The following tables illustrate the manner of fines assessed for the four degrees of adultery, the different forms of fines assessed for the second, third, and fourth offenses. The highest form of fine is assessed for the first offense, and the lowest for the fourth. The fine is assessed in two parts, the first being a fixed sum, and the second being a percentage of the first. The second part of the fine is assessed on the amount of money the offender has on them. The fine for the fourth offense is the highest, and is assessed on the amount of money the offender has on them. The fine for the first offense is the lowest, and is assessed on the amount of money the offender has on them. The fine for the second offense is assessed on the amount of money the offender has on them, and is the same as the fine for the first offense. The fine for the third offense is assessed on the amount of money the offender has on them, and is the same as the fine for the second offense. The fine for the fourth offense is assessed on the amount of money the offender has on them, and is the same as the fine for the third offense.

### For the Wealthy Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division of the Fine</th>
<th>Article Examined</th>
<th>Appraisal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Pa-w</td>
<td>1 death blanket</td>
<td>$16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Hayabu</td>
<td>1 death blanket</td>
<td>$16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Nataku</td>
<td>1 death blanket</td>
<td>$16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Na-oka</td>
<td>1 death blanket</td>
<td>$16.00</td>
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### For the Middle Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Article Examined</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Pa-w</td>
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<td>3. Nataku</td>
<td>1 death blanket</td>
<td>$7.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Na-oka</td>
<td>1 death blanket</td>
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### For the Poor Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Article Examined</th>
<th>Appraisal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Pa-w</td>
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<td>$3.00</td>
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<tr>
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<td>$3.00</td>
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<td>3. Nataku</td>
<td>1 death blanket</td>
<td>$3.00</td>
</tr>
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<td>4. Na-oka</td>
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### For the Wealthy Class (second ceremony) and before the banba (final ceremony)

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<thead>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH AFFECT PENALITY

Certain circumstances, namely, criminal responsibility, alienship, kinship, confession, and the relative rank of offender and offended, affect penalty, either as to its severity or as to the likelihood of its being inflicted at all.

76. Moral turpitude not a factor.—Moral turpitude, which plays no small part in our own law in determining punishment, seems not to enter into the consideration of Ifugao law. Thus, such crimes as incest between brother and sister, parricide, fratricide, and treason against one’s family, all go unpunished. Even the betrayal of a co-villager into the hands of the enemy subjects the offender to only a third degree of likelihood of being punished (see sec. 80). These crimes probably go unpunished in accordance with the following correlated fundamentals of Ifugao society: Legal procedure is conducted by and between families; the family unit is the most precious thing in Ifugao social life; family unity must, at all hazards, be preserved. In the case of a murder accomplished by treachery, as for example, the killing of a guest, the moral turpitude involved might perhaps hasten punishment—it might even increase its severity in that the kin of the murdered person might retaliate on a greater number of those concerned in the murder. But such an abuse of hospitality appears never to have occurred.

Another reason why what we consider moral turpitude does not enter into punishment is that treachery, ambush, and accomplishment by superior force are the rule, not only in commission of crime, but also in perfectly legal capital executions and seizures of property.

PENAL RESPONSIBILITY

As between principals and their accomplices and accessories, Ifugao law recognizes only gradations in likelihood of punishment. The penalty is the same for all of them; but very frequently the offense is considered as having been exalted by the punishment of those whose responsibility for it is greatest, and the rest go free.

77. The mungolat, or principal.—The mungolat (he who was strong) is the conceiving, planning, and director of an offense. He may or may not take an active part in its commission. Whether or not he does so, he is considered to be responsible for it in the highest degree. He is, of all who take part in the offense, the most likely to be punished.

PENAL LAW

The following example, continued through several succeeding sections, shows the various degrees of criminal responsibility, and the corresponding degrees of likelihood of punishment:

A decides to avenge the death of a kinsman. He consequently calls a number of his kinsmen and proposes a war expedition to take the head of Z, an enemy concerned in the death of the murdered kinsman, in another village. They agree. A calls the family priests to his house to perform the necessary religious preliminaries to setting out on a head-hunting expedition. The ceremonies are performed, and the omens of the bale are promises well. But, just before starting, some accident happens to A, which the priests attribute to the sorcery of the enemy. A consequently does not accompany the expedition. He is, notwithstanding, the mungolat, and is more likely to be the object of vengeance than any other, should the crime be accomplished.

78. The tombok, or “thrower.”—In offenses in which a spear is thrown, he who throws the effective spear is called the tombok. His responsibility for the crime is second to that of the mungolat, as is also his likelihood of being punished.

79. Iba’u di mungolat, the “companions of the one who was strong.”—Those who assist in the commission of a crime by reinforcing, accompanying, assisting, backing, giving aid and comfort to the committer thereof, or furnishing anything needful to the consummation of the crime incur the next lesser degree of criminal responsibility and of likelihood of being punished to those of the conceiver and committer of the crime.

80. The muntudol, “shower,” or informer.—One who gives a person in the act of committing a crime information necessary to the successful carrying out of his intent, is guilty in the same degree as are persons of the preceding paragraph.

Thus, continuing the illustration started above, suppose that B, C, D, E, F, G, H, and I go to take the head of A’s enemy and theirs. They meet O, a co-villager of Z, the man whose head they want to take, and ask him regarding Z’s whereabouts. The fact could not be otherwise than patent to O, that a head-hunting party was addressing him. He answers truthfully that Z is in his sweet-potato field, and that the party may reach the field by such and such by-path without their being seen by Z’s kin or co-villagers. The party follows O’s directions. B spears Z.

B is the tombok; C, D, E, F, G, H, and I are the “companions of the one who was strong,” and O is the muntudol.

81. Servants who commit crimes at the bidding of their masters.— Retainers incur a lesser degree of criminal responsibility than does the master. They will be punished if the master cannot be punished. Sometimes both are punished.
82. Likelihood of punishment.—

(Continuation of illustration given above.) Z's kinsmen of course decide to avenge his death. It is a general rule that all debts must be paid with liberal interest, the interest being at least equal to the debt. The debt of life is no exception to this rule. The kinsmen, whom we will call Q, B, S, T, and U, decide that, at least, they will kill A, the smuggler, and B, the thief, and that if opportunity offers they will kill one or two of the others. They go to the vicinity of the village of A and B and lie in wait for them. They may do this a number of times. Finally we will suppose that they kill A. Their thirst for blood is somewhat appeased, and they may not pursue their first intention. But it would be the part of wisdom for B to be extremely cautious. Z’s kinsmen are likely to make an expedition or two to take his head.

On the other hand, suppose that A dies a natural death or falls in some other feud. The full likelihood of punishment now falls on B.

Suppose that B, H, and O walk past the place of ambush of the avengers. The latter will try to make sure of B, but will also try to kill the other two.

Suppose that B, like A, meets death in some other way than at the hands of Z’s avengers. C, D, E, F, G, H, I, and O are now equally likely to be punished.

In case several unsuccessful expeditions are made to secure the head of A and B, the avengers are likely to take a head or heads from some of the others rather than continually to place themselves in jeopardy by their expeditions into an enemy region. Especially is this true if the enemy’s village be distant.

If the villages be near, it is probable that C, D, E, F, G, H, I, or O might walk past the ambush of the avengers at first with impunity, since the avengers are desirous of taking the heads of the principals, and do not want to put the principals on their guard by slaying those whose guilt is less.

83. Drunkenness and insanity in relation to criminal responsibility.—Except in the case of murder, drunkenness mitigates the severity of punishment, provided there be no evidence to show that the culprit became intoxicated with the intent to commit the crime, and provided he sincerely repents on becoming sober. Even insanity is not an alleviating circumstance in the case of murder; but it is one in all other crimes.

84. The relation of intent to criminal responsibility.—Gual or intent, is probably the greatest single factor in determining penal responsibility. Thus:

A deed committed without intent, and without carelessness, is excused. One has not, usually, even to make restitution for the injury done. Thus, in the case of a bozo flying out of a man’s hand, and putting out the eye of another, no damages were assessed. An enormous number of men, every year, are injured in the free-for-all scrambles over sacrificed carabao. Many of these injuries result in stiff joints; some of them in deaths. In no case, not even in the case of death, is a payment demanded. Suppose that in the chase a number of hunters have surrounded a wild boar. The boar charges one of them. This man leaps backward, and, at the same time, draws back his spear to throw it at the boar. In so doing, he stabs a companion behind him with the shod end of the spear handle. This is not an uncommon accident. The others of the party are witnesses that the killing was purely accidental (nalotkat). No fine is assessed; but the killer, to show that he is sorry, usually assists in the funeral feast. Of course, if there were no witnesses, and if there were a possible motive to complicate matters, the ending of the case might not be so happy.

