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Genovardo M. Balweg

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An Insight into the Contents of the Bodong Pagta

BIENVENIDO M. BALWEG

The Kalinga of Kalinga-Apayao and the Gobang Tinguian of Abra may have been despicable headhunters. But from their iniquitous practice arose one of the most admirable social institutions that a savage people ever thought of putting up—the *bodóng*. It is no less marvelous than the rice terraces of the Ifugao. The *bodóng*¹ is a peace-pact. It originated from the desire of two tribes either to end their enmity and establish peace between themselves if they were at war, or, if not at war, to assure peace, strengthen their friendship, and prevent future wars. In the past, the *bodóng* celebration was often more than the mere stopping of wars or headhunting. It marked the beginning of a new relationship which often proved stronger than blood kinship so that at the consummation of the celebration,² former enemies often wept unashamedly.

¹ This term is used by the Gobang and the Mabaca. The Banaw and other Kalinga sub-tribes call it *bojóng* (j as in joy). The inhabitants of Lacub, Liccuan, Baay, etc., in Abra call it *bedéng*. In Iloko, it is *calon*.

² The celebration of the *bodóng* proper lasts not less than two days. People don their best attire. Work is suspended, animals are butchered; food, especially the *bodóng* cake *inandilá*, is served liberally; the sugar cane wine, *basi*, is served in continuous rounds. Poets and speakers are called on to prove their mettle in the *dangú* narratives or discussions. The *tadók* is danced day and night to the accompaniment of the *gangsá* (brass gong) and the singing of *salidummáy* songs. The dance is interrupted only by *uggayam*, *ading*, *ullalim*, or other kinds of individual's songs rendered by those who have danced; speeches; religious rites; and meals. Including the *pangpangili* or welcome and farewell parties, the *bodóng* celebration would easily take one week's duration.

This paper is not interested in the ceremonial aspects of the *bodóng*. It intends rather to investigate the contents of the *pagtá* or constitution made by the elders during the *bodóng* in order to state clearly or make conclusions about the ethical ideas of the member tribes of the *bodóng*. Some people who speak or write about the Tinguian or Kalinga *bodóng* are so taken up in its more glamorous socials and exotic ceremonies that they only mention the *pagtá* in passing, if at all.³ The content of the *pagtá* is never discussed. Yet, without the *pagtá* there can be no *bodóng*. It is the most essential part. What the consecration is in the Christian Holy Mass, so is the *pagtá* to the *bodóng*. All other parts like dancing, eating, drinking, singing, participation in contests, etc., are secondary and only serve to counterbalance the seriousness of the *pagtá* and the heated discussions, charges, counter-charges, and imposition of fines that come up in the process of making it.

Heated discussions necessarily precede the formulation of the *pagtá* because it cannot be finalized unless all recallable crimes committed by the two tribes against one another are thoroughly 'cleansed'⁴ by due penalties, and all suspicions of crimes or misconduct are cleared and settled. In a *bodóng* being contracted for the first time, the crimes spoken of are, of course, non-legal on account of the absence of previous positive laws to abide by. The penalties imposed depend upon the agreement of the elders who are well versed with precedents.

Strikingly in contrast with the tedious and irksome legalism in modern democratic courts is the ultimate exercise of swift justice and mutual trust. Once there is general knowledge that one has committed the crime, he is punished right away. Elders are wont to say: "*Lawingdan mansilsilibantà sunudta*" ('It is not good to be wise to one's brothers'). In spite of the exterior show of vociferous wranglings and near-brawls, the relatives or de-

³ E.g., Miguel and Rosario Sugguiyao, "Kalinga Primitive Culture," Saint Louis Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 2 (June, 1964), pp. 187-190.

⁴ The native term *madaldalusán* insinuates meticulous cleansing with water.

scendants of accused people who cannot disprove an accusation usually acquiesce to shouldering the fee or fine imposed because they believe "the other fellow would not have made the accusation if it were not true." Herein comes the importance of knowing one's genealogy, history, and the trips or transactions made by one's relatives in the vertical as well as lateral lines. A person who says, "Well, I do not know" or "I cannot say anything about that," will easily be defeated. One who has no clear memory of things past cannot enter the panel of discussants although anybody is welcome to add something worthwhile to what are said.

