangeably called *Pudon* which means a tight grip or bond between the two peace-pact holders. In the forging of the *Bodong* between two *sin-ilians*, the following are the different stages:

Patigammo/Pagikna (to make known)

If two tribes that do not have peace-pacts with each other have been engaging in bloody confrontation and have decided to end the conflict, either one of the tribes will explore peace feelers and initiate its desire to forge a *Bodong* (“*bumdongkani*”). The message is transmitted through an uninvolved member of a different *sin-ilian* who is chosen by the tribe that took the initiative. Upon the reception of the message, the *papangat* (headmen) convene to discuss the proposal of the other tribe. If that tribe decides to accept the offer, it will send its favorable response. After both *sin-ilians* have made known their willingness to forge the *Bodong*, the *Allasiw* (exchange of spears) takes place.

Allasiw/Sipat

The *Angkamalong-ag* (elders) and *papangat* (headmen) of both tribes, after having decided to forge the *Bodong*, will convene and choose among themselves a *mangdon si Bodong* (peace-pact holder), one for each tribe. The headmen look for somebody who belongs to a large *singkapuun* (kindred). The prospective candidate has to be *maalmot/maasngaan* (fierce warrior),²⁴ *masingnan* (respected by the tribe) and *baknang* (rich) since the peace-pact holder is the protector of the lives of his counterpart.

Then the *Allasiw* takes places. It involves the exchange of the *say-ang* (spear). *Sin-ilian* X will send representatives to bring the spear to *sin-ilian* Y. After consulting the *idaw* (a bird that portends good or bad luck), they either set out or postpone their journey depending on the outcome of the *idaw*. If the omen is auspicious, the representatives will proceed towards *sin-ilian* Y. The spear is given to the one who was chosen by *sin-ilian* Y to be the candidate for the position of peace-pact holder. Then the one who received the spear makes the announcement to his community that the *Allasiw* has already taken place. When the ones who were sent to bring the spear return to *sin-ilian* X, they also broadcast to their tribe that the other *sin-ilian* has already accepted the spear. *Sin-ilian* Y in turn sends representatives who bring the spear to *sin-ilian* X. Once both *sin-ilians* have accepted the spears from the other, the *Allasiw* has been executed successfully. This preliminary phase of the institution of the peace-pact is also known as *sipat*.

Simsim/Silgip/Singlip

Silgip which also takes the form of *simsim* (to

²⁴This qualification of a *pangat* no longer holds today.

taste) means to make known that both *sin-ilians* have accepted to forge the *Bodong* and to determine, by butchering a pig, whether the one who was chosen by either *sin-ilian* to hold the peace-pact during the *allasiw*, has been destined to assume the responsibility. The *Silgip* is celebrated to consummate the *Allasiw* (exchange). *Sin-ilian* X sends a message (*bogga*) that a delegation, which is composed of a few select men together with the one who was chosen as peace-pact holder, will depart for *sin-ilian* Y for the *silgip*. If *sin-ilian* Y sends a favorable response, *sin-ilian* X embarks on a journey to *sin-ilian* Y after observing the sound and flight of a bird known as *idaw*. A runner precedes the delegation to announce (*bogga*) the arrival of the group. The host, the one who was chosen as the prospective peace-pact holder, butchers a pig to honor (*mangiliun*) the guests. The elders read (*abig*) the liver of the pig to determine whether it is a good omen for the one who was chosen to hold the peace-pact to receive the *say-ang* (spear). If the examination of the liver is favorable, they discuss past grievances and partake of the meal after which the intention to forge the *Bodong* between the two *sin-ilians* is publicly announced and the delegation of *sin-ilian* X returns to their tribe. If the reading of the liver portends an unfavorable augury, the elders and headmen of *sin-ilian* Y gather to choose another person of the same kindred to receive the spear. Another pig is butchered and the reading of its liver takes place. If the signs are propitious, the person receives the spear. On this occasion, past grievances are put forward and then they partake of the meal to conclude the reception of the spear by *sin-ilian* Y. Then in the *sin-ilian*, the elders make the announcement that the *Allasiw* (exchange) which took place in the past has already been *naisilgip* (concluded) and then warn their constituents not to commit any crime that may harm any member of the

other *sin-ilian* for someone has already been chosen to hold the peace-pact. The returning delegation also makes the announcement to the members of *sin-ilian* X that the *silgip* has been consummated, and the elders make public the corresponding warnings to the members of their *sin-ilian*. *Sin-ilian* Y in turn sets off to *sin-ilian* X to perform the prescribed *silgip*.