Suppose that a number of men are throwing at a target with their spears. A child runs in the way, and is killed. One-half the usual fine for manslaughter is assessed on the ground that the thrower was careless in that he did not make sure before he threw the spear that such an accident could not occur. In this case there was an absence of intent; but carelessness was present.

A man kills a neighbor at night, acting under the impression that he is killing an enemy seeking his life. He is subjected to a much heavier fine than if he had killed him through carelessness, since there is present both the intent to kill, although not criminal, and carelessness in that he did not make sure at whom he was casting his spear.18

OTHER FACTORS AFFECTING LIABILITY

85. Alienship.—If the culprit be of a foreign village, the fact that he is a foreigner is a strong aggravating circumstance. If found in delicto, he is almost sure to be killed, in cases of theft or the more serious crimes. In such crimes as insult, the same fine might be demanded of the foreigner as of a co-villager, but not so much effort would be made to arrange matters peaceably. If the fine demanded be not paid and paid quickly, a kidnapping would ensue, or the culprit would be killed. A man committing a minor crime in a foreign village if not killed would be caught, tied, and held prisoner until redeemed.

86. Confession.—Confession before steps have been taken to inflict punishment alleviates to a considerable degree except in murder and adultery. In the latter case, if the adulterer made a voluntary confession of guilt to the offended spouse, without having been confronted with the evidence, it would be taken as brazen boasting, and of the nature of an insult.

18 In one case, to be hereafter considered, the absence of both intent and carelessness do not excuse (see sec. 105).
87. Kinship.—Kinship is so strong a mitigating circumstance as often to excuse crime altogether. It has already been stated that crimes of one brother or sister against another are not punished. Inasmuch as all procedure is conducted by and between families, and since the family of the two brothers is identical, procedure in such cases is impossible. In the case of relatives of remotest degree, kinship is a strong extenuating circumstance in the event of the more serious crimes. In minor crimes, while the usual amount of the fine might be demanded, it would very frequently not be collected; especially, if the offender were very poor.

It has previously been said that the family is the only organization, political or social, that the Ifugao has, and that, in proportion as it is precious and necessary to him, he cherishes it; that Ifugao law, consequently looks with the greatest disfavor upon anything that would divide a family or destroy its unity.

In case a man steals from his cousin, who is married, restitution is usually demanded, together with half the usual fine, which half goes to the cousin’s spouse—not to himself. Insults on the part of one cousin to another are rare and are more rarely prosecuted.

88. Rank and standing in the community.—This is probably the greatest single factor in determining the severity of punishment in cases where a crime is punishable by fine. But the aggressiveness and the war footing of the two parties to the controversy enter even here to an astounding degree.

In the Kangan-Maggok area, there are three grades of fines—the highest for the punishment of crimes of one kadangyang or rich man, against another; a medium grade for crimes of persons of the tunok, or middle class, against each other; and a third and lowest grade for the nasawat, the poverty stricken. Each lower grade of fine is a little more than half the next higher one.

In the Kabayanua area, there are five grades of fines—one for the very rich, one for the fairly rich, one for the middle class, one for the poor, one for the poverty stricken. In Sapao and in Asin, there are four grades.

So long as both offender and offended are of the same class, there is no trouble about determining the fine proper in a given case. But when they are of different classes, the case is not so simple, and the factors of fighting strength and personality enter.

89. Importance of influential position and personality.—The fact has already been mentioned (see sec. 4) that Ifugao administration of justice is remarkably personal in nature. We have just seen, in the example given in section 88, to what an extent personality and war-footing enter into the infliction of fines when offender and offended are of different classes. Nowhere can a man of magnumitism and force reap greater benefit from these qualities, relatively speaking, than in an Ifugao controversy. The fact staves us in the face in every phase of Ifugao law, especially in procedure.

89a. Cripples and unfortunate.—Cripples and those afflicted by disfigurements or disfiguring diseases are often in a desperate mood for the reason that life is not at all precious to them. They are likely
to be erratic and to constitute exceptions in punishment of crimes and
procedure. I remember a case that happened in Bay District a few
years ago which illustrates to what extent determination and absolute
abandon to a single purpose are valuable in carrying a point in Ifugao
procedure. I did not make note of the names but shall designate the
rich man as R and the poor man as P. P was afflicted with the
disease khiphip—probably ichthyosis—a skin disease in which the skin
becomes white, rough, and scaly. R met P one day and sneered at
him, saying, “Although you have neither fields, gongs, nor jewelry, I
see that you have become a kadongyang, for you are wearing a white
cap” (referring to the skin disease). P became violently angry but
restrained himself from assaulting R. He calmly informed R that
for this insult he fined him a large and valuable field, R’s property in
Dayukong; that life meant little to himself, and that if R resisted and
interfered with his taking possession of the field, he would certainly
kill him. P further stated that he knew that R’s kin would retaliate
and that he would lose his own life but that he did not care since he
was miserable anyway. None of the women would denigrate him in his
favors and being poor—well, what was the use of living! P carried
his point and maintains possession of the field to this day. Having
the field, he managed to get a wife, who, although homely, has borne him
two or three children who are not afflicted with his disease.

Another case in point is the following: Pikhud, a fairly wealthy
man of Kurung, was paralyzed from the knees down and in his locomotion
he had to crawl on all fours. He loaned a neighbor a chicken. There was a quarrel over the repayment of this which left ill feeling
between the two. A little while after the quarrel, the neighbor met
Pikhud crawling along the path through the village, and called to him
as to a dog, “Do! do! dé dé dé!” Pikhud pretended not to notice
and even feigned amiability. He gossiped a little about the drought
which was parching the rice fields. Finally he said, “Let me see your
spear.” He felt the edge and then with the words, “It is pretty
sharp, isn’t it?” he thrust it upward into the other’s abdomen.

THE PRINCIPAL CRIMES AND THEIR FREQUENCY

90. List of offenses.—In the Kiangan-Nagakaran-Maggok area, the
principal crimes, in order of their probable frequency, are: sorcery;
adultery; theft; murder (or in the case of women and children, kid-
napping); the putting of an innocent person in the position of being
considered an accessory to crime; manslaughter; rape of a married
woman; arson; incest. Minor crimes are: insult; slander; false accus-
sation; rape of a girl.

Penal Law

SORCERY

91. The ayak (soul-stealing) is a series of religious ceremonies in
which the sorcerer calls to a feast the ancestral spirits of some man
whose death he desires to encompass, together with many maleficent
spirits and deities, and bribes them to bring him, incarnated as
a blue-bottle fly, a dragon fly, or a bee, the soul of the man whose
death he desires. When one of the insects mentioned comes to drink
of the rice wine in front of the sorcerer, it is imprisoned and put into
a bamboo joint tightly corked. The enemy, being thus deprived of
his soul, will die.

This form of sorcery cannot be practiced unless the sorcerer knows
the names of the ancestral spirits of his victim-to-be. For this reason,
when the Lamot people, who are famous sorcerers, come to Kiangan
and approach a religious feast, the Kiangan people do not invoke their
ancestral spirits until after the visitors have gone. Needless to say,
sorcery is always practiced in secret. It sometimes happens that it
is practiced by a man against his kin. In such a case, kinship does
not extinguish his punishment, since the preservation of the family
necessitates the extirpation of the sorcerer within its gates. This
is the only exception I know of to the general rule that a family may
not proceed against one of its members.

92. Other forms of sorcery.—Certain persons have an evil “eye”
of the eye, which, whether they wish it or not, brings misfortune or
sickness on whomsoever or whatsoever they see. Injury by means of
the “evil eye” may be effected intentionally or entirely uninten-
tionally.

The words of certain persons even though innocent and unconnected
with evil, and though spoken as they usually are without malicious intent, have the quality of bringing whatever is spoken to
an evil end.

Thus A, afflicted with the “blasting word,” goes to the house of B, and,
seeing a sow with a litter of handsome pigs, remarks, “That’s a fine litter of
pigs you have!” If A be truly afflicted with the blasting word, the pigs will
die, even though A was without intent to do injury, and was even ignorant of
his affliction.