Witnesses against or for the accused need not be from the accuser's tribe. A townmate of the accused can be a strong witness against him provided they do not harbor personal grudges against each other.

Since the Tinguian and the Kalinga had no form of writing, the *pagtá* provisions were traditionally unwritten. They had to be handed down orally from generation to generation. When needed, the provisions of the *pagtá* are recalled from memory by prominent elders who were present during the making of the *bodóng* or its last renewal, as the case may be. Amendments or addenda to the *pagtá* can also be introduced during renewal celebrations of the *bodóng*.⁵ This treatise was based mainly on a study of the *pagtá* of the *bodóng* held by the descendants of Capitan Bañganan,⁶ the illustrious hero of the "devils of Gobang,"⁷ who dwelt in the Abra-Kalinga boundary. Since prac-

⁵ The renewal celebration of a *bodóng* is called *dolnát*, meaning 're-warming'. The word signifies the re-heating of water that has cooled down. From the *dolnát* on, the *bodóng* is called *balugom bodóng*, a 'new *bodóng*'.

⁶ Capitán Bañganan was one of the acknowledged native *pañgat*, leaders, of the Gobang tribe, which is now spread in two groups: Bañgilo in Abra and Balbalan in Kalinga.

⁷ In the Gobang dialect, the phrase is *alan Gobang*. *Alan*, in Tinguian mythology and belief, are evil spirits who often appear to men in giant human forms. The phrase, therefore, signifies that Capitán Bañganan and his band wrought havoc among nearby people by their wars and headhunting sprees, *kayaw*. Together with Capitán Bañganan is associated the name Capitán Dañgiwan. They were the two *miñgol*, or heroes, of early Gobang. They were respected by their tribes as well as by outsiders, and feared by their enemies.

tically the same prominent elders of Bañgilo⁸ were designated to formulate the *pagtá* of the many other *bodóng* in which Bañgilo is a member, we find very minor variations in the provisions. Many times the difference is found only in the emphasis made on certain items. The emphasis depended upon what crimes or forms of misconduct were prevalent between the two ethnic groups negotiating for the *bodóng*.

As may be expected, the most important point taken up during the discussion is always that on the killing of a human being. The *bodóng* does not distinguish between murder and homicide. Every death is to be avenged by death.

Ti pumatóy matóy mit.

(One who kills is to be killed.)

was a dictum unquestionably accepted by all. It was only with the advent of Christianity that this could be unilaterally modified by the party of the victim. In case the offended party, due to the Christian faith, would not like to execute a killer from the other party in a *bodóng*, the penalty would be commuted to a payment of damages and a 'cleansing' reparation. This payment, however, is so enormous that unless all in the tribe help, it utterly impoverishes the killer and his immediate relatives. The amount and kind of payment is set by the elders and the transaction of the payment is supervised by the holders of the *bodóng*. The usual payments are cultivated fields, carabaos, agate beads, money, and jewelry. There is only one instance in which killing is not penalized, that is, the killing of people

⁸ Bañgilo is located along the headwaters of the Binoñgan River, a principal tributary of the Abra. The most renowned Bañgilo elder still living is Ex-Mayor Santiago Camarao, popularly known as Capitán Ago. After him may be mentioned Pasado Pedro Balawag, the son of the famous Dao-ayan, Pasado Ponciano Gumabay, Pasado Malagan Upol, Jose Gupaal, Pasado Abaoag and his brother Bayungan. A youngster who is attracting attention for his retentive memory about the old customs and traditions, his fluency in the *dangá* poetry, and his quick, incisive retorts in discussion is Crispinido 'Pindo' Balweg. But he might have been born too late; the old ways are fast being supplanted.

caught in adultery by the husband of the woman.⁹

The intentional wounding of a person, is as offensive as actual killing. The flow of blood is to be avenged by flow of blood:

Ti sumugat masugat.

(One who inflicts a wound must be wounded.)

The holder of the *bodóng* has to wound an offender in his tribe otherwise he will be the one to be wounded by the tribe of the offended. This retributory action is not explicitly mentioned in the *pagtá* but it is accepted by all *bodóng* members without question or complaint. This writer knows of a latest incident in which a *bodóng* holder had to be wounded in lieu of the actual offender.¹⁰ This was considered very disgraceful to the *bodóng* holder because it indicated either impotence on his part to control his people or simple negligence of duty.

