

Peace Pact Celebrations:

The Revitalization of Kalinga Intervillage Law

ALBERT S. BACDAYAN – *University of Kentucky*

This paper presents a discussion of the revitalization processes of the peace pact system of intervillage relations among the Kalinga mountaineers of northern Luzon by means of celebrations given by the system's key personnel, the peace pact holders. Revitalization here refers on the one hand to the ways in which these celebrations regenerate support for the peace pact system, reinforce obedience to peace pact law, and strengthen the obligations of the people to the personnel of the system. On the other hand, revitalization refers to the reaffirmation and reformulation of peace pact law, which ensures the continuing effectiveness, validity, and relevance of the peace pact system to the changing world of the Kalinga. The revitalization processes inherent in peace pact celebrations have not been studied by earlier students¹ of the Kalinga, yet close observation reveals this built-in revitalization to be a basic feature in the operation of the system.²

THE SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXT

The Kalinga are a subdivision of the Igorot, the collective name by which the indigenous inhabitants of the northern Luzon highlands are called. They number an estimated 44,000 and occupy a generally rugged,

AUTHOR'S NOTE: *Field work for this study (1964-1966) was made possible by funds granted by Carnegie Corporation of New York through the London-Cornell Project at Cornell University. The paper was presented in the Symposium on the Anthropology of Law and Conflict at the American Anthropological Association Meetings, Seattle, Washington, November 1968.*

but fertile territory also bearing the name Kalinga, with an area of 2,849 square kilometers. Until the beginning of this century when effective government control was established in the area through the initiative of the American colonial administrators, the Kalinga, like their Bontoc and Ifugao cousins to the south, were inveterate headhunters engaged in internecine intergroup feuding. Headhunting has since been controlled and, through the social welfare activities of the government and of Christian missionaries, the Kalinga have undergone considerable change, a marked feature of which has been an increasing volume and range of inter-Kalinga contacts. But the fear and suspicion between territorial groups tracing back to headhunting days remain. The strongest manifest function of the peace pacts is to alleviate this fear and thus promote satisfactory intergroup relations.

In order to comprehend the processes of peace pact relations, particularly those of the celebrations discussed below, it is important to place the peace pact in the context of Kalinga social structure. The territorial unit of social structure is an endogamous political community composed of one or more villages, the members of which, through long residence and presumed common origin, perceive themselves as one distinct group in relation to other distinct groups. In facing external problems, especially those dealing with matters of security, the political community, which is held collectively responsible for the acts of its individual members, stands as a united group. Internally, however, the political community is riven with the competition of the different independent kin groups that compose it. The kin group is a bilateral group of kinsmen consisting for any individual of all his relatives up to and including his third cousins. The members of the kinship group are expected to support each other at all times and on any occasion, be it marriage, conflict, or death. They stand as a unit against other kinship groups and bear collective responsibility for the acts of individual members. It follows that the household unit, which is normally the nuclear family, does not have direct sociopolitical functions except as a socializing unit for the kin group and as a means, through marriage, of uniting different kin groups. There is also no recognized central authority in the political community, political leadership being informally a function of a select group of men called *pangats* who are first and foremost kinship group leaders.

One might expect from these facts about the social structure that individuality is completely obliterated by the strong emphasis on group solidarity. This is far from the truth. The genius of Kalinga society is that it rewards personal initiative in this context; honor and prestige are highly valued and sought by individuals in the name not only of themselves, but also on behalf of their kin group or the entire political community.

Against these brief characterizations of Kalinga social structure, it remains to indicate the place of the peace pact. The unit of peace pact

relations is the political community as a whole, referred to in this paper as village or community. The enforcement and maintenance unit, however, is the kin group of the peace pact holder, who himself enforces and maintains the rules of the pact. But while the honor and prestige of owning and maintaining a pact belongs to the kinship group as a whole, it is the individual peace pact holder who stands most to lose or gain in prestige and authority from it, a fact which demands the utmost of his personal initiative.

In the peace pact, therefore, we have an institution which utilizes personal initiative and articulates the territorial and kinship principles of organization into a mutually supportive working relationship. It makes it possible for the normally self-centered kinship group to serve the territorial community as an enforcer of the rules of the peace pact on the members of the community; and the purpose of the pact—peaceful relationships with other villages—predisposes the territory as a whole to obey its rules, the pact holder, and his kin group, because it is for the common good. Therefore, the peace pact is a powerful force in the integration of the social structure of Kalinga political communities. Furthermore, by tying different political communities in contractual relationships, it may also be said that the peace pact system serves as an integrative device for a pan-Kalinga sociopolitical structure. This will become even more evident in the discussion below of the ways in which the celebrations of the peace pacts serve to revitalize the peace pact system and all its component parts.