The evil eye and the blasting word are frequent afflictions—afflic-
tions that their possessor is the last to learn about. They may be
cured by the possessor’s offering sacrifices of the proper sort. In the
event of injury unintentionally being done by evil eye or blasting
word, no punishment is meted out, although in some cases restitution
is demanded.
Curses are of two kinds: directly by word, and indirectly by curses laid on food, drink, or betels. Kiangan people are afraid to purchase rice from the Lamot people to the south of them through fear of being affected by curses that may have been laid on the rice.

23. Punishment of sorcery.—Sorcerers are not punished hystically. To his credit, it must be said that the Itagao proceeds slowly in condemning a person for this crime. Before he takes action, he demands not merely strong grounds for suspicion, but proof beyond a reasonable doubt that the suspected person is a sorcerer. Proof that one has performed the awak ceremony against a person is sufficient ground for the infliction of the death penalty. But in the case of the evil eye and the blasting word, it must be proved that the death of the pig, the betel vine, or whatever be that dies, was due to the glance or words of the bewitched, and that both glance and words were used with evil intent. This would obviously be hard to do; but for the purpose of justifying an injured person in killing such a sorcerer or bewitched one, a record of previous misdeeds of the kind, and a general conviction, in which a portion, at least, of the man's kin concurred, that the suspect was a malicious sorcerer, would be sufficient.

A curse, by one who has no reputation for supernatural powers, is punishable by the following fines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Karangan</th>
<th>Mabo Class</th>
<th>Nawataw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Him-bahl (500)</td>
<td>Him-bahl (500)</td>
<td>Na-nom (50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pas (3 death blankets)</td>
<td>Pas (3 death blankets)</td>
<td>Pas (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbay na polaak (3)</td>
<td>Mbay na polaak (3)</td>
<td>Na-nom (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pas (100)</td>
<td>Pas (100)</td>
<td>Pas (50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pas (1)</td>
<td>Pas (1)</td>
<td>Pas (20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A curse by one who had a reputation of being a sorcerer might possibly lead to the death of the sorcerer on the spot. In case he were not killed, and the person or thing cursed died, the death penalty would be inflicted later.

The following instances will be of value as illustrations. Some are recent, others historical:

### Penal Law

Before the coming of the Spaniards, Atiwan of Longa acquired a reputation as a sorcerer. He killed several of his kinsmen in Bury. Even his relatives in Longa admitted that he was a sorcerer, and said that he ought to be killed. Sindel of Bany and several companions went to Longa one night, and called to Atiwan that they had come to see him. He opened the house and put down the ladder. The party ascended, and set upon Atiwan with their war knives and killed him. In trying to protect him, his wife, Dinau, was wounded. The killing was universally approved.

Kimudwe (alias Dullumay) of Tapplak is a famous, or rather an infamous, sorcerer. Owing to a quarrel with one of his nephews, Bultong, over a debt, he performed an awak to cause the latter's death. Bultong was informed of the fact by one who, eavesdropping below Kimudwe's house, heard the prayers and incantations. On a certain day on which there was a feast in Ambabag, to which Kimudwe was nearly certain to come, Bultong waylaid him, firing a rifle at him from cover near Ambabag. His markmanship was atrocious. Before he could reload women rushed out from the village and covered Kimudwe with their bodies, interceding, and stating that there was not sufficient certainty that Kimudwe was guilty to justify his nephew in killing him. (This occurred in the interval between Spanish and American rule.)

Kimudwe is reputed to have killed by means of sorcery several of his kinsmen. Recently a child died in Tapplak whose death was attributed to him. He killed it, it is said, the son of Buhl, another of his nephews. Buhl was a Dullumayan of Ambabag as a go-between to Kimudwe to challenge him to an ordeal, saying that he had no intention of killing him, even if guilty, owing to the peculiar prejudices of the Americans against such doings, but for his own satisfaction he wanted to know if Kimudwe were the sorcerer. He stated that in case Kimudwe won in the ordeal, he (Buhl) would pay a fine of a gold head for having accused him falsely. This was an unusually large fine. Kimudwe refused, or rather evaded, saying: "If I am a sorcerer, it is a case of the entire family, including Buhl, being guilty." In other words, he took refuge behind the Itagao doctrine of collective responsibility (see sec. 4).

In cases of strong suspicion, a supposed sorcerer was often openly accused and challenged to an ordeal. The ordeal was usually more in the nature of a duel, the two exchanging spears at twenty steps (20 meters) distance. If the ordeal showed the suspect guilty, he was killed if he stayed in the region. He was not, however, killed on the field of duel—unless killed in the duel or ordeal itself—because such an execution might precipitate a battle with this kin.

### Adultery

94. Forms of adultery.—In its unaggravated form, adultery is called luka. Luka signifies sexual intercourse between a spouse and some person other than the one whom she is married, uncomplicated by insults and scandalous behavior flaunted in the face of the injured spouse. The intention to abandon the spouse is either not present, or is concealed.
The aggravated form of adultery is called kokweii. It consists of openly and scandalously bestowing one’s love and body upon some other person than the spouse; of insulting the injured spouse; or of repeatedly, while living under the same roof with the spouse, meeting the third person and having sexual intercourse. The intention is present of separating (or effecting a separation) from the injured spouse. The following is an illustration:

Maxima, a girl of Umal, was married to Ananayo of Piranggum. But Ananayo had not yet reached the age of puberty, while Maxima herself had reached that age. Sergeant Domining, of the constabulary company at Kiangan, began paying attentions to Maxima, while Maxima was living in the house of Ananayo’s father. During the season of watching the rice fields against theft of water these two continually embattled, the sergeant going to where Maxima was watching the fields at night. Ananayo attaining the age of puberty in the meantime, Maxima refused to have anything to do with him. Both Maxima and Domining were guilty of kokweii in this case. Maxima’s conduct was considered especially reprehensible, since she was a kinswoman in the house of Ananayo’s father (see sec. 14).

95. Punishment of adultery.—In both luktap and kokweii, the offending spouse and the lover (or mistress) are equally guilty. Each is equally liable to punishment. However, the offended spouse may, if he chooses, forgive the offending spouse without forgiving the partner in crime. This frequently happens. A wife is more likely to forgive than a husband.

The adulterer when taken in delicto is sometimes punished by death. The offended spouse is justified by public opinion in administering this punishment to a considerably greater degree than our laws in the United States would justify him. Several stories are told of persons caught in the commission of this crime who were impaled by a single spear thrust. It should be stated that the kin of those killed for this crime rarely look upon the killing as justified, and often avenge it. They take the stand that the offended spouse ought to have demanded the usual fine; that if this had not been immediately forthcoming, no one would have questioned the propriety of the killing. On the other hand, the kin of the offended spouse take the ground, and it may be said that in general public opinion backs them in it, that a self-respecting man could not well do otherwise than kill the offender, and that the holding off and demanding money would savor too much of the mercenary.

It is to be noted that a sexual offense committed after the mammon ceremony is punished by a small fine; that an offense committed after the imbango or kingot ceremonies is punished by a larger fine, and that an offense committed after the habus ceremony is punished by what to the Ifugao is a very large fine. These fines are diagramed Ifugao fashion in sec. 75. Kokweii, aggravated adultery, is punished by twice the greatest fine demanded in the case of simple adultery, luktap.

Adultery being a very hard crime to prove, the Ifugao takes as proof: (1) the confession of either party; (2) evidence that the accused wilfully and intentionally placed themselves in such a position or circumstances that the crime would be presumed by any reasonable person to have been consummated. Thus, the sleeping of the accused together at night in the absence of the spouse would be sufficient evidence.

Both offenders must pay the fine demanded by the circumstances to the offended party or parties. Thus, if both the offenders be married, each must pay a fine to (a) his own offended spouse, and (b) to the offended spouse of the partner in the crime. The pu-ae of the fine goes to the offended spouse—the rest to the kin of the offended spouse. In addition to paying the fine, should the offender desire to continue the marriage relation with his offended spouse, he must provide animals and other requisites for a kongas (general welfare feast) in which the kin of both parties take part, and which is supposed to start the spouses anew in domestic harmony and felicity, and in all that the Ifugao considers prosperity, namely, abundance of pigs, chickens, rice, and children.

96. Sex in relation to punishment for adultery.—Although the punishment for adultery is the same for either sex, the likelihood of the adulterer’s being punished is much greater if the offender be a woman than if he be a man. This is for the reason that men are more jealous than women and less attached to their spouses, usually. A great deal of adultery on the part of men goes unpunished. Most women would rather not hear about the peccadillos of their husbands. They do not want to take action unless it be forced upon them. But once the matter is brought to their “official attention,” they have to take action in order to “save face.” Women sometimes tell their husbands: “It would be all right for you to have a mistress if you could only do so without my hearing of it.” And when they learn of some such offense on the part of their husbands, they sometimes upbraid them, saying: “Oh, why didn’t you do this thing in such a way that I would not hear of it?”
The husband, on the other hand, usually punishes, and often divorces his offending wife.