The bloody wounding of a person who has wounded may be commuted to a payment of fine if he dies or disappears and is never heard of again before he can be punished. The *pagtá* of the *bodóng* between Bañgilo and Guinaang, for instance, provides that

. . . *Amno adi mabalina makwato, madusa di nansugat si mak-maka maapitan si limán uyon, sabali duan uyínana makmaka manalan si nangdón si bodóng.*

(. . . If this cannot be done [i.e., inflicting the wound], the culprit will be fined with a rice field yielding five *uyones*, plus a rice field yielding two *uyones* to be given to the holder of the *bodóng*.¹¹)

This option may also be elected by Christianized tribes.

⁹ The aggrieved husband can kill his guilty wife and her paramour with impunity especially if these are caught in flagrante delicto. Traditional bedtime stories relate of husbands returning from the hunt who kill the lovers of their unfaithful wives, and the relatives of the guilty parties do not raise a finger to retaliate.

¹⁰ The author has no permission to divulge the name in this publication. The wound was inflicted at the buttocks.

¹¹ The "rice field yielding two *uyones*" is to be divided equally between the two *bodóng* holders. It can also be sold and the payment divided.

Serving as guide (*bagnós*) for enemies in time of war in going to a town with which one's town has a *bodóng* is strictly forbidden by the *pagtá*:

Mipalit man-ibagnós si cabusol. . . .

(It is forbidden to serve as guide to enemies. . . .)

But if one cannot avoid doing so, somebody else should be sent ahead to give warning to the town of destination.

*. . . Amno adí maliclicanton pannangibagnós, masápula awád ma-
paunán umóy mañgipacaammó*

(. . . But if one cannot escape serving as guide, somebody else has to be sent ahead to give a warning.)

This was generally faithfully observed during the Second World War by the surrounding territories with which Bañgilo had a *bodóng* so that in spite of the rampant executions in other towns by either the Japanese or the guerillas, no civilian was executed in Bañgilo.¹²

To serve as guide for enemies is to be an accomplice in everything they do. If no due warning was given beforehand and the enemy soldiers kill or wound, the guide has to be sentenced to death or wounding (as the case may be) later. The principle of "death for death" and "blood for blood" is strictly applied. Any damage on property perpetrated by the enemy will be charged against the guide:

No awád mayamaan, madanyusan.

(Any destruction perpetrated must be given reparation.)

Strange to note, the *bodóng pagtá* is completely silent about discouraging the practice of headhunting in general. Paradoxically rather, the *baknáng* who had been to the warpath and are known for their ability to speak and exercise good judgement, exercise the greatest influence in the formulation of the *pagtá*.

¹² The only war casualty in Bañgilo were Sgt. Jaime Bagayao of the famed Cushing band, who later died in action in Cagayan, and those who died of sickness. Some Bañgilo men were physically maltreated but were not executed.

In some rituals of the *bodóng*, the *pocaw*¹³ or *palpaliwat* is indispensable. Happy the man who could parallel the legendary Kabbilán:

*Paliwatac ton tuwád:
Kabbilanac dumampág
Nabigát ya bummakag.*

(Let me sing out my war exploits¹⁴ to the ritual jar:
I'm Kabbilan Dumampag¹⁵
Every daybreak I slay [a person].)

People who have never gone to war or headhunted do not sing the *palpaliwat* except in clear jest. To attempt do so will make a man *pu-us*, a cowardly man who will never be able to kill.

Next in importance to the cases of killing and wounding is the issue on sexual violations, which include adultery,¹⁶ and those committed by unmarried people, like premarital intercourse. As regards the first, the *pagtá* of the *bodóng* between Bañgilo and Guinaang unequivocally ordains:

No awád macabasol si daladag, madusà duan dodockola luang tumunggál usá kan didá (lalaki kan buba-i). Sina mampaltì luang dì lalaki kan mangtod si asúg kan ma-inúm (basi) dì buba-i un mansilbís man-ilintóg.