SOME CENTRAL FEATURES OF THE PEACE PACT SYSTEM

The peace pact system of intervillage relationships refers to the network of political and legal ties established by bilateral peace pacts between political communities³ which Kalingas view as absolutely essential for peaceful relations. The peace pact may be conceived as a commonly accepted body of ideas and norms in Kalinga, defining what is proper behavior in intervillage relationships and prescribing how infractions of these norms should be dealt with. The establishment of a peace pact between communities means their agreeing or contracting to carry out relations between them according to these commonly accepted norms, which, in this study, are referred to also as peace pact law or intervillage law.⁴ The event technically ends all disputes and inaugurates an era of peaceful interaction between the communities. With a universe of from 50 to 60 political communities in the entire Kalinga area, each maintaining an average of 50 pacts (as shown by a census taken in 1965)⁵ a given Kalinga village can be tied to practically all other Kalinga villages by these independent, bilateral, but essentially uniform peace pacts.

Peace pacts are sponsored by outstanding individuals in each community, called peace pact holders, each of whom, with the help of his kinship group, is responsible to the other for enforcing the rules of the pact on his own village mates. For this reason, the peace pact may also be regarded as a contract between two individuals (and their kinship groups), pledging to maintain friendly relations between their respective communities by each guaranteeing the good behavior of his own people in their interaction with the members of the other community. Whether viewed as a contract between communities or individuals, the fact still remains that the prime purpose of a peace pact is the facilitation of interaction between territorial units.

As the Kalinga community may be tied to an average of 50 other communities, this means that in each community there might be 50 peace pact holders. This in actual fact does not happen, for quite often some individuals in a community hold two or more pacts.

A pact holder achieves his position by taking the initiative in establishing a pact with a hitherto unpacted village, or by inheriting a pact already held by his family and kin group.⁶ In either case, consideration is given by the community, which may ultimately express approval or disapproval to the pact holder's particular capabilities: physical strength, leadership, political acumen, wealth, and the extent and solidarity of his kin group. The last qualification is very important since the pact holder is assisted in the enforcement of the provisions of the pact and in any other expenses or affairs contingent to pact maintenance by his kinsmen. Thus while the peace pact is held as personal property and enforced by kin groups, there is emphasis on satisfying the whole community in the choice of leadership and the manner in which the leader accepts his responsibilities.

In some instances, pacts are initiated with villages by popular demand, in which case the choice of pact holder is usually limited to individuals directly chosen by the community as the most qualified or else to those individuals and their kin who are involved in the trouble besetting the two villages. The latter case means that the kin groups most likely to cause further trouble are made responsible for maintaining peace between the two communities. Since much honor and prestige is attached to maintaining successfully the peace between the communities, these kin groups are effectively muzzled in their desire to perpetuate the cycle of blood feuding.

There are several stages in the consummation of a peace pact. The initial exchange of tokens (*sipat*) between representatives of the two contracting villages, most likely the eventual pact holders, establishes a truce called *allasiw*, which means that the two villages agree to comply with established peace pact norms in their interrelations. Any further hostilities would be in

violation of, and punishable according to, peace pact norms, which are considered to be already in force. At this stage the pact relationship is governed by these universally known and accepted norms, even though discussion of them in relation to this particular pact has not taken place. The pact is considered to be firmly established, however, only after either or both pact holders have performed feasts or celebrations called *singlip* and *inom* which validate the office of pact holder and provide occasion for the working out of specific troubles and the discussion of peace pact law as it applies to this particular relationship.

Norms in peace pact law governing the areas of trade, killing, man-woman relations, stealing, and hospitality are specifically discussed by the contracting villages during these occasions. Regulations reflecting these norms are the core of the *pagta*⁷ as the body of regulations of a specific peace pact is collectively called, and they constitute a prominent section in the written pacts of today. In addition, there are what might be referred to as the implicit or understood norms of peace pact law. They are not normally specifically discussed, and hence are not written down in today's peace pacts, but nevertheless apply wherever there is a pact between villages. Examples of such would be the norms regarding the manner in which guests are served and entertained, and the interaction between persons tied by peace pacts while in third territories.

Today the interaction between Kalinga communities is governed by peace pact law rather than the laws of the Philippine national government, even after its presence in the area for more than 60 years.⁸ Intervillage trouble cases are thus normally settled through the peace pact mechanism rather than through the Philippine government agencies or courts. This, to an important degree, is due to the peace pact system's continuous revitalization, which is accomplished by the many peace pact celebrations held annually in Kalinga communities.⁹ As a result, the system has remained vital and accommodative over the years and represents to the Kalinga the more reliable, more effective, and more meaningful legal and political institution.