Once an offense is known, it must be acted on. Otherwise, the offended spouse is considered to be lacking in self respect. And indeed I believe that the insult involved in adultery is more serious than any other phase of the crime. The Malay's "face" is exceedingly dear to him.

THE TAKING OF LIFE

97. General considerations.—It is extremely difficult to unravel the law, if there be a law, with respect to murder, executions, and war. The Ifugao has no tribunals to sentence, and no government to execute. He makes no declarations of war. Doubtless no two nations or tribes of the world ever engaged in a warfare in which each did not consider the other the aggressor, or at least, the offender. The same is true with respect to feuds between families, which were almost as numerous as the families themselves. In spite of the years of American occupation during which comparative peace has prevailed, these feuds still exist. We must substitute, however, for patriotism, fraternal and filial love; the sense of duty to the avenged dead, love of vengeance, and intense hatred engendered and justified by a well learned catalogue of wrongs and assassinations inflicted on the family by the enemy family. Once started, a blood feud was well nigh eternal (unless ended by a fusion of the families by means of marriage), for the reason that what was a righteous execution to one family was a murder (usually treacherous) to the other.

Outside of manslaughter, to be treated of later, it may be stated as a general tenet of Ifugao practice that the taking of a life must be paid for by a life. Considering, too, that a member of an Ifugao family rarely if ever effected or accomplished any except the most ordinary and elemental acts without previous consultation with his family, and that nearly all killings were effected pursuant to a decision of a family council, it was not without a fair show of reason that Ifugao law held that a murder might be punished almost as well by the execution of some member of the murderer's family as by the execution of the murderer himself. For, if not principals in the commission of the crime, other members of the family were at least accomplices or accessories. Indeed Ifugao law held the whole family guilty, looking upon the crime, quite correctly, as an offense for which the whole family was responsible.

War, murder, and the death penalty exacted in execution of justice, in the Ifugao's society are so near each other as to be almost synonymous terms. We have already seen that a capital execution for crime is nearly always looked upon by the kin of the executed as being a murder; it is retaliated by them, by what to them is a justifiable execution; but by what, to the killers, is considered as a murder to be punished by another execution, and so on ad infinitum.

The Ifugao has one general law, which with a few notable exceptions he applies to killings, be they killings in war, murders, or executions, which public opinion would pronounce justifiable and legal. That law is: A life must be paid by a life. Let us pass now to a consideration of various classes of the takings of human life.

98. Executions justifiable by Ifugao law.—Public opinion or custom, or both, justify the taking of a life in punishment for the following crimes: sorcery; murder; persistent and wilful refusal to pay a debt when there is the ability to pay; adultery discovered in flagrante; theft by one of a foreign district; refusal to pay a fine assessed for crime or for injury suffered. But even though custom and public opinion justify the administration of the extreme penalty in these cases, the kin of the murdered man do not, in most cases, consider the killing justified. There are innumerable circumstances that complicate a given case. Was the sorcery proven or only suspected? Was it a murder that the man committed; or was he justified in the killing? Would not the debtor have come to his right mind had his creditor waited a little longer; and did the creditor approach him in the right way with reference to the debt? Did not the woman make advances in the adultery case that no self-respecting male could turn down? Was not the indemnity assessed too large or otherwise improper; or did the injured party wait long enough for the payment? These and a thousand other questions may arise with respect to the various cases.

If the death penalty be inflicted by persons of a foreign district, it is sure to be looked upon as a murder.

At feasts and gatherings about the "bowl that cheers" and especially in drunken brawls, an unavenged killing, no matter what the circumstances, is likely to be brought up as a reflection upon the bravery or manhood of the living kin, and so urge them to the avenging of what was really a justified execution.

Murder, sorcery, and a refusal to pay the fine for adultery justify the infliction of the death penalty even on a kinsman if he is not too
close a relative. An execution of one kinsman by another is not so 
likely to be avenged as is justifiable execution by one outside the 
family. This is in accordance with the principle of Ifugao law: 
The family must at all hazards be preserved.

99. Feuds.—A feud is a series of takings of human life as venge-
ance, in which the heads may or may not be taken. There are some 
hundreds of ways in which feuds may start. As a rule they begin with 
a taking of life that is not justified in the eyes of the kin of him whose 
life was taken. They may begin from a retaliation for a kidnapping 
or even from an accidental killing. Feuds exist between neighboring 
districts, or districts not far distant between which to a certain extent 
ties of blood and marriage exist. It is exceedingly rare—if it ever 
occursthat entire villages or districts are involved. The feud is an 
affair between families only. It consists of a series of vendettas 
and “returning of vengances.” Feuds may even start within the 
district; but as a rule, they are short lived, being stopped by the 
counsel of the influential. Feuds between districts are well nigh 
interminable usually, but may come to an end by means of intermar-
riages or when one or two of the leaders of each family are afflicted 
by certain diseases29 thought to be inflicted by certain deities that desire 
the peace ceremony. As has been hitherto stated, each killing in a 
feud is considered by the killers to be an entirely justifiable execution 
in punishment of crime. The deities of war and justice are called to 
witness that the debt is not yet paid. Contemporaneously, the kin of 
the slain are calling on the same deities to witness that their family is 
sorely afflicted; that no debt was owed the others; that no chickens 
or pigs, or rice had been borrowed; that no theft or other crime had 
been committed, and so on; yet, that innocent, they are being 
slaughtered.

100. War.—Before the American occupation, districts that were 
far distant might be said to be continually at war with each other. 
The war was carried on as a series of head-takings. There was no 
formal declaration of war. As a rule there were no large expeditions 
to the enemy country, and heads were taken from ambush, on the out-
skirts of an enemy village or along much traveled paths. Women's 
heads were taken in these exploits; but not as a rule, in feuds. To 
avenge lives taken in war, while no doubt the life of the actual head-
taker was preferable, the life of any person of the enemy village might 
be taken; just as in feuds, the life of any member of the enemy family 
might be taken.

29 Tuberculosis and persistent cough (see sec. 141).

101. Head-taking.—Heads were not taken in the case of executions 
for injury. In feuds within a district, heads were not taken. In feuds 
between families of different districts, heads might or might not be 
taken. Usually they were taken if there were no ties of kinship 
between the districts. It should be emphasized, however, that there 
was no definite boundary between districts, and consequently, no well-
defined line beyond which heads might be taken. Families from the 
southern part of a district would take heads in territory from which 
those in the northern part of the district would not take them. Heads 
were always taken in the case of those killed in war, if circumstances 
permitted.

102. Hilde or homicide.—The Ifugao law clearly recognizes several 
grades of homicide.

(a) The taking of life when there is an entire absence of both intent 
and carelessness. As for example, in the case already cited (see sec. 84), 
when a party of hunters have a wild boar at bay. The boar, as there stated, charges 
the most advanced of the hunters, and in retreating backward, the latter jabs 
one of his companions with the shot point of his spear handle. There is no 
penalty for such a taking of life.

(b) The taking of life when there is clearly an absence of intent, but 
a degree of carelessness. For example, a number of men are throwing spears 
at a mark. A child runs in the way, and is killed. The penalty is a fine varying 
from one-third to two-thirds the amount of the full fine for homicide 
according to the degree of carelessness.

(c) Intentional taking of the life of another, under the impression that he 
is an enemy when in reality he is a co-villager or a companion. In case the 
killer can make the family of the slain understand the circumstances, only a 
fine is assessed. This fine is called labed. (See sec. 106.) If the killer be 
unrelated to the slain, the full amount of the labed is demanded; if related, 
the amount is usually lessened.

Example: Duanawat of Basy was irrigating his fields at night. Some of 
his companions told him that there were some head-hunters from an enemy 
vector near. In the darkness, Duanawat encountered another man, Likayu, 
the betrayer of his daughter. He asked him who was there. On account of 
the noise of water falling from the rice fields, Likayu did not hear the inquiry, 
and said nothing. Duanawat spared him. Likayu cried out. Duanawat 
recognized his voice, and carried him home. He furnished animals for sacrifice 
to secure Likayu's recovery. Likayu recovered. Had he died, Duanawat 
would have been called on for the full amount of the fine; but had Likayu 
been firmly engaged to Duanawat's daughter, that is, had the banyo ceremony 
been performed the full amount of the labed fine would not have been demanded, 
since the relationship would have been an extinguishing circumstance.