¹³ This is a chant wherein warriors or former warriors relate their war exploits. It always starts with the word *paliwatac* which is shouted in order to evoke fear and awe in the audience. The *mĩngol*, 'hero', holding a glass of *basi* wine, directs his verses against a ritual object or ordinarily against another man, standing about three to five meters away, also holding a glass of *basi* and with his back turned toward the chanter.

¹⁴ The phrase is only an interpretative translation. *Paliwat* cannot be translated directly. In fact, the present generation does not anymore know what it means as a word.

¹⁵ The word *dumampág* is not a surname. It is only a phrase describing Kabbilan and conveniently used to rhyme with *bummakag*. The Gobang, and all Tinguian for that matter, bear only personal names. Two people of the same name are distinguished by either the names of their spouses or by a descriptive phrase.

¹⁶ Adultery, known as *daladag*, or *toláng*, is committed when a man and a woman both or one of whom is married, know each other sexually.

(Those who commit adultery will be punished with a fine of two big carabaos each. The man shall butcher a carabao and the woman shall cook rice and supply drink (*basi*) to those who come to decide the verdict.)

There are two things to be noted in this provision. The first is the relative heaviness of the fine. The amount of five carabaos imposed upon the guilty parties may not be in itself very great but considering the usefulness of the carabao in the production of rice and hardship of raising it, the punishment is surely not ~~easy~~ to bear.

The second striking element in the provision is found in the phrase "will be punished with a fine of two big carabaos each." The phrase does not specify to whom the four carabaos will be given. For the Tinguian, it is understood that the recipient will be the husband of the guilty woman. In case the man is also married, his wife has nothing to say. She does not get anything. This line of thinking looks at the crime as having wrought injustice only against the marital partner of the woman and not against that of the man. This is closely related to what Cole sharply observed in 1907-08. He wrote:

The Tinguian recognizes only one wife, but a man may have as many concubines (*pota*),¹⁷ as he can secure. Men with concubines do not suffer in the estimation of their fellows, but are considered clever to have won two or three women.¹⁸

However,

. . . Unfaithfulness on the part of a betrothed girl, or wife, or even a *pota* is almost certain to cause serious trouble, and is likely to end in a murder.¹⁹

The unwritten Nabaloi Law of the Benguet, which equally applies to the Tinguian, more bluntly words it:

¹⁷ The word *pota* in this context should not be taken to mean prostitute. A common synonym of it, which is the clearer, is *banná*

¹⁸ Fay-Cooper Cole, *The Tinguian: Social, Religious, and Economic Life of a Philippine Tribe* (Publication 209, Anthropological Series, Vol. XIV, No. 2. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1922), p. 283.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

1. A man can divorce his wife . . . if she lies with another man, . . .
2. . . . If the man has commerce with another woman, the woman (his wife) cannot divorce him because that is the custom of a man.²⁰

Troubles arising from premarital relations between unmarried people of ethnic groups bound by *bodóng* can be settled only by marriage. But if marriage is really impossible, the man pays a fine and gives inheritance to the child. The Guinaang-Bañgilo *pagtá* provides:

No maanakán dì usán barô Bañgilò usán balasang Guinaang wenno barô Guinaang usán balasang Bañgilo, masápula man-asáwada. Amno talagán adí mabalín, madusa dì barô dual luang sina patawidan dì anák si duan uyúnana makmák.

(If an unmarried man from Bañgilo begets a child from an unmarried woman from Guinaang or an unmarried man from Guinaang begets one from an unmarried woman from Bañgilo, they shall be united in marriage. But if this is really impossible, the man shall pay a fine of two carabaos and give a rice field yielding two *uyones* as inheritance to the child.)

The option of a fine was a recent addition. It was not needed in early times when young people could not run away from home and elders decided marriage for them. If a young man courts a girl and the girl agrees, the man has to marry her under threat of fine.

The third important item in the *pagtá* tries to solve a top irritant in the relation of people, namely, stealing and dishonesty. The same Bañgilo-Guinaang *pagtá* binds:

No ti osan i-Bañgilo wenno i-Guinaang tacáwanà cabdongna, bayádana dì tinácaunas doblín di patóg dì tinácauna. Ipaltíyana mabutu kan pa-inumana singgusin basi dà lallakaya nabuungan kan siyá. Mangtod mít si sindodwampulon pisin sidá duan nangdón si bodóng.