There are several types of peace pact celebrations. First, there is what we might call the maturation cycle of feasts. These are the *singlip* and *inom* (or *lonok*) celebrations already mentioned, the rendering of which by the pact holders completes¹⁰ the establishment of the pact. There are also what might be called spontaneous celebrations, such as feasts rendered by pact holders when their colleagues pay them an unscheduled visit—e.g., when they drop in on their way to another community. Another example would be the *bunong*, which is a feast given by a pact holder who is casually visited by a colleague to talk of specific problems or trouble cases. Finally, there are what one might call the renewal celebrations, which

technically are those given after the pact has been “completed” by the inom celebration. A usual form of the renewal celebration is the *galigad*, a feast given by one who inherits a pact in order to formally announce his succession as pact holder.¹¹ All these celebrations are intercommunity events; a peace pact holder performs such feasts only when there are representatives led by the peace pact holder of the other community attending.

The two most elaborate of these affairs, namely the *galigad* and the inom (*lonok*) are normally scheduled well ahead of time, are meticulously planned and prepared for, and are participated in by the entire political community where they are being celebrated. They last from a minimum of a day and a night to a whole week. Although given in connection with specific peace pacts, these celebrations are intense dramatizations in symbolic and explicit terms of the importance and value of the peace pact system, thereby encouraging the continued operation of the norms of the intervillage legal order that the peace pact system establishes.

DRAMATIZATION: THE REGENERATION OF COMMUNITY SUPPORT FOR AND OBLIGATION TO THE PEACE PACT

There are activities in the celebration which manifestly build positive communal orientation toward the existence, necessity, and desirability of the peace pact, as well as ones which regenerate support for and compliance with peace pact law.

Preparation of the Feast

A pact holder may be motivated to give a feast or peace pact celebration because he is trying to avoid the community’s criticism that he has been “outbalanced”¹² if he has already been entertained by his colleague in the foreign pacted village. Or he may be desiring to reaffirm to his villagemates and to his colleague his authority and capability, especially if he has newly inherited the pact. Regardless of the specific circumstances surrounding the decision to hold a celebration, the underlying motivation is the enhancement or protection of a pact holder’s prestige and reputation.

Once a pact holder’s serious intention to hold a feast is known, the forthcoming event is the subject of talking and planning in his political community. When the villagers see the pact holder gathering food, bringing animals from the pasture or purchasing them, and collecting credit from his debtors, their expectations are further heightened. On their own, the young

people prepare skits, songs, and dances to add enthusiasm to the preparations, to impress the visiting delegation and to excel in the competitive program of entertainment. Since the community as a whole is also considered host, households generally prepare for visitors who might drop in at that time. Wives prepare rice cakes, roast coffee beans and make ready other items with which to entertain, such as fermented sugar cane juice, called *basi*. Young people take the opportunity to dress festively to impress each other, as well as the invited delegation.

The net effect of all these preparations on the people is to generate a sense of personal investment in and concern for the success of the affair. Far ahead of the celebration proper, discussion on the reliability of the peace pact system in general and the virtues or trouble spots of this particular pact begins. The general level of excitement, discussion, and planning is accentuated if the community invited is from a faraway place exhibiting cultural differences. The host community is then bound to see different costumes, hear different speeches and songs and perhaps to argue different interpretations and views of peace pact law. Excitement is also high if there are outstanding cases that will need to be resolved satisfactorily before further discussion of the pagta can take place.

Contributions are collected prior to the celebration from members of the community along neighborhood or subcommunity lines to be presented to the pact holder during the celebration. The rationale for this is that the people have a great debt of gratitude to the pact holder for undertaking such a burdensome responsibility on behalf of the community's peace and welfare. It is also a good way of demonstrating community solidarity to the visiting delegation.

In view of this intense preparation, the foreign delegation's entry into the village is a dramatic affair. On the specific date agreed to in advance, the invited pact holder arrives with a delegation comprised of relatives and friends of high standing in his village.¹³ The foreign delegation is greeted by the young people of the host village, who beat rhythms on gongs to herald the arrival. The visiting delegation is accompanied to the host's home, where the welcoming party is assembled.

By the time the foreign delegation enters the village, revitalization, in the form of an awakening to the existence and virtues of the peace pact system, has started. The dramatization of these virtues and of the necessity for such a system continues to gain momentum through the next steps in the celebration.