(d) The taking of life by persons in a brawl or by an intoxicated or insane 
person. In case the slain died before his slayer could agree to provide animals 
for sacrifice, the latter would probably be killed by the kin of the slain if he 
were of a foreign district. He might be killed if a non-related co-villager. 
He would be fined the labed if a kinsman. He would probably go scot free if a 
brother or uncle.
Example: A of Longa became insanely drunk at a feast at the house of his brother Gimbangan. He attempted to embrace the comely daughter of Gimbangan, his niece. Gimbangan tried to quiet him, and in so doing aroused his ire. He drew back his spear menacingly, and in so doing pierced the girl—who was at his back—with the shaft point at the end. She died. A was properly penitent when he sobered, and furnished animals for sacrifice. The fine labeled was not, however, demanded of him. This was about thirty-five or forty years ago. Considerable feeling exists between the two branches of the family to this day, owing to this occurrence.

The burden rests upon the slayer in the above cases to show that the killing was accidental or that he was so drunk as to have utterly lost his reason. The absence of a motive is a great help to him in this. If he has ever had a serious altercation with the slain, in the absence of controverting evidence, the presumption is likely to be that the killing was intentional, and that he has been "feigning friendship in order to kill by ugo (treachery)."

103. Attempts to murder.—An attempt on the part of an enemy of another district on the life of a person is punishable by death. An attempt by one of the same district may or may not be punished by death; in most cases peace would be arranged by mutual friends and kinsmen. In such a case, he who made the attempt would be required to furnish animals for a peace feast.

104. Wounding.—Wounds inflicted accidentally and without intent or carelessness are not punished. In case the element of intent or carelessness be present, he who inflicts the wounds must furnish animals for sacrifice, pay the wounded man and his kin a fine, and stand the expense of a feast to make peace. The following is a typical list, for the kadayang (wealthy) class, of the expenses of animals for sacrifice and fines:

(a) First feast for the recovery of the wounded man, sacrifices to the war dotties: 3 pigs at 15 pesos; 16 chickens at 1 peso; total 55 pesos.
(b) Second feast for recovery, the piscopo, or feast to cure wounds and infections: 1 pig at 10 pesos; 2 chickens at 1 peso; 8 spear heads as fees of priests as 25 pesos; total 14 pesos.

In case the wounded man lives, the following fine is paid him and his kin:

(c) Vine of two bakid (two tens) amounting to 72 pesos; fee of the manikapan, 10 pesos; total 82 pesos.
(d) Peace-making ceremony: 1 pig at 15 pesos; other appurtenances of feast, 3 pesos; total 17 pesos.

105. Special liability of the givers of certain feasts.—The givers of uway or hagabi feasts (glorified general welfare feasts to which great numbers of people come) are responsible for wounds or deaths that occur at these feasts. When a man decides to initiate himself and his wife into the ranks of the kadayang by giving one of these feasts, he appoints one of the old priests of his family to perform the titman ceremonies. These ceremonies are sacrifices to the various classes of deities whose special function is the "tying up" of men's stomachs and passions. Prayers are addressed to these deities that a little food may satisfy the guest that attends the feast, to the end that the giver be not eaten out of house and home; that a little rice wine suffice to intoxicate the people; that the passions of men be tied up to the end that no quarrels or frays occur; that no rice-water jars or gongs be broken; that no accidents occur—in short, that the whole feast pass off smoothly. The duties of the manikam (the priest who performs these ceremonies) are rather arduous. To say nothing of the ceremonies he conducts, he must fast for a number of days and must observe a number of taboos. He receives rather a large fee for these services. And, indeed, their importance, in the eyes of the Ifugaos, and the legal responsibility he inures, certainly justify a large fee.

The manikam priests are jointly responsible with the giver of the feast for accidents or violence that may occur. This liability of the giver of the feast for wounds or loss of life is based on the supposition that if he had not given the feast the wound would not have occurred; and possibly that he gave the feast with the motive of bringing about such an occurrence. The liability of the manikam is based on the supposition that there must have been a remissness on his part in his religious duties, else the accident or loss would never have occurred. The following is an actual instance that would indicate that this provision of the law is an incipient employer's liability provision.

Malingan of Pindungan, many years ago, gathered together his kin and friends, performed the preliminary feasts, and went to Payaman to make a hagabi (lounging bench, the insignia of the kadayang class). They made a very large hagabi that weighed nearly a ton. In helping to carry it across the river two men were carried downstream by the current and drowned. Demand was made on Malingan and the manikam of the feast for the labad fine (see sec. 106). It was paid, and that is the reason Malingan's descendants are not wealthier today, for formerly Malingan was one of the wealthiest men of the district.

It should be stated that brawls and accidents are much more common in feasts of this character given in parts of Ifugao other than the Kiangun-Nagatan-Magkok area. This is due to the fact that in the area named above only relatives and persons invited by relatives
The rank of the slain has something to do with the amount of the lobod. The amounts given above are those that would be collected in the case of the killing of a Kiangan man of the kadangyang class. If the slain were a middle class or poor man the amounts would not be so great. If the slayer were a middle class, or poor man, the amounts above might be lessened somewhat, but not very much. If the slayer be unable to pay, he is saddled with the rest as a debt. If he cannot pay the debt during his lifetime, his children must pay it.

107. Accidental killing of animals.—The accidental killing of an animal is not a crime. Sometimes even the value of the animal is not demanded or accepted if tendered.

If a dog runs out threatening to bite a passer-by, and the latter kills it, he is required to pay the value of the dog. If a dog bites a passer-by, the latter may kill the dog and need not pay a fine. If the dog bites him, and he does not kill it, he may demand a payment from the owner. It was a provision of primitive Roman law that 'If an injury were done by a slave, the person injured had the right to exact vengeance against the slave personally, thus injuring the master’s property; and the master or owner was consequently allowed to prevent this vengeance by making compensation for the injury done.'

Should a pig, at that period of the year when rice is stalked below the granary to dry out, enter through the fence and eat of the rice, it may be killed by the owner of the granary; but he must give the owner another pig in place of it. Such a killing is not considered

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15 Compare the practice of our Saxon forefathers among whom the ‘life of a king’s thane was worth 200 shillings, while that of a common free man was valued only as a sixth as high,’ and that of a slave at only his property valuation.

15 R. B. Cherry, *The Growth of Criminal Law in Ancient Communities* (London, 1896). Dr. Cherry shows how masters’ liability for injuries done by their employees has arisen from this principle (pp. 4 ff.).
malicious, for the pig was spoiling the "miraculous increase" of the year's harvest.

A pig that enters a rice field and eats the unharvested rice is usually returned to the owner with the request that he tie the pig up. Should it again enter the field, the damage it does must be paid for. Should the owner refuse to pay this indemnity, and should the pig again enter the field, the owner of the field would be likely to kill the animal. The owner of the pig might consider such a killing malicious and improper. Public opinion would sustain the owner of the field.

108. Malicious killing of animals.—This is a serious crime. Its seriousness is due partly to the fact that domestic animals are to a great extent considered members of the household and as such loved and protected, and further to the fact that the intentional and malicious killing of such a member of a household would have a tendency to bring a like fate on the human members thereof, owing to the mystic power and force of analogy.

A labod fine is demanded for the malicious killing of a pig. The fine, in case a wealthy family is concerned, is as follows:

**LABO Fine for Malicious Killing of a Pig**

1. The corpse of the dead pig is surrounded by living pigs, one on each side, i.e., four pigs are exacted in return.
2. Danagat (see sec. 106); 1 carabaos. This animal is simply handed over, not killed for a funeral as is the case when a human being is concerned.
3. Gapoom (see sec. 106); 6 death blankets; 1 bagad (fancy blanket); 1 finane (ceremonial cloths); 4 cloths.
4. Hobalag (see sec. 106); precisely as in the case of a homicide.
5. Libar, foe of the monbahai, or go between; 1 death blanket.

PUTTING ANOTHER IN THE POSITION OF AN ACCOMPLICE

109. The tokom, or fine for compromising another. — He who, voluntarily or involuntarily, puts another in the position of an accomplice, or in such a light that he might be regarded as being an accomplice in the commission of a crime, and so be liable to punishment as such, must pay the person so injured a fine, called tokom. It may almost be said that he who causes another person's name to be prominently mentioned or bandied in connection with a crime must pay this fine.