Inom/Lonok

The *inom* which literally means to drink is the culmination of the celebration of the *Bodong*. *Sin-ilian* X sends a messenger to inform the peace-pact holder of *sin-ilian* Y of the former's intention to conclude the *Bodong* through the celebration of the *inom*. If *sin-ilian* Y agrees, a date is set for the festivities. *Sin-ilian* Y prepares the things needed for the upcoming event. While a part of the expenses is shouldered by the peace-pact holder, the rest of the community also contribute their share (*dagup/uyup*).

Since it is a *sin-ilian* affair, every member takes the initiative to give his/her contribution. They practice the *dagup* system in which members give their contribution in the form of cash or in kind. During the celebration the men are usually assigned to do the physical preparations and to butcher the animals. Women do the cooking, washing of utensils and the like. The children do their part as *alluwagi* (servers). After the celebration, everybody helps in putting things in order. These things are spontaneously done.²⁵

²⁵ Layugan, 95.

As soon as the day of the festivities approaches, the members of *sin-ilian* X depart for *sin-ilian* Y. A large contingent is composed of all those who are able to travel to attend the occasion. Even children can be present at the celebration. Upon the arrival of the delegation from *sin-ilian* X, the peace-pact holder of the host *sin-ilian* makes the announcement of their coming and gathers his constituents. The entrance of the participants into the *sin-ilian* is also known as *lonok* (to enter). During the celebration of the *inom*, the constant beating of the gongs reverberates in the assembly interspersed with dances, the *Ullalim* (chanting of the Kalinga epic), *Sogsogna* (spontaneous chants), *palpaliwat* (speeches made to boast of something) and the community meals.

Pagta

The highlight of the *inom* is the enactment of the *pagta* [by-laws of the *Bodong*] in which the peace-pact holder declares “*botak de mangmangwa atte lawweng adta anna e kabodongko*”(death to anyone who does any harm to anybody of my counterpart). The gathered elders and headmen of both *sin-ilians* enact laws that will govern the relationship between the two tribes. Pact holders usually do not participate in the discussions. These laws are then ratified and will be binding for both *sin-ilians*. Transgressors are severely punished. Such provisions of the *pagta* are seldom written down.²⁶ Examples of such regulations include the following: *Komkom/potot* involves the damages to be given to the companion of the victim who was harmed because s/he was present when the crime took place; *Daladac* refers to a compensation that a *binodngan* claims when members of another tribe pass through their *sin-ilian* on

²⁶Today the provisions of the *pagta* are put down in black and white.

their way to wage war with another *sin-ilian*; *Wakwak* is a claim by the owner of a house where a victim ate and afterwards was slain (Among the Kalingas, it is a taboo to kill somebody when s/he has drunk or eaten something in the *sin-ilian* which s/he is passing through or is there temporarily. Once a person drinks or eats the food, s/he can be assured that nobody will harm him/her)²⁷; *Mammac* refers to a peace-pact holder who kills his counterpart (*kabodong/kasupang*).

Tumangad (to raise one's head) which is a part of the festivities involves drinking wine from a large antique ceramic bowl known as *payawyaw*. In the assembly there are two *payawyaws*, one for *sin-ilian* X and another vessel for *sin-ilian* Y. Both vessels are filled with sugarcane wine known as *basi*. Each person takes his turn in drinking from the bowl. Placing both hands behind his back, he gulps down the wine from the vessel, and it is followed by a satisfied lift of his head.²⁸ This action is known as *tumangad* which is also a contest in which the *sin-ilian* that consumes the wine first wins.

Palpaliwat is a form of entertainment. It is an occasion to boast for those who have displayed physical strength and bravery, those who have killed other people and brought home head trophies, those who have

²⁷During the American period, the Secretary of the Interior made an inspection in Kalinga and was nearly killed. What saved him was when he ate the food during his sojourn in the village. Deraedt wrote, "It was only after the Secretary had tasted some food that the Kalinga took their hands off their axes, and the members of the party could put back their revolvers." See Deraedt, 18.