(If one from Bañgilo or Guinaang steals from his *bodóng* partner, he shall pay with twice the value of what he has stolen. He shall butcher a boar and serve one chinese jar of *basi* to the elders called to settle the case. He shall also give twenty pesos to each of the holders of the *bodóng*.)

²⁰ Ernesto S. Alcantara, "Ibaloi Culture—1," *Baguio Tech Journal*, I, 4 (July-December, 1966), p. 18.

Stealing is abhorred in Gobang society. To be called a thief is to disgrace and invite shame to one's family and, in case of stealing from one's *bodóng* partner, one's whole tribe or clan. This dread of being put to shame is better appreciated when one remembers that the Gobang Tinguian is very much concerned about what people may say about him. He cannot stand being an object of accusation and disdain, much more being branded with a bad name. More about this will be said below in connection with hospitality. Our *pagtá* reference also prescribes that:

Mipa-uli li-o wenno pukaw ulay no anyán igáw.

(Forgotten or lost and found articles should be returned whatever place they may be found.)

Lost and found articles may be returned either to the owner directly or to any of the holders of the *bodóng*. According to Capitán Ago²¹ and Mr. Gumaad,²² the phrase "*ulay no anyán igáw*" ('whatever place') means either Bañgilo or Guinaang, or any place where a person from Bañgilo happens to locate an article belonging to someone from Guinaang, or vice versa. The Bañgilo and Guinaang elders who re-gathered in Bañgilo in 1966 had in mind especially Bañgilo and Guinaang folks who might happen to work in the same mine, factory, or office; students who study in Baguio and Manila; and soldiers who may be in the same company.

Before modern civilization gained upperhand in the culture of the Gobang Tinguian, merchants and strangers could leave their things by the roadside even for days and no one would touch them except for sheltering. A German Catholic priest of the Society of the Divine Word, by the name of Fr. Peter Mayers, who worked along the Binoñgan River region in the 1940's and is now serving as Rector in St. Joseph Seminary, Abra, loves to recall, amidst news of cattle rustling presently

²¹ One who has given the prestige feast called *punsión* automatically acquires the prestigious title of *Capitán*. Capitán Ago, whose full name is Ex-Mayor Santiago Camarao, is the only capitán in Bangilo still living.

²² Antonio Gumaad was one of the spokesmen for Guinaang during the renewal of the Bañgilo-Guinaang *bodóng* in 1966. He was then serving as Sanitary Inspector in the Lubuagan area.

becoming prevalent even in upland Abra, how in one of his missionary trips then, his mass kit with some valuables dropped from his pack horse. Some weeks later, he was informed that people who did not know it was his, had it in their safekeeping.

As regards cheating in strictly business transaction, however, what an American anthropologist observed among the lowland Tinguian before 1910 is also true among the Gobang Tinguian. He says:

. . . Cheating is not wrong. Your ability to outwit the other person is a proof that you are the smarter man.²³

Allied to this equating of cheating with cleverness is negligence in returning borrowed things. When somebody in Bañgilo borrows from a neighbor, it is usually understood that the lender will be the one to get back the instrument or furniture borrowed. Some borrowers even hope the lender will completely forget the article so that they can gradually claim it as their own. This is the basic reason why the Bañgilo-Guinaang *bodóng* added a wise supplement in the *pagtá* in 1966:

Mipalit pinna-utang. . .

(Incurring debts and lending are prohibited. . . .)

in order to forestall many hurt-feelings in business transactions as well as petty troubles for the *bodóng* holders. The prohibition is directed not only against borrowing but also against lending, exactly in line with the proverbial "Neither a borrower nor a lender be." In fact, the word "pinna-utang" has an active sense. It denotes giving something to be paid later. In case of real emergency, however, a guarantor and receipt are required:

*. . . Amno talagán naskona casapulan, masapul lisibu kan usán mañgilan mabayádanto. . . .*²⁴

(. . . But if it is really necessary, there should be a receipt and one who sees to it that it will be paid. . . .)