The following are instances in which a tokom would be demanded:

A of another district comes to the house of B, and is received by B as a guest. While he is going home and while he is in the outskirts of the district he is speared by C, a neighbor of B's or a resident of the same district. B must force C to pay a tokom.

**Penal Law**

B steals or illegally confiscates property belonging to A. C sees B in the act. He demands a tokom—in this case it may be the bolo or spear that B is carrying—and so puts himself "on record" as not having been an accomplice. But he says nothing about the crime unless it comes to light that he was a witness of it. In this case he proves by the tokom that he received that he had no connection with it. As a matter of practice it would seem that a gift received from the thief would tend to lead the witness to conceal the crime.

A gives an usawao feast. At the attendant drink feast B in a drunken brawl kills C. A and the masados D must demand a tokom from B in order to clear their reputations.

The following is the amount of the tokom usually demanded in the case of murder, head-hunting, or slaughter:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>In case of the death of</th>
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<th>In case of the death of</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a kabanggao</td>
<td>a middle-class man</td>
<td>a poor man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carabaos</td>
<td>P50.00</td>
<td>P30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 pigs</td>
<td>P80.00</td>
<td>4 pigs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.00</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.00</td>
<td>Total P105.00</td>
<td>Total P55.09</td>
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</tbody>
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One who is put in a position in which a tokom is due him must collect the tokom. It is not sufficient that he demand the payment of it—he must enforce the payment. Otherwise he will be considered by the kin of the injured as having been an accomplice, and liable to punishment accordingly.

Should the culprit refuse to pay the tokom, the obligation rests on those to whom the tokom is due to take the leading part in the punishment of the crime. Thus, in the first example given above, if C does not pay the tokom to B, the obligation rests on B more heavily even than it rests on A's relatives to kill C, and so avenge A's death. Should he not do this, he would be held liable to punishment by A's relatives along with C.

Visitors came to the house of Timbulay of Ambabag from the district of Maggod. It was suggested that a contract of friendship and alliance be accomplished between Timbulay and his Maggod visitors by means of the feast called monbajao. A day was appointed for this feast, and Binwang of Balit was named as the go-between in matters pertaining to the feast. These preliminaries having been finished, the Maggod people started home. On the road they were killed by some people from Winglan.

The following persons were under obligation to demand a tokom: Timbulay, whose guests they had been, and Binwang, the go-between. But the murderers were poor people, while the murdered were wealthy. It would have been impossible for the murderers to have paid the tokom proper for having killed a kabanggao. Consequently without any ado, Binwang killed one of the murderers, and Timbulay kidnapped one of the women folk of another.
THIEFT

110. Of theft in general.—There is a considerable degree of difference in the severity with which theft is punished in different parts of Ifugao. The following is the general law with respect to the theft of articles of medium or slight value:

Kadangyang class: It is a general principle that theft of this kind do not steal. However, it sometimes occurs, especially in the Kiangau-Subuk area, that persons who have the right to claim this rank become needy. The rule for the punishment of members of this class is: The kadangyang must return the stolen thing, or, if it shall have been consumed, its equivalent in value, and must entirely surround it with like things of equivalent value. This rule merely amounts to the paying of five times the value of the stolen thing. He must also pay a fee to the go-between.

Middle class: A thief of this class must return the stolen thing and dupli it, i.e., place a like thing, or an equivalent value, on either side of it. He must also pay a fine fee to the go-between of the case.

Very poor: A thief of this class must repay the stolen article or its equivalent value, laman, and pay a fine to the go-between in the case.

In the case of the theft of heirlooms of great value, such as rice wine jars, or gassas, the thief must repay, besides the stolen articles, their tokoy, or equal, and in addition must furnish a certain number of pigs or other articles of medium value. The following shows how the Ifugao visualizes a payment of this sort.

The stolen article.
Its equal or equivalent.
Hango, a full-grown pig.
Yebub, a full-grown chicken.

Theft should not be confused with improper or illegal confiscation. This latter is commonly effected by members of the kadangyang class. It is punished in much the same way as theft, but is not so disgraceful. A thief discovered in delicto is likely to be punished by death if the thief be of a different district. If not punished by death, the culprit is caught and tied and kept prisoner until his kin in the other district pay the fine demanded. This fine, needless to say, is somewhat larger than would ordinarily be assessed for the crime. If a member of the home district be caught in an unaccomplished theft, the case is not altered in any way from an ordinary, consummated theft.

111. Theft of rice from a granary.—The theft of rice is considerably more serious than would be theft of any other article of equal value, because it ruins the miraculous increase of the rice that the Ifugao as well as all other Malay tribes in these islands so thoroughly believe in. If the thief confesses and shows himself docile, he may wipe out his guilt with the following payment:

Balulsua, 1 large pig, payment of the stolen rice.
Hangwa, 1 large pig and 1 large chicken, for granary feast to secure return of the miraculous increase.

If, however, the accused persistently deny his guilt, he is challenged to an ordeal. If by this he is proven guilty, he is fined one bakid or one "ten"—in Kiangau about thirty pesos—in addition to the payment above. If he refuse to submit to the ordeal, he is adjudged guilty, and has to make the same payments as if he had submitted to the ordeal and had been adjudged guilty. The fee of the mukulas is included in, and is not additional to, the bakid in this case.

112. Theft of unharvested rice.—In a case of this sort, the amount of rice stolen can be determined by estimating it from the number of headless stalks. The punishment in:

The return of the stolen rice or its equivalent value.
A full-grown pig for the owner's harvest feast.
The fee for the mukulas.

113. Illegal confiscation.—What the Ifugao recognizes as legal confiscation is treated below under Procedure, sections 134 to 138. The following is a case of illegal confiscation in the district of Banaua.

A owes B a debt, which he persistently refuses to pay. Both men are of the kadangyang class. It is somewhat afraid of A, or for some reason cannot or does not dare collect the debt according to the ordinary mode of procedure. He accordingly sets aside with a valuable rice wine jar belonging to A, leaving nothing behind to show who took it.

B finds out who ran away with his jar. He pays the debt he owes B, if it be truly owed, and demands the following from him for his improper procedure:

The return of the stolen jar.
Another one like it, or an equivalent of some sort.
A gong as a daja (fine for illegal confiscation).
A large pig for a hangwa (general welfare feast).
A kettle worth five pesos called kabale (pigs on which house charms are hung).
4 yards of brass wire. This payment is called aubocca, referring to the jumping down of the culprit when he carried off the jar.

Death blanket with which to carry jar home.

If he, when he ran away with the jar, had left behind his sechard or bolo or some other of his belongings to show his identity, the above would have been a case of legal confiscation, and not punishable.

Illegal confiscation lacks the elements of disgrace that theft carries with it, and, in the mind of the confiscator and his relatives at least, is justifiable. It may be that it is for this very reason that this crime is punished more severely than ordinary theft.

**ARSON**

114. *Fines assessed for goba or arson.*—One caught in the act of setting fire to a house or granary would be likely to be killed on the spot. Should he consummate the act and escape, demand would probably be made upon him and his kin for two granaries full of rice and for the animals necessary to consecrate them by the usual feasts.

This would be the probable punishment. The crime of arson is rare, and consequently there is no penalty or restitution well defined by law. The punishment might be death, or the kidnapping and selling into slavery of a member of the culprit’s family, or a fine as above. Which of these it would be would depend very much on the personality of the injured party.

**KIDNAPPING**

115. *Circumstances under which kidnapping may occur.*—If performed to cover a debt for which payment had been repeatedly demanded, or to cover an injury for which a proper fine had been repeatedly demanded in due form; kidnapping was a legal seizure, although the victim and his kindred might not consider it so.

But there were a good many cases in which the kidnapper’s motive was utterly different. He might wish, for example, to display his valor, or to profit financially by the sale of his captives. Sometimes, too, a head-hunting party, failing to get a head, would capture a woman and carry her back with them to the village. In some parts of Ifugao the woman was ravished for a period of five days by the party of head-hunters. She was then sold into slavery.

The penalty inflicted by the kin of the kidnapper was either death or retaliation by kidnapping.

**INCEST**

116. *Rarity of such offenses.*—Incest is a very rare crime in Ifugao. It seems to be becoming more frequent, for there has undoubtedly been a growing laxity in morality ever since the establishment of foreign government. A case recently occurred in Mongayan, in which a father, on humane grounds as he put the matter to her, deflowered his own daughter. This case was not punished.

**RAPE**

117. *Both parties being unmarried.*—The unmarried Ifugao, from earliest childhood, are accustomed to collect in certain houses, using them as dormitories. Usually both sexes sleep together in these dormitories. Naturally, too, there is a great deal of sexual intercourse each night, for sexual intercourse takes the same place among the Ifugao that embraces and kisses do in the courtship of some other peoples.