²⁸Billiet and Lambrecht wrote that the *mampaliwat* (one who makes the boasting speech) "holds in one of his hands a cup filled with sugarcane wine." Cf. Billiet and Lambrecht, *Ullalim II*, 26. The authors however contradicted themselves when they wrote on page 25 that "two tattooed warriors of old proceed to the table and drink sugarcane wine directly from the *payawyaw*." Cf. Billiet and Lambrecht, *The Kalinga Ullalim II*, 25.

mistresses or those who in their lifetime have accumulated wealth. After drinking from the vessel, one may boast of something. During the celebration of the *Bodong* between Taloctoc *sin-ilian* and Danac *sin-ilian*, Macaiba from Taloctoc chanted this *palpaliwat*:

Sin long nid Mandamaan
Ummoyko nangkaanan
Bayuyung kun kundiman
Dawawan Inawagan

We raided Mandamaan (an old settlement in Pangol, Tanudan)

To do away with (by killing)
 My red hand woven G-string
 Handed to me by Inawagan²⁹

After the culmination of the *inom* in *sin-ilian* Y, *sin-ilian* X will in turn host the celebration of the *inom* with *sin-ilian* Y. *Sin-ilian* Y sends a message to *sin-ilian* X about its intention and a date is determined. Once both tribes have concluded the celebration of the *inom*, the *Bodong* between *sin-ilian* X and *sin-ilian* Y has been officially established. The relationship between members of these two different tribes is *sunud* (the other is now considered a brother or a sister). It is more than just friendship. The relationship is *naolot e sunud* (tight brother/sister bond), and the peace-pact holder is bound to protect that alliance.³⁰ He swears (*sapata*) to

²⁹In the past, mistresses were common in Kalinga. Inawagan was the mistress of Macaiba. She gave Macaiba a red handwoven G-string. Macaiba, however, was still married to Wanay. In those days, if a mistress gives something like a handwoven G-string to a man, he had to venture to another *sin-ilian* in order to kill somebody and return with a *siwat* (trophy) which is usually a head.

³⁰Section 2 of the By-laws regulating the relationship between Taloctoc and Tanglag states that “the Bodong holder shall discharge the functions and duties, which include but not limited to:

kill anybody who destroys the pact. If one of his constituents kills somebody from a *binodgan*, he or one of his relatives has the obligation to kill the culprit to avenge the death of the other.

Dolnat

The *Dolnat* (warming) is the renewal of the peace-pact and is celebrated if the provisions of the *pagta* have been violated or after many years have elapsed and both parties want to warm the relationship or when the pact is transferred to another custodian because of the death of the keeper of the peace-pact or because the other wants to relieve himself of the responsibility or if there is a dispute and the case has not been resolved for a long time. Either one of the peace-pact holders informs the other to make preparations for the *dolnat* (warm/reheat) so as to tighten once more the relationship between the two *sin-ilians* as well as to remind their respective constituents about the consequences of the violations of the *pagta*.

The *Bodong* is an instrument of forging relationships between tribes. Upon the conclusion of the peace-pact, both *sin-ilians* guarantee that no harm will be inflicted on any member of the other *sin-ilian*; that they will respect territorial boundaries in case these *sin-ilians* are neighbors; that shelter and security will be

a) He is the eyes, ears and mouth of the Bodong; b) He shall faithfully enforce and execute the provisions of the Pagta and all decisions in cases brought before it; c) He shall prosecute with dispatch cases brought to his attention until the same shall have been settled to the satisfaction of both parties; d) He shall not allow the severance of the Bodong; e) He must consult the Umili [inhabitants] and the elders in making decisions; f) He shall arrest or cause the arrest of the bumug-oy (violation).” See Taloctoc-Tanglag Bodong Celebration, April 8-9, 2007, Tabuk, Kalinga. One of the peace-pact holders, Mr. Ireneo Balais of the Taloctoc Sin-ilian furnished us a copy of the aforementioned By-laws.

provided for anyone of either *sin-ilian* when they enter the territorial jurisdiction of the other or in the abode of a *binodngan* who resides in Tabuk City or in any other province and that they will regard the other as a *sunud* (brother or sister).