The Speeches, Songs, and Skits

Speeches, songs, and skits are given at intervals throughout the inom and galigad celebrations, interspersed with dancing to the rhythm of the gongs and spontaneous group singing. The round of songs and speeches given by

the distinguished leaders of both communities invariably begins with the speech of the celebrating pact holder (or of his spokesman) welcoming his colleague and the delegation, tracing the history of the peace pact, and thanking his community for their cooperation, attendance, and time. A response from the visiting pact holder usually follows, although sometimes this is done much later. From then on, the central focus of the speeches, songs, and skits is the necessity and the virtues of the peace pact institution in general, and the host pact holder's qualities and great economic and personal sacrifice in particular. The advantages of the peace pact system over the modern government as a sure source of security and protection, the duties and obligations of the people tied by peace pacts to each other, and, most importantly, the duties and powers of the pact holders, especially their authority to punish the violators of the rules of the pact to the extent of killing, are some of the common subjects dealt with in a manner explicitly demanding renewed support for and compliance with the system.

Although the pact holder's motive in celebrating a pact is self-serving—the protection and enhancement of his prestige—the speeches picture him and other pact holders as motivated by the desire to ensure for the community friendly and peaceful relations with the people of his invited colleague. He is pictured as going out of his way at great economic cost with no expected material return¹⁴ to celebrate the pact for the sake of his community, in the tradition of his forbears (if he has inherited the pact). Appeal is made to the people to obey the rules of the pact as the least they can do in return for the pact holder's sacrifice. One speaker addressed himself to potential violators: "Do you mean to say that all the time we spent in this gathering is a joke? Those who disobey the peace pact will pay." This sense of debt seems an important deterrent to would-be violators of the pact's rules. On behalf of the pact holders, this debt increases public support for their authority and power to enforce the laws of the peace pact. The people owe it to the pact holders, the celebrant in particular, not to violate the pact after all that has been done for them.

The net result to the entire political community of these speeches, songs, and skits is to educate the populace thoroughly on the peace pact—the history and tradition behind this particular pact; the norms, advantages, and necessity of the peace pact; the people's obligations in the system; the powers of the pact holder; and the people's overwhelming debt to their pact holder. In effect, all these activities review and prescribe desirable and acceptable behavior when interacting with other villages.

Symbolic Activities

A number of purely symbolic activities takes place in the peace pact celebration and contributes to its dramatic and ideological impact on the people and to the success of the celebration as a whole.

The Ritual Drinking of the Pact

The ceremonial drinking of the peace pact is the most symbolic act in the entire celebration, because its performance signifies the sealing of the pact. It is done after a full day or more of festivities. The usual procedure, particularly in southern Kalinga, is for the best and most aged wine the pact holder can afford to be served in antique china bowls on an improvised table at the center of a dancing area surrounded by the people. Starting first with the celebrating pact holder and his visiting colleague, and including their wives, and then the important men in both parties to the pact. It is done after a full day or more of festivities. The usual procedure is to drink his fill, bending down to sip the wine as long as he does not sneeze, which is taboo and is said to nullify the pact.

Shouting of Brave Deeds

As if to underscore the importance of this noisy but symbolic drinking of the pact, there immediately follows the shouting of brave deeds by men who either volunteer, or are elected, to do so. Addressing the wine consumed in the ritual, a portion of which is left in a bowl on the improvised table, the shouter, usually one from each party to the pact, recounts in poetic language brave deeds he has performed or participated in, much to the delight and awe of the people, who listen intently. Most deeds have to do with headhunting records, but it is not uncommon for World War II veterans to shout out deeds fighting the Japanese.¹⁵ This proclamation of exploits completes the symbolic sealing of the pact. The idea that the activities of the participants (drinking, singing, boasting) forge the pact creates a favorable psychological environment for the negotiations that follow. Snags that may develop in this undertaking are usually ironed out on the grounds that there is no room for intransigence since the pact is already sealed, and the two villages are peace pact brothers.

Giving of Gifts

Still another symbolic act is the giving of gifts by the host pact holder to his colleague and his colleague's delegation. This takes place at the end of the celebration, sometimes just prior to the departure of the foreign delegation. There are many types of gifts given, ranging from gold pieces, clothes, spears, and china to coffee beans. The main gifts, valuable ones such as beads, gold earrings, or money, are given by the host pact holder and his wife directly to the visiting pact holder and his wife. All the gifts are symbolic of the satisfactory conclusion of the pact and the expression of hope that it will endure so that future celebrations as successful as this one might take place. It is now the obligation for the visiting pact holder

to reciprocate by staging a celebration in his village and giving gifts in return. Thus, in the gift giving is a seed sown for future revitalization of the pact.