Binding oneself by an oath is not favored by the *pagtá* because the act bespeaks distrust and is never a sign of brotherliness. It may be done between townmates but never between

²³ Fay-Cooper Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

²⁴ This is certainly a recent parenthetical addition. The non-literate natives in early times could speak of *sacsi*, witness, but not of receipt.

bodóng partners. Unless solemnly done in public litigation, making an oath is considered vulgar.

The next item treated in the *pagtá* is on hospitality. The text is tersely brief:

Madusà man-agawa.

(The inhospitable shall be punished.)

Inhospitableness is a grave offense in Gobang society. It is one of those "*lawinga ugali*," ('bad manners'). Repeated refusal on the part of a wife to receive visitors and treat them hospitably can be sufficient cause for the husband to divorce her. Lowland merchants, and any stranger for that matter, who come to Bañgilo never worry about where to eat although there are no restaurants. They can eat in any house they happen to be near during mealtime. On account of abuses, however, the practice of serving free meal is gradually being refused to some merchants. Treatment of arriving *cabdóng*, i.e., people with whom one has a *bodóng*, is a very delicate matter. One can never be too busy to receive them. As soon as they come near a house, they should be invited to come in. To let them linger outside to their embarrassment would surely mean facing the *bodóng* holder. Swift punishment always follows even against the polite wishes of the visitors.

There is something in the reception of visitors that is perhaps unique. The family with whom the *cabdóng* visitors lodge assigns somebody to keep close watch over the visitors and accompany them wherever they go. This is necessary because the host is held responsible for whatever may happen to the visitors. The guide is especially instructed to guard against the possibility of their being poisoned. When a pig or chicken is to be butchered, it is first shown to the visitors to let them ascertain that what will be served them did not die of sickness or so. Then, too, people in the community try to show their welcoming attitude to the visitors by inviting them to several meals in one mealtime. After eating with one family, the visitors are invited by another family, and then by another family, etc. Refusal is impolite.

The happiness of a Gobang Tinguian in his old age, espe-

cially at his dying moments, is the assurance that after his death, people, upon seeing his progenies, will be able to say: "These are the descendants of so and so, who was such a good and hospitable man." How does he know? His widely known hospitality may mean the saving of a life or lives later, or even the last straw in the preservation of the *bodóng*. A man may have many faults but if he is acclaimed for his ever attentive and hospitable treatment of anyone who comes within the walls of his house, those faults are made up for. When a man known for his hospitality dies, visitors from far and wide come to his funeral. A great honor indeed.

As has been said above, a Gobang man is very jealous about his good name and therefore much concerned about what others might say. He, therefore, sees to it that nothing shameful is committed by any member of his family. A frequent advice heard in the household is "*Mannaknakmáncayo*,"²⁵ or "*Adicayo mañgilungsóp*."²⁶ This suppressive attitude of parents, however, tends to make children very shy to new faces and visitors.

Another important matter touched upon in the *pagtá* is the question of asylum. An enemy of Guinaang, for example, who happens to have a *bodóng* with Bañgilo cannot be touched by Guinaang people while he is within Bañgilo territory. To wound or kill him would be a breach of the Bañgilo-Guinaang *bodóng*, which then would demand an *usok* ('reparation') for Bañgilo of ten carabaos or ten *gilás* Chinese jars.²⁷ And vice versa. The *pagtá* unconditionally states:

Ti usok simpulol luang wenno simpulong gilás.

(The reparation shall be ten carabaos or ten *gilás* jars.)

In this connection, the *pagtá* clearly defines the metes and bounds of the two places contracting the *bodóng*.

The protection of the *bodóng* intends to give, is supposed to last forever. It ceases only when the *bodóng* is declared cut (*nakpás*), which is indeed very sad.

²⁵ "Keep yourselves morally upright."

²⁶ "Do not put us to shame."

²⁷ *Gilás* Chinese jars, though less valuable than Manchu jars (*magalaw*), are more valuable than ordinary Chinese jars (*gusi*).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The *pagtá* is preoccupied with the prevention of especially four things: killing, illicit sexual relations, stealing, and in hospitality. Its paramount attention is on the prevention of the first. It seems to treat of the three others for no greater reason that they are irritants in human relations which can ultimately lead to killing.