Kulligong

Kulligong refers to the domicile and properties of a *sin-ilian* of both *binodngan* outside of their *bugis* (the original settlement). These locations are designated as *mataguan* (places where killing or avenging the death of a kin is forbidden). When the *Bodong* between two *sin-ilians* is terminated, all places where members of both *sin-ilians* work and live outside the *bugis* (boundary of the tribe) are regarded as *mataguan* which includes schools, offices, other provinces and cities. It is called *mataguan* because no member of either tribe is allowed to kill or avenge an injury in these aforementioned locations.

In the peace-pact between Taloctoc and Butbut, the *kulligong* “includes residence outside the tribe like Tabuk and other places determined by both tribes – residential lots, houses, rice fields and sub-barangay is considered *kulligong din Bodong*.”³¹

Bogga/Ba-ngungon

*Bogga*³², which literally means to shout, connotes the announcement of the death of somebody in the *sin-ilian*. If a father, a mother or the peace-pact holder dies,

³¹Pagta din Bodong, Taloctoc–Butbut, December 27-29, 1990. The copy of the *Pagta* is handwritten and is signed by Mr. Ireneo Balais, the peace-pact holder of Taloctoc and Mr. Ewad Paclay, the peace-pact holder of Butbut and some elders and headmen of both tribes.

³²Some *sin-ilians* announce the *bogga* even when the person, who is sick, is still alive. Others relay the message when the person is really dead.

the *sin-ilian* sends one or two of its members to inform the peace-pact holder of the other tribe about the news. The ones who are sent as messengers are known as *bummogga* and as they approach the village, they shout (*bogga/pakoy*) to alert the villagers of their arrival. As they cross the threshold of the village, a member of the community summons them with a Chinese porcelain plate (*palakdag de lumnokandat te boloy*). Upon receiving the news, the peace-pact holder informs his constituents about the death and butchers a big pig for his guests. A part (*longos*) of the pig is not consumed but is given to the messengers. There are objects that are given by the *sin-ilian* to those who have been sent (*bummogga*) and those (*binogga*) who will attend the wake (*bangunon*). Such tokens are known as *Gamigam*. For those who were sent to notify the other tribe, they receive the *attod* which is composed of a *baal* (hand-woven G-string) known as *padun*, *gaman* (bolo) known as *pasiwat* and *ulos* (blanket) or *kain* or *ginamat* (hand-woven wraparound) known as *akbong*. They also receive a porcelain plate (*panay*) and the *longos* (a part of the animal). People also give them all sorts of things like tobacco, coffee, vegetables, coconut, etc. The *sin-ilian* also contributes a carabao or money for the bereaved family. This offer is known as *adang*.

When the *binodngan* arrive near the house of the bereaved, they do not enter immediately but they have to wait for the summons. An old man or woman chants welcoming the *binodngane binogga* (counterpart of the peace-pact who attend the wake) with a porcelain plate (*panay*), and the path they tread on (*allatoy*) is covered with unpolished rice with stalks (*nabotok e pagoy*). A jar (*ammoto*) that is covered with *ginamat* (hand-woven wraparound) with money on top of it is found in the center of the *among* (assembly). A moderator calls one of the *angkamalong-ag* (elder) or *pangat* (headman) of the

other tribe to remove the cover of the jar in order to take a sip of the wine. The elder or *pangat* then takes with him the cover (usually a hand-woven fabric) and the money. After he drinks, the wine is distributed to those who are assembled.

To honor the *binodngnan* who attend the wake, a *pasiwat* which is a carabao covered with a hand-woven wraparound is shown to them. The moderator calls the strongest member of the delegation to strike the animal. The person who hits the beast gets the hand-woven wraparound (*kinagoy*). The leg portion (*bolobol*) of the beast is set aside to be brought home by those who came for the wake and the other parts of the animal are cooked for the assembly. When those who attended the wake leave, the members of the community present them with different objects (*gamigam*) as gifts.

During the wake, the chanting of the *dandanag* (chant for the dead) between the two tribes gives color to the event. *Sussulay*, a kind of chanting, is an occasion to match a man or a woman from either tribe. Both *sin-ilians* bring about a betrothal on that occasion. If the man and the woman agree to the matchmaking, an animal is butchered (*palanos*) after the wake to seal the marriage proposal made by the two tribes.