Adjudicative Activity: The Resolution of Trouble Cases

One of the major events of direct legislative importance in the celebration is the disposal or resolution of outstanding trouble cases between the two villages party to the pact being celebrated. This is a necessary prelude in fact to the discussion of the pagta or peace pact law as it applies to the specific pact being celebrated. Although this event normally takes place in one continuous time span after the pact has been ritually sealed, some of the cases may have already been introduced or hinted at early in the affair, through the speeches and songs. In fact, serious cases sometimes dominate the entire celebration by becoming the central reference point of the songs and speeches. Quite often, as the argument over a case gets heated, dancing and group singing stop while accusations and counteraccusations are hurled. This situation usually impels some leaders to give inspired and commanding speeches or to sing songs appealing to reason and the bond of brotherhood between the two communities, sanctified by the ritual drinking, and urging the resolution of the problem in order that the peace pact will go on. Consequently, by the time the men decide they should really sit down and tackle outstanding cases between the two communities sometime after the drinking of the pact and before the framing of the pagta (rules of the pact), some cases have already entered the resolution arena. At this point, however, the focus shifts solely to the cases. Complaints are presented directly by the aggrieved individuals or through an advocate such as their peace pact holder. Witnesses are produced and questioned by each side. The cycle of accusations and counteraccusations and, more importantly, the conciliatory speeches and songs appealing to reason and the spirit of brotherhood in the handling of the disputes, is repeated.

Such a time could be very embarrassing to the peace pact holder whose man is accused, for the complainant community could pointedly remind him that his cardinal duty is to control his people and evidence exists of his inability to do so. The pact holder is, in fact, challenged to carry out his responsibilities with renewed vigor and vigilance. In some cases the pact holder might have already been investigating the case and is convinced that his man or men are in the clear. So, with pride and confidence, he serves as the spokesman for his own people and defends them against the charges. If the accusation is new, he undertakes an investigation, meanwhile reminding the public of the hardships created for him when people do not observe peace pact laws.

Cases brought up vary from petty stealing between students in central towns, ungraceful hospitality, or behavior of individuals in the Philippine government service, to outright killing. Some cases of killing brought up are those that took place during preacculturation days,¹⁶ when headhunting was rampant in Kalinga, or under suspicious and unclear circumstances more recently. Given the difficulty of establishing proof due to the lack of witnesses, it is normal for the accused community to make amends by giving a token payment, simply as a ritual closing of the case. In actual fact, most of the cases are in the end settled in this spirit, so that the original demands are normally whittled down, and the final payment is but a fraction of the original demand. Regardless of the size of or the delay in the payment of the indemnity, the final resolution of a case confirms in the people's eyes that a peace pact case is never laid to rest or left unprosecuted, never dismissed or forgotten until some settlement, even token, has been made. That they can rely on the peace pact without fail is once again made manifest.

The settlement of trouble cases as a particular process works toward the revitalization of the pact in several ways. In the first place, it removes irritants which might fester between the communities, and it demonstrates to the people that the peace pact in general and their pact holder in particular have the power to protect them and to correct breaches. Secondly, it leads to the discovery of inconsistencies between the rules of the pact and the realities of current existence, which serves as a basis for reform in its laws, the topic for the next section. Finally, we might say the resolution of cases as a process actually brings about release of tension, thereby predisposing individuals to greater reasonableness in the ensuing discussions of the pagta. The camaraderie and sometimes playful teasing of each other about their earlier fighting mood cannot be ignored since it contributes so directly to the renewed sense of brotherhood and cooperation that surrounds the subsequent discussion and negotiation of the pagta.

LEGISLATION: REFORMULATION AND REAFFIRMATION OF THE LAW

With the disposal of outstanding trouble cases, the way is cleared for the discussion of peace pact law in terms of the particular peace pact relationship being celebrated, in search of common understandings or interpretations in order to forge the laws that will govern the communities' relationship.

The norms that are expressed in the peace pact are essentially the same throughout Kalinga territory. But the legislative activity also allows the Kalinga to consciously take stock of the degree of fit between peace pact

law and existing social, economic, and political realities, and make changes in the law when called for.

If the particular celebration is the *inom*, which is the second of the maturation cycle of feasts, then this would be the first time such a formal discussion of peace pact law takes place. Since no body of previously established rules of conduct between the two communities exists, the legal reference point in the discussion is simply peace pact law as commonly understood. If, on the other hand, it is a *galigad* (renewal feast), such a body of rules may be presumed to have been established in earlier discussions. These are an added legal reference point in the present discussion where the rules become subject to review and change, if need be.