After the approval and acceptance of the *pagtá*, any breach of it by anyone is no more considered a merely individual crime against another individual. It is a crime of one tribe against another tribe. Hence, the stiff penalty. People can say: "*Nak-nacas di bodóng*," 'you [sing] are caught by the *bodóng*') but always: "*Dimmocyo di bodóng*" 'You [plural] stained the *bodóng*').

When a *bodóng* is 'stained', there are only two alternatives: *apas* or "*kopás*" ('reparation and penalty' or 'severance' of the *bodóng*). Once an accusation is divulged, the accuser has to pursue it or he will be counter-charged for defamation. An accusation once made is practically irrevocable, and creates a feeling of mutual suspicion. The earlier it is cleared and settled, the better for all because succeeding generations will never forget it. Only an "*apas*" can still the disturbed waters.

The "severance" of the *bodóng* either unilaterally or bilaterally, is a virtual declaration of active hostility.²⁸ The term "*kopás*" calls to mind the idea of a cord suddenly cut with a sharp bolo. The cord of friendship and brotherhood that has bound the two tribes is cut. Chaos and bloodshed ensues.²⁹ No wonder, members of a severed *bodóng* could say: "It is a terrible thing to be 'caught' by the *pagtá* and 'stain' the *bodóng*." The parental admonition to children about to travel to other territories cannot be too often repeated: "*Ilayyon anak ta macnácayós nà bodóng*," ('Children, see to it that you do not get caught by the *bodóng*, i.e., do not transgress it.)

²⁸ The last case of a severed *bodóng* is that of the Lubuagan-Tolgaw *bodóng* in Kalinga-Apayao. Until now, it has not yet been satisfactorily restored in spite of the effort of the late Congressman Duyan, who knew only too well that if political pre-election campaigns in Kalinga and upper Abra are safe to conduct, it is because of the *bodóng*.

APPENDIX

A List of the *Bodóng* in Which Bañgilo Is a Member together with Their Bañgilo Holders

- Francisco Calagui: *Bañgilo-Ableg*
 Jose Colaňgan: *Bañgilo-Asiga*
 Managmao (Mrs. Manuel Bingcan): *Bañgilo-Bacooc*
 Alejo Da-ipan: *Bañgilo-Balatoc*
 Jose Bugnalon: *Bañgilo-Ballayaňgon*
 Luis Laguicao: *Bañgilo-Balon*
 Moises Ulat: *Bañgilo-Buaya*
 Leonila "Lining" Baggas: *Bañgilo-Bunog*
 Eleuterio "Lingayo" Baawa: *Bañgilo-Butbut*
 Santiago "Ago" Camarao: *Bañgilo-Cagalwan*
 Francisco Gonnay: *Bañgilo-Danac* (formerly held by Ponciano "Moliňgit" Gumabay)
 Tomas Balweg: *Bañgilo-Dao-aňgan*
 Guitamma (Mrs. Colaňgan of Dulao): *Mataragan* (including *Bañgilo-Gawaan*)
 Solomon Dayag: *Bañgilo-Guinaang*
 Jose Angati: *Bañgilo-Lacub*
 Marciana Wagayen: *Bañgilo-Lubuagan*
 Pedro Balawag: *Bañgilo-Mabaca*
 Benigno Dagwat: *Bañgilo-Mallaňgo*
 Buday (Mrs. Malaga (Upol)): *Bañgilo-Magaogao*
 Manuel Bulaay: *Bañgilo-Puswoy*
 Francisco "Sannadan" Paganao: *Bañgilo-Salegseg*
 Alfonso "Dannang" Gamoňgan: *Bañgilo-Sumadel*
 Andres Eleveña: *Bañgilo-Talugao*
 Agustin "Doming" Bagayao: *Bañgilo-Tineg*
 Luis Gupaal: *Bañgilo-Tinglayan*
 Andres Bulaay: *Bañgilo-Uma*

ERRATA

(*The RESEARCHER*, 1:2)

- P. 123, line 24: Capitan Bañganan *should read* Capitán Dañgiwan.
line 29 (footnote 6): Bañganan *should read* Dañgiwan.
line 34 (footnote 7): Bañganan *should read* Dañgiwan.
line 36 (footnote 7): Bañganan *should read* Dañgiwan.
line 37 (footnote 7): Dañgiwan *should read* Bañganan.