Nangdon si Bodong (peace-pact holder)

During the celebration of the *inom*, there are roles to be played by both peace-pact holders. Edward Dozier sums up their responsibilities:

Pact-holders do not ordinarily take part in these discussions [it refers to the enactment and ratification of the provisions of the *pagtal*], although they may listen occasionally in the role of neutral observers. The visiting pact-holder has the responsibility to watch the

behaviour of his compatriots to see that they do not do anything to break the good relations between the two groups. The host pact-holder's responsibilities are considerably more involved; he not only has the job of keeping his coregionists in check, which is much more difficult since there are many people from his region attending the event, but he is also responsible for seeing that everything runs smoothly. He must see that there is plenty of wine and food, that important guests receive the special attention they deserve, and most important of all, that his coregionists behave themselves. To neglect any one of these duties will deflate his reputation as a pact-holder and will lower the status of his kinship group and region.³³

Barton wrote, "The pact-holder has a dual office: (1) he is spokesman of his own region in its relations with another and (2) he is the agent of that other town in its dealings with his own and the righter, often the avenger, of wrongs against it."³⁴ Barton further observed, "The pact-holder supervises the relations of his home region with the folk of the region with which he holds the pact. These, on visiting his region, will usually proceed at once to his house and will eat and sleep there unless they have trading partners or friends in the town with whom they prefer to stay."³⁵

A nangdon si Bodong (peace-pact holder) has the

³³Edward Dozier, *The Kalinga of Northern Luzon, Philippines* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), 88.

³⁴Barton, 170.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 194.

obligation to protect a guest from the other tribe and may avenge the wounding or slaying of the victim, more so if the person has already drunk or eaten something.³⁶ This is the reason why, a person from the *binodngan* who visits a village goes to the house of the custodian of the *Bodong* and stays there until such time that s/he returns to his/her community. If the person is in the village to sell an antique jar, agate beads, antique porcelain plates or anything of commercial value, the peace-pact holder is the one who conducts the business of selling the merchandize or asks some people to trade the goods.

The holding of the peace-pact is inherited within the family, from parents to either one of the children and in some cases, it is given to somebody within the same kinship group. Dozier wrote, "Once a pact has been established and then broken, the new pact-holder (should the original pact-holder have died or resigned, voluntarily or through pressure from regional leaders) is drawn from the descent group of the original holder. Thus, the initial holder of the pact becomes the head of a descent group since all subsequent holders of the pact must be drawn from his bilateral descendants."³⁷

Resolving Conflicts

Bug-uy

Once the *Bodong* between two *sin-ilians* is established, members are compelled to observe the regulations that were agreed upon during the

³⁶Drinking or eating something while in another village protects a foreign guest from any harm that may be inflicted by the people from the community. The host, who also serves as protector of his visitor, has the obligation to avenge any injury that is inflicted on him/her.

³⁷Dozier, 91.

celebration of the *inom*. In case a member of *binodngan sin-ilian* X kills or injures a member of *binodngan sin-ilian* Y, this action constitutes *bug-uy* (severance of the pact) because the *Bodong* was violated.³⁸ *Sin-ilian* Y gives vent to its grievance and sends a message to the peace-pact holder of *sin-ilian* X to avenge the injury by dispatching the *busdung di butu* (cloth to wrap the testicles). Even if the peace-pact holder of *sin-ilian* X has avenged the death of the other or the *sin-ilian* has paid the *dusa*, the *Bodong* between the two *sin-ilians* will be terminated because of death or because there is blood as a result of the injury.³⁹ This termination of the *Bodong* is known as *gopas*. Tribal war is inevitable. Reprisals follow until such time that the elders and the *pangats* take the initiative to negotiate with the other tribe for the cessation of the war and for the re-establishment of the *Bodong*. The responsibility as overseer of the peace-pact, however, will be transferred to another member of the *kanayun* (kindred) or it may be given to the perpetrator of the crime, and his

³⁸There have been changes recently. During the enactment and ratification of the *Bodong* between Taloctoc and Tanglag tribes from 8-9 April 2007, both *sin-ilians* agreed that the following instances do not constitute *bug-uy*: “i) When [a person] acted to defend his person, honor, relative and companion; ii) When the act of the Binodngan was in fulfilment of a duty or a lawful performance of his right or office; iii) When the act of the Binodngan was in obedience to a lawful order for some lawful purpose.” Section 8 stipulates that “There shall [be] no retaliation where injuries or killing results from an accident. Should there be a retaliation, it shall constitute pot-ak/patoy [killing].” See Taloctoc-Tanglag Bodong Celebration, April 8-9, 2007, Tabuk, Kalinga.