The entire experience of the communities party to the pact with the peace pact system, and the experience of other communities within the system that is known, as well as the particular experience with the pact being celebrated as underscored by the trouble cases, if any, are all brought to bear in this very important process. Indications for making changes in the rules and for maintaining the status quo gleaned from this review of past experience, together with the current social and political situations, are the most influential factors that shape the character of the body of rules which becomes the new guideline for intervillage behavior between the parties to the specific pact under consideration. These are the rules embodied in the written *pagta* of today's peace pacts.

The sequence of topics dealt with in this undertaking follows a similar pattern in most peace pact celebrations. It normally starts with the boundary delineations of the pacting communities within which the laws will be in force, then moves on to a discussion of the rules with respect to killing, hospitality, trade, man-woman relations, and stealing. This pattern is sometimes directly influenced by a written peace pact that is borrowed to be used as a working model for the discussion. The pattern also suggests that these are the core areas of the relationship the peace pacts are concerned with. Further, this underscores the fact that while there are so many bilateral peace pacts maintained by the typical Kalinga village, there is actually one uniform set of norms that defines the peace pact relationship.

Everyone is encouraged to participate in the discussion by contributing perceived problems of the pact and making corrective suggestions. The older folks urge the young to be active in this undertaking, admonishing them that they had better get experience and be prepared for the day when they take over the affairs of the community. The old folks, perhaps unwittingly, by encouraging the participation of the young people, are securing the identification of the young with the peace pact and providing a valuable foundation of experience and familiarity with its working so that the tradition can be carried on smoothly and with success. On a more

practical and conscious level, they point out that it is imperative the young be fully informed of their obligations to peace pact brothers, since they are the ones most likely to travel extensively beyond their communal boundaries to school or work, where they may interact frequently and intensively with peace pact brothers.

After every proposal, either a reaffirmation or a modification of existing rules, is discussed and written down (currently a prevailing practice), it is read aloud to the public for approval, comment, or rejection. Anybody, man or woman, young or old, is welcome to question each provision or rule. One tends to be skeptical about the effectiveness of this process but it has been observed in the field that all comments are entertained and duly considered, so that one can truly claim the laws are approved by the community, not by an elite core, and the participation level is high.

After all the proposals have been read to the public, they are considered approved. A clean copy is hastily prepared to be signed publicly by responsible men on both sides—another high point in the dramatization of the firm bond of brotherhood that has been established by the two communities.

A critical area faced in the framing of the rules of specific peace pact relations is the growing inconsistency between peace pact law and Philippine government law, as the Kalinga modernize and are drawn more and more into the orbit of Philippine national life. Some of these conflicts, such as those raised by Kalingas in government service, are a direct challenge to the practicality of the peace pact system. It is not surprising, then, that given the pragmatic approach to peace pact lawmaking, new concepts have evolved and are current in the peace pact system which resolve the conflicts between the two legal systems (peace pact and Philippine national government) and the conflicts raised by the changing economic and social life of the Kalinga, thus keeping the system vital and relevant.

For instance, anyone who molested a person with whom his village had a peace pact, even if acting in the line of duty as a government official, was liable under peace pact law for breach of the peace pact. This meant that a soldier or policeman could not arrest a lawbreaker who was a peace pact brother, or, if he did, he faced punishment under peace pact norms. Consideration of this paradoxical situation brought the suggestion that government officials, especially soldiers and policemen, should continue to perform their duty in the enforcement of government law with immunity from peace pact law provided they did so without maltreating the person apprehended. Such a reform in peace pact law allowed individuals to fulfill their obligations with respect to both systems, the peace pact and modern government. This helped to keep the peace pact applicable, even though

increasing numbers of Kalingas were entering government service outside their home villages. The emphasis was shifted from the specific act of apprehending a peace pact brother to the manner in which it was done.

In the same vein, the relationship between peace pact ties and election politics for posts in the modern government system showed up an area of conflict. Because of the general notion that peace pact brothers should aid each other, Kalinga candidates for government offices are known to have used the peace pact to corner votes of whole villages with whom their own villages had pacts. If the votes were not delivered, the pact was considered violated and at times was cut, with ensuing hostilities and outbreak of war. As Kalingas became more educated, more politically involved in the modern Philippine government structure, there were more and more of them competing for the same offices. In almost every election, a village might have to choose between more than one Kalinga candidate, who, under peace pact norms, was equally entitled to the votes of the entire village. Since virtually all Kalinga villages are tied together by dyadic pacts, this made for a complex political picture. Peace pact agreements are increasingly coming to exclude specifically election politics from the realm of peace pact jurisdiction and obligations.