The nature of the female human being, says the Ifugao, is to resist the advances of the male. He naively points out that the hens, the cows, and, in fact, the females of any species resist the male in this respect, notwithstanding they may be quite as anxious for the sexual act as the male himself. It is so with women, he says. It is considered shocking in some sections of Ifugao for a girl to yield herself to her lover the first time without resistance. This ephistemology of feminine nature being a fact, it is sometimes difficult to be certain as to whether the resistance offered by a girl is bona fide or not—as to whether she is willing for the sexual act to occur, half willing, or entirely opposed to it. There may or may not be doubt in the mind of the male—usually there is none—but friends of the girl, by distorting or by putting a slightly different interpretation on what occurred, could make a case of rape in the white man’s courts out of almost any of these common events. Furthermore, a girl on the advice of her parents, were such a rape punishable by fine, might and frequently would, entice some youth into forcing her, in order that her family might benefit financially.

Consequently if a girl be “caught” in a sleeping house by a youth who habitually sleeps there, the Ifugao do not look upon it as a case of rape, even though force be used. By following this principle a great many questions and “put-up-jobs” are avoided. If a girl be seized and raped by one who does not habitually sleep in or frequent
the girl's dormitory, and the evidence establishes a case of bona fide resistance on the part of the girl, a fine of 'six' is assessed against the raptor as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kondangyang class</th>
<th>Middle class</th>
<th>Very poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Death blanket</td>
<td>P8.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking pot</td>
<td>P2.00</td>
<td>P2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natamawisan</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nambadi</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natabo</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natabo</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>P12.00</td>
<td>P5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>P12.00</td>
<td>P5.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noted that the above are very light fines. In some parts of Ifugao they would be considerably higher—notably in the Slipean country.

The committing of the crime of rape in broad daylight, as, for example, the 'catching' of a woman in a camote field, constitutes an aggravating circumstance. Such a rape as that punishable by a fine of 'six' above would be punishable by a fine of 'ten' of a value for the three classes respectively of about thirty-two pesos, sixteen pesos, and eight pesos, if committed in broad daylight. This is owing to the greater 'shame' which the woman feels on account of the unwonted hour.

118. Rape of a married woman by an unmarried man.—This is a serious offense. It is punishable by a fine equivalent to twice the fine assessed for lukap, or unaggravated adultery. One-half of this fine goes to the husband of the outraged woman and his kin and one-half to the woman and her kin.

119. Rape of a married woman by a married man.—This is a case still more serious for the offender, since in addition to paying the afore-mentioned fine, he must pay to his own wife an additional fine as penalty for lukap.

MA-HAILEYU OR MINOR OFFENSES

Minor fines are punishable by fines called haillyu. The rape of an unmarried woman by an unmarried man, considered in the preceding section in connection with the more serious forms of rape, is a minor crime.

120. False accusation.—He who accuses another falsely or he who, accusing another of crime, challenges him to an ordeal, which ordeal proves the accused to be innocent, must pay the following fine:

**HAILLYU PAID BY THE ACCUSER TO THE FALSELY ACCUSED**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kondangyang class</th>
<th>Middle class</th>
<th>Very poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 death blankets</td>
<td>P16.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 cooking pot</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 cooking pot</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natamawisan</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natamawisan</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natamawisan</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natamawisan</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>P29.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Fee of go-between: 1 death blanket | P8.00 |
| Fee of go-between: 1 cooking pot  | 5.00  |
| Fee of go-between: 2 cooking pots | 2.00  |

The amount of the fine depends to a great extent on the seriousness of the offense of which one is accused.

121. Baog or slander.—This offense is punishable by a somewhat smaller fine than that above. The following is an instance to illustrate what trivial statements may be considered as slanders. At an ayampan feast Bahni of Tuppakla made remarks derogatory to Bumidang of Palao, the principal of which was to the effect that Bumidang would never have been a kondangyang had it not been for the fees that he received from the Palao people for acting as go-between in buying back the heads of their slain from their Slipean enemies. Bumidang considered this as slander, and seized a cabalog belonging to Bahni, holding it until payment of the fine assessed for insult was made.

122. Threats of violence.—Onget, or threat, is punished by about the same fine as slander.

123. Insult.—The saying to another person of anything reflecting on his honor, prestige, or rank; the use of abusive language to an equal or superior; insinuations as to improper relations with women; improper language and behavior in the presence of people of opposite sexes who are related to each other within the forbidden degrees; breaking of various taboos—all of these constitute insults, and are punishable by a fine varying in size from the fine for slander to that for false accusation.

There exist a considerable number of taboos, for breaking of which a penalty is exacted.

First. There are taboos relating to exogamy. In the presence of a male and female kin that are of the degrees within which marriage is forbidden it is taboo: (a) to look fixedly at the woman's breasts or
hips; (b) to speak of the dormitory of the unmarried; (c) to mention the love affairs of an unmarried couple except most guardedly; (d) to break wind; (e) to blackguard; (f) to play the bilong, lover’s harp. Matters connected with sex must not be referred to unnecessarily; whenever it is necessary to refer to them, the most delicately veiled euphemisms must be used. Thus an unborn babe must be called “the friend”; the placenta must be termed a “blanket”; the short plank that constitutes the Ifugao’s bed must be designated as a “level”; even an egg must be referred to as a “soft stone” or “stone of the chickens.” It is a very grave insult, knowing two people to be of the forbidden degrees of kinship, to ask them if they are married. Even if asked in ignorance of the kinship, such a question is considered to show exceeding ill breeding. On my first visit among the Ifugaos I was several times made to feel like a boorish lout by having asked the question of the wrong people. I then hit upon the scheme of asking two people if they were brother and sister before asking if they were married. This, however, was equally a faux pas in case the two were husband and wife, since to the Ifugao it amounted to asking a man if he had married his sister. I then learned to do as a well-bred Ifugao does in such cases: to observe and deduce from the conduct of the two what their relationship might be. This was never a difficult matter.

Second. Acts which savor of adultery are tabooed. Among such are the intentional touching of the body of a married woman. If a man meets a married woman on a rice-field dike, the proper thing for him to do is to step off into the mud and water and let her pass. He may not grasp her body in order to squeeze past her and thus avoid stepping into the water. It is forbidden, too, to enter a house in which a married woman is alone.

Third. It is taboo, knowing a person to be dead, to ask his sons or near kin if he is dead.

Fourth. Certain acts are believed to be injurious to others because they are bad in their magic influence. Thus trying to collect a debt when a member of the debtor’s household is ill is taboo. The penalty for this act is the loss of the debt, be it large or small. It is believed that any subtraction from the sick person’s or his family’s possessions is bound to react injuriously on his health.

Passing near or through a field of rice in a foreign district during harvest is taboo, because it is a disturbing factor and interferes with the miraculous increase.

PROCEDURE

THE FAMILY IN RELATION TO PROCEDURE

124. Family unity and cooperation.—The mutual duty of kinsfolk and relatives, each individual to every other of the same family, regardless of sex, is to aid, advise, assist, and support in all controversies and alterations with members of other groups or families. The degree of obligation of the various members of a family group to assist and back any particular individual of that group is in direct proportion: first, to the kinship or the relationship by marriage; second, to the loyalty the individual in question has himself manifested toward the family group, that is, the extent to which he discharges his obligations to that group.

The family is without any political organization whatever. It is a little democracy in which each member is measured for what he is worth, and has a voice accordingly in the family policy. It is a different body for every married individual of the whole Ifugao tribe. There are a great many relationships that complicate matters. An Ifugao’s family is but his nation. The family is an executive and a judicial body. Its councils are informal, but its decisions are none the less effective. The following rules and principles apply to the family and to individuals in the matter of procedure.

Brothers of the blood can never be arrayed against each other. They may fall out and quarrel, but they can never proceed against each other. This is for the reason that their family is identical (before marriage at least), and a family cannot proceed against itself.

Cousins and brothers of the half-blood ought never to be arrayed against each other in legal procedure. In case they should be so arrayed, the mutual kin try to arrange peace. Only in the event of serious injuries may a cousin with good grace and with the approval of public opinion collect a fine from another cousin, and even then he should not demand as much as from a non-related person. In the case of minor injuries he should forego punishing his kindred. The following is an example:

14 Thus A and B, two brothers, are members of the same family until they marry. After marriage A’s family consists of his blood kin and of his relatives by marriage, and the same holds of B’s family. Thus after marriage only half the individuals of the families of the two brothers are identical. The families of two cousins are identical as to one-half the component individuals before their marriage and as to one-fourth of the component individuals after their marriage.
A steals some rice from his cousin B. Theft and thief become known. A takes no steps against the thief; but A’s wife cannot overlook it—and the injury was an injury to her as much as to A. Her kin take the matter up. They collect the usual indemnity for their kinswoman. A forgoes his half of the indemnity.