³⁹*Patoy* (manslaughter) may be committed under the following circumstances: *ba -ug* (killing a pact holder or a member by his counterpart or his companions), *ngos-ngos* (crime committed by the pact holder himself), *sanob* (ambush), *lomong* (crime done along a path, inside a forest by culprits), *lipot*, *aladas* (to follow and kill an enemy for the purpose of revenge), *wakwak* (the act of wounding or killing a guest), *kodot* (to poison), and *anud* (to drown).

counterpart will be one of the relatives of the victim.

In the event that problems arise, the aggrieved *sin-ilian* prepares the *dekot* (cooked glutinous rice) to be brought to the *Bodong* holder (*kasupang*) of the offender's tribe in order to lodge a formal allegation (*sukun*). This action is known as *mamnong*. The peace-pact holder who welcomes the arrival of the delegation announces to his constituents that the other tribe has come to *mamnong*. He butchers a carabao for that occasion.

While some people resort to the jurisdiction of the courts to resolve disputes, others still follow the procedures of arbitration and adjudication by settling their differences between themselves through the mechanism of the *Bodong*.⁴⁰ In this instance it may be difficult to put an end to hostilities between two *sin-ilians* without an existing peace-pact between them. In the situation of two *sin-ilians* with extant peace-pacts, the matter is brought to the attention of the peace-pact holder who initiates the negotiations through an intermediary known as *mansakusak* for the resolution of the case. If a member of a *sin-ilian* kills another from a *binodngan*, the peace-pact holder of the culprit may kill him or any of his relatives to even the score and in so doing settles the case. Since the peace-pact is *nabug-uy* (severed), tribal war arises until such time that the *Bodong* is once again restored. Crimes involving

⁴⁰Court cases can be very expensive and court decisions are usually very slow. Sometimes the courts do not give a just verdict which can cause discontent on either of those involved. Deraedt puts it, "Since the court decision usually means defeat for one of the parties, it causes lingering resentment. On the other hand, settlements through the peace pact, as much as through the local mechanism of adjudication, aim at and result into an amicable settlement. The deliberation is held on the basis of local values and concepts, and it arrives at a consensus among the leaders and spokesmen of both parties." See Deraedt, 22.

stealing, property disputes and the like are settled through the mechanism of the *Bodong*. The peace-pact holder convenes the *among* (assembly) and starts the *man-uugudan* (discussions) on how to resolve the cause of an imminent tribal war. Both *sin-ilians* invoke the provisions of the *pagta* which they ratified during the celebration of the *inom* of the peace-pact. In most instances, the resolution of the case is done through amicable settlement by exacting fines known as *dusa* which is an indemnification in the form of payment which includes, land, animals, precious beads, monetary or in any form which both parties have agreed upon. “Amicable settlement through the indemnification of damages is done to preserve the *Bodong* between two *sin-ilians*. The prompt resolution of the case is given priority to avoid serious *sin-ilian* feuds.”⁴¹ Hence, the cessation of tribal conflicts is realized only when indemnities and reparations are fulfilled.

Fostering Peaceful Co-Existence

This researcher pointed out that “The Kalinga *Bodong* does not only concern itself with the adjudication and arbitration of inter-sin-ilian disputes but it also fosters interregional peaceful co-existence. Through the *Bodong*, *sin-ilians* convene to settle disputes and to restore friendly relations.”⁴² The immediate settlement of a discord is necessary so as to prevent any retaliation on the part of the aggrieved party. “If conflicts arise between two *sin-ilians*, the members are affected even if they reside in another province. Hence, Kalingas seldom reveal their true identity, especially if there is an ongoing tribal war.”⁴³

⁴¹Layugan, 97.

⁴²Ibid., 87.

⁴³Ibid., 97.