Another area of accommodation might be in the development of the concept of "neutral territory." Such territories are usually sites of intense interaction between people from diverse villages—markets in central towns, mining compounds, schools, hospitals, etc. Such places in many instances have been declared neutral and beyond the jurisdiction of the local pact holder, even if the area is physically within his territory. This means that offenses committed within this neutralized territory by his covillagers against individuals from villages with whom he maintains a pact are not his liability. This particular adjustment is a response to the intensifying Kalinga contact within their own and with other ethnic groups.

The old concept of hospitality is also undergoing some adjustment. Under old norms, it meant that one must offer the very best he could afford in meat and rice to all visitors. But people living in central towns experiencing an increasing flow of traffic as Kalinga modernizes could not possibly fulfill their hospitality obligations in the old style to the large numbers of people and peace pact brothers who come to town. The shift has been made to emphasize not the quantity and quality of the food rendered, but rather the attitude and willingness with which the host offers it.

Peace pact holders also found themselves running afoul of Philippine national law in executing punishment against peace pact violators either by wounding or killing them. The pact holder faced the prospect of going to jail for carrying out the only honorable settlement of peace pact violations

under peace pact norms. The result: presently it is acceptable, if not entirely prestigious, for the pact holder simply to exact a fine or indemnity from offenders.

We have already referred to the fact that the members of a community are likely to contribute to the performance of the feast, making it a lighter burden for the pact holders. This is a direct accommodation to the growing scarcity of economic resources with an increasing population and level of wants.

Finally, the collection of debts is no longer under the jurisdiction of the pact holder. It used to be his duty to collect debts owed to his colleague's people by his own covillagers. Now he is obligated to do so only if he has been specifically asked to be a witness to the transaction. Growing trade and increasing intervillage contact made it impractical for an individual person to handle the full responsibility of so many cases.

While these reforms are by no means written into all Kalinga pacts, they are currently widely accepted by Kalingas and are considered a part of the body of peace pact law under discussion in the many trouble cases and in the review and reform of that law constantly going on in the celebrations between villages.

SUMMARY

The peace pact celebration (the inom and the galigad, in particular) is a complex of symbolic social, educative, legislative, and adjudicative activity through which, on the one hand, peace pact law is reaffirmed, redefined, and given popular support; on the other, the social structure which supports the system is integrated and strengthened.

Dramatization and legislative activity reflect interdependent processes. Dramatization creates a favorable climate for carrying out legislation. The ritual of sealing the pact is a crucial lever in achieving compromise in knotty trouble cases and also renews the brotherhood of the contracting communities. Expressive forms of speeches, songs, and skits serve to air trouble cases and indicate a direction for settlement when the cases are ultimately adjudicated. The dramatic oratory and singing connected with legislation also further activate sentiment and acknowledgement of the authority of the peace pact system.

While the celebration is given in reference to a specific pact, its focus throughout is a recognition of the larger pact system. The reaffirmation of one pact has spillover effects for other pacts, which helps account for the persistence of the system and its component norms.

The revitalization of the pagta, or law, does not mean peace pact norms are constantly changing. In spite of the many celebrations a year in which pact

rules are discussed, the rules remain amazingly uniform and unchanged. The changes noted in the article, along with minor amendments covering boundary adjustments and adjustments in the severity of fines, practically exhaust the changes implemented. But peace pact law is grounded in general principles adaptable in application to current situations. The core provisions prohibiting killing, stealing, and inhospitality are particularly relevant in approaching the problems associated with an increased volume of inter-Kalinga contact. The legislative sessions operate to reaffirm the general relevance of the old principles. The rules and regulations agreed upon serve as guidelines for future relations. Details are left to be filled in, and this permits modification and updating of adjudicative decisions as conditions change or as circumstances present themselves which were not anticipated in the pagta. This quality of flexibility of the pagta has helped to promote the persistence and strong legitimacy of the peace pact system in Kalinga.