When *sin-ilians* forge peace-pacts with different tribes, peace is guaranteed. Nonetheless, this assurance happens only when the peace-pact is once in a while renewed through the celebration of *Dolnat*. Through this ritual, members of both tribes tighten the grip of the relationship and strengthen that bond through the observance of the provisions of the *Pagta*. The *Bodong* becomes a deterrent against crime which may cause the severance of the relationship that leads to a series of reprisals on either side. Bloody vendetta between *sin-ilians* that threatens their existence can be avoided. The *Bodong* attempts

to elicit a prescribed behavior from the members of the *sin-ilian*. The members of the *sin-ilian* are prohibited to kill or to injure and to commit other crimes against a *binodngan* for this transgression may lead to a serious conflict. Each member knows pretty well that once s/he violates the *pagta* (provisions) or does something wrong to a member of a *binodngan*, the whole *sin-ilian* takes the responsibility.⁴⁴

This writer also remarked:

Cordial relations with their surrounding neighbors prevail. Through the peace-pact, neighboring tribes enter into mutual agreement of providing accommodations for the members of each *sin-ilian* with their security guaranteed. Nonetheless, once established, the *Bodong* including all its *pagta* (provisions) has to be respected and observed.⁴⁵

⁴⁴Ibid., 88.

⁴⁵Ibid., 87.

Every *binodngan* has the right to seek redress under the *Bodong*. In one of the provisions of the *Pagta* between Taloctoc and Butbut, it is stipulated that “taking other forms of redress, of the *pot-ak* [killing] under the impulse of passion and obfuscation, such revenge is strictly prohibited.”⁴⁶ In another provision, it is mentioned that “when the *Bodong* ruptures by wounding either tribe, they should wait for the peace-pact holder to act upon [and] to declare the formal cutting [off] of the *Bodong*. Both tribes must strictly wait for any action to be taken.”⁴⁷

Conclusion

Much has changed in the way of life and the state of affairs of the Kalingas today. One of the features of Kalinga life that is gradually being superseded by mainstream institutions is the *Bodong*. While there are still extant peace-pacts between tribes, the functions of the *Bodong* have been taken over by government institutions. For law and order, the police and the military have been given that responsibility. For disputes, there are civil courts to settle them. Some, however, still have recourse to the *Bodong* in resolving their differences with other tribes.

While the peace-pact institution has relatively slowed down the incidence of hostilities between *sin-ilians*, it has not completely eradicated vendettas, which have taken their toll on innocent victims. Some prefer to get even by personally avenging the loss of their kin. The *Bodong* may be an instrument to adjudicate certain cases but it may not be the perfect solution to the phenomenon of tribal war and the drive for vengeance.

⁴⁶Pagtan di *Bodong*, Taloctoc-Butbut, 27-29 December 1990.

⁴⁷Pagtan di *Bodong*, Taloctoc-Butbut, 27-29 December 1990.

Peace between *sin-ilians*, according to the precepts of the *Bodong*, becomes possible only when the indemnities are fulfilled and everyone partakes of the meal to seal the concord. The meal is a sign that peace between the two *sin-ilians* has been restored. Goodwill is established. Restitution may appear to be reasonable but a closer scrutiny of this practice reveals that it is a form of revenge in that the aggrieved *sin-ilian* may demand a material compensation far exceeding the injury inflicted on the victim. While material compensation resolves the conflict, forgiveness, in this instance, does not come from a sincere act of the will to pardon the other.

As the features of the *Bodong* evolve over the years, and since it is a pact that is drawn by two tribes, changes can be made to the provisions of the *pagta* to make the peace-pact a viable instrument to promote peace. Another consideration is the rationale and consequence of entering into a pact with the other tribe. The concept of the *sunud* (the other becoming a brother or sister) needs to be given the central aim of the pact. Hence, the members of the other tribe becoming the *sunud* of the other now form a family. In so doing, the other, being a brother or a sister, guarantees peaceful co-existence.

One important approach to doing mission is to become aware that people are different and that they too have fundamental ways of doing things. It is a task of the missionary to strive to know them by learning their culture. Hopefully, this current study of the peace-pact institution does not just serve as an attempt to give a better insight into the cultural heritage of the Kalingas; it is also a gesture and a sign of serious appreciation of their unique ways and identity.