The celebration also strengthens the social structure of Kalinga communities. It is important personally to its sponsor, the individual pact holder. It serves to validate and enhance his authority and prestige (his primary self-interests). Conversely, failure to hold the celebration endangers his reputation as kin-group head, benefactor, and community leader. The entire community respects and obeys a pact holder who fulfills his pact obligations, and other pact holders are inclined to defer to those who have celebrated their pacts. In pursuing their self-interests by holding the celebrations, the holders renew their commitments to an effective system of intervillage relations and thereby strengthen the security of the entire community. The pact holder is not alone in reaping the glory in performing the celebration or the dishonor in failure to do so; it is shared by his entire kin group. Their close economic, physical, and moral involvement in the operation and maintenance of the pact, climaxed in the feverish activities attendant to the feast, focuses community attention on them, integrates the group, and enhances their power to enforce the laws of the pact on the community. At the community level, integration is attained by the celebration in dramatizing, for the different competing kin groups, their common concern for intercommunity peace. This predisposes them to obey the laws of the pact as enforced by the kin groups. In the celebration, therefore, the integration of the potentially conflicting forces of territoriality and kinship in the social structure is promoted. Since the peace pact celebration is an intercommunity affair, it may even be said that it contributes to the strengthening of a pan-Kalinga sociopolitical structure.

NOTES

1. See Barton (1949), and Dozier (1966).
2. The popular definition of revitalization is that developed by Anthony F. C. Wallace (1961), which viewed revitalization as a drastic reformulation of a culture through the acceptance of radically new patterns of innovation in order to establish a more satisfying culture. In this paper, the use of revitalization varies from Wallace's, as is evident from the definition given for it in the Kalinga setting.
3. A political community is composed of either single or multiple villages whose people are closely related and view themselves as a distinct group in relation to other villages. The population of political communities, therefore, varies from less than 100 people to well over 3,000 people. In a number of instances, political communities have split and maintain separate peace pacts. But this would be in terms of some peace pacts only.
4. These norms called pagta (see note 8, below) are obligatory, and are enforced regularly by duly recognized authority to the extent of the use of force. Hence, they are laws according to the definitions of law suggested by Hoebel (1954) and Pospisil (1958).
5. Kalinga villages maintain peace pacts with ethnic groups around them with whom they have intervillage dealings, for instance, Bontoc, Tinguian, and Apayao villages.
6. Peace pacts may be inherited by either males or females. In the case of females, the ability of the husband is of prime consideration.
7. The pagta of a pact would typically be stated in terms of general principles or statements defining the jurisdiction and norms of the pact, followed by some more specific ones regarding breaches of these norms. For instance, it would be noted first that stealing and killing are prohibited by the peace pact, that those tied in pact relations should be hospitable to each other, that there should be no love affairs between married people and between married and unmarried people of villages in peace pact relations. These are then followed by statements outlining what would be done in terms of breaches: the participants in "illegal" love affairs would be fined; if a child is born he should be supported by the man; killing will be avenged, or, in place of that, the guilty party will pay a fine to be negotiated; stolen articles will be replaced by twice their value, plus a fine.
8. The northern highlands remained largely uncontrolled during the long Spanish rule in the Philippines. It was the American colonial administration that extended effective government rule, which formally started in Kalinga in 1907, when the area was organized as an administrative unit.
9. Because of the existence of so many peace pact holders in Kalinga villages, seldom does a three-year period pass without a celebration taking place in any one of these communities. During the research period (1964-1966) some communities had two celebrations in a one-year period.
10. This has no relation at all to the existence of the pact or the acceptance of its norms. The significance of a pact's "completion" is in its formal announcement or dramatization to the people in a feast and the enhanced prestige of the peace pact holder, thereby.
11. Another function of the galigad is to announce the participation of the kin group of the heir's spouse in the enforcement of the peace pact rules.

12. The southern Kalinga term for this is *nabaswit*, and it is a charge to be avoided by the prestige-conscious Kalingas.

13. A delegation includes both men and women of all ages. The largest delegation I saw consisted of 100 people.

14. During the earlier decades of this century, intervillage trade was largely done through the peace pact holder, who was then given a commission called *so-ol*. Now, due to intensified contact between Kalingas from different communities, trade is done directly by sellers and buyers; the peace pact holders no longer derive the *so-ol*.

15. One significant aspect of the Japanese occupation was the revival of head-hunting. As the people killed Japanese soldiers, they performed the rituals in accordance with headhunting practices, which had been outlawed under American administration.

16. Although the Spaniards maintained a number of outposts in Kalinga toward the end of the nineteenth century, it was the American authorities who pacified the area during the first decade of this century and opened it to outside cultural influences.

REFERENCES

- BARTON, R. F. (1949) *The Kalingas: Their Institutions and Custom Law*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.
- DOZIER, E. P. (1966) *The Mountain Arbiters: The Changing Life of a Philippine Hill People*. Tucson: Univ. of Arizona.
- HOEBEL, E. A. (1954) *The Law of Primitive Man*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press.
- POSPISIL, L. (1958) *The Kapauku Papuans and Their Law*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Dept. of Anthropology.
- WALLACE, A. F. C. (1961) *Culture and Personality*. New York: Random House.