In cases of minor injury, procedure against more distant kin is frowned on, but sometimes occurs. It is the duty of mutual, equally related relatives and kin to try to arrange peace between opposing kin or relatives.

In the event of procedure on the part of one kinsman against another, those who are related to both take sides with him to whom they are more closely related. Besides blood relationship, there is marriage relationship oftentimes to make it a very complex and difficult problem for a man to decide to which opponent his obligation binds him. This is most frequently the case among the remotest kin. A man who finds himself in such a position, and who knows that on whichever side he may array himself he will be severely criticized by the other, becomes a strong advocate of compromise and peaceful settlement.

In case a kinsman to whom one owes loyalty in an altercation is in the wrong and has a poor case, one may secretly advise him to compromise; one must never openly advise such a measure. One may secretly refuse him assistance and backing—one must never oppose him.

One owes no obligation in the matter of procedure to another merely because he is a co-villager or inhabitant of the same district.

The obligation to aid and assist kinsmen beyond the third or fourth degree is problematic, and a question into which elements of personal interest enter to a great extent. One of the greatest sources of the power of the principal kadangyang lies in their ability to command the aid of their remote kin on account of their prestige and wealth and ability to dispense aid and favor.

There is also a class, small in number, corresponding somewhat to the “clients” of the chiefs of the ancient Gauls. This body is composed of servants who have grown up in the service and household of a master, and who have been well treated, and in times of need sustained and furnished with the things needful to Ifugao welfare; another division consists of those who habitually borrow or habitually rent from one who stands in the nature of an overlord to them. This class is most numerous in districts where most of the lands are in the hands of a few men. The duty of the clients to their lord and of their lord to them seems to be about the same as those duties have always been in a feudal society; that is to say, the duty of rendering mutual aid and assistance.

The first step in any legal procedure is to consult with one’s kin and relatives. In initiating steps to assess a fine or collect an indemnity, the next step is the selection of a monkalun.

THE MONKALUN OR GO-BETWEEN

125. Nature of his duties.—The office of the monkalun is the most important one to be found in Ifugao society. The monkalun is a whole court, completely equipped, in embryo. He is judge, prosecuting and defending counsel, and the court record. His duty and his interest are for a peaceful settlement. He receives a fee, called takha or loopa. To the end of peaceful settlement he exhausts every art of Ifugao diplomacy. He wheelies, coaxes, flatters, threatens, drives, scolds, insinuates. He beats down the demands of the plaintiffs or prosecution, and bolsters up the proposals of the defendants until a point be reached at which the two parties may compromise. If the culprit or accused he disposed to listen to reason and runs away or or shows fight, when approached, the monkalun waits till the former ascends into his house, follows him, and, war-knife in hand, sits in front of him and compels him to listen.

The monkalun should not be closely related to either party in a controversy. He may be a distant relative of either one of them. The monkalun has no authority. All that he can do is to act as a peace making go-between. His only power is in his art of persuasion, his tact and his skillful playing on human emotions and motives. Were he closely related to the plaintiff, he would have no influence with the defendant, and mutatis mutandis the opposite would be true.

Ultimately in any state the last appeal is to a death-dealing weapon. For example, in our own society a man owes a debt which he does not pay. Action is brought to sell his property to pay the debt. If he resists, he is in danger of death at the hands of an agent of the law. Much more is he in danger if he resists punishment for crime. The same is true in the Ifugao society. The lance is back of every demand of importance, and sometimes it seems hungry.

19 The word monkalun comes from the root kalum, meaning advise. The Ifugao word has the double sense, too, of our word advise, as used in the following sentences, "I have the honor to advise you of your appointment" and "I advise you not to do that."
An Ifugao's pride as well as his self-interest—one might almost say his self-preservation—demands that he shall collect debts that are owed him, and that he shall punish injuries or crimes against himself. Did he not do so he would become the prey of his fellows. No one would respect him. Let there be but one debt owed him which he makes no effort to collect; let there be but one insult offered him that goes unpunished, and in the drunken bubbling attendant on every feast or social occasion, he will hear himself accused of cowardice and called a woman.

On the other hand, self-interest and self-respect demand that the accused shall not accept punishment too tamely or with undue haste, and that he shall not pay an exorbitant fine. If he can manage to beat the demands of the complainant down below those usually met in like cases, he even gains in prestige. But the mantabaw never lets him forget that the lance has been soured and sharpened for him, and that he walks, and lives in daily danger of it.

The accuser is usually not over anxious to kill the accused. Should he do so, the probabilities are that the kin of the accused would avenge the death, in which case he, the slayer, would be also slain. The kin of each party are anxious for a peaceful settlement, if such can be honorably brought about. They have feuds a-plenty on their hands already. Neighbors and co-villagers do not want to see their neighborhood torn by internal dissension and thus weakened as to the conduct of warfare against enemies. All these forces make for a peaceful settlement.

It is the part of the accused to daily with danger for a time, however, and at last to accede to the best terms he can get, if they be within reason.

TESTIMONY

126. Litigants do not confront each other.—From the time at which a controversy is formally entered into, the principals and their kin are on a basis of theoretical—perhaps I ought to say religious—enmity. A great number of taboos keep them apart. Diplomatic relations between the two parties have been broken off and all business pertaining to the case is transacted through the third party, the mantabaw. He hears the testimony that each side brings forward to support its contention. Through him each controversialist is confronted with the testimony of the other. It is greatly to the interest of the mantabaw to arrange a peaceful settlement, not only because he usually receives a somewhat larger fee in such case, but because the peaceful settlement of cases in which he is mediator builds up a reputation for him, so that he is frequently called and so can earn many fees. To the end of arranging this peaceful settlement, the mantabaw reports to each party to the controversy the strong points of the testimony in favor of the other party, and oftentimes neglects the weaknesses.

There are no oaths or formalities in the giving of testimony.

ORDEALS

127. Cases in which employed.—In criminal cases in which the accused persistently denies his guilt, and sometimes in case of disputes over property the ownership of which is doubtful, and in cases of disputes over the division line between fields, ordeals or trials are resorted to. The challenge to an ordeal may come from either the accuser or the accused. Refusal to accept a challenge means a loss of the case, and the challenger proceeds as if he had won the case.

If the accused comes unsought from the ordeal, he has the right to collect from his accuser the fine for false accusation.

If two people mutually accuse each other, the challenge, as are both tried by ordeal. If both be seathed, they are mutually responsible for the indemnity to the injured person. If only one be seathed, he is responsible for the indemnity to the injured person and for a payment of the fine for false accusation to the one whom he accused.26

128. The hot water ordeal.—A pot, a foot or more in depth, is filled with water and heated to a furious boiling. A pebble is dropped into it. The accused must reach his hand into the water without undue haste, extract the pebble, and then replace it. Unhastily haste is interpreted as a confession of guilt. This ordeal is used in certain sections of Ifugao, while in others the hot bolo test is used. It is interesting to note that neither of them is efficacious in determining accusations of adultery. This is for the reason that the gods of animal fertility and growth do not permit an accused to receive an injury

26 When a crime such as theft has been committed, and it cannot be determined from any evidence at hand who was the culprit, the injured person frequently resorts to the haged. One form of this ceremony consists in placing an egg or area cut on the edge of a knife or the bevel of a spear and repeating the prayers necessary to make the egg or area cut balance and stand on end at the mention of the guilty person. Another form consists in seasoning an agno stick. At the mention of the guilty person the stick grows longer, as revealed by its length in relation to the span of the priest. These sticks are kept for generations. Many of them are over a hundred years old. These ceremonies are not of virtue as evidence and are entirely without the pale of Ifugao procedure. They are of value only to the injured person in assisting him to determine who has committed the crime.
for that act which is so eminently useful in their particular sphere of activity. Thus, Ifugao religion looks with the greatest disfavor upon things which tend to restrict population, just as our law frowns upon statutes in restriction of marriage.

129. The hot bolo ordeal.—In this, if two persons mutually accuse each other, their hands are placed side by side. The monkalun lowers a hot knife on their hands. The knife burns the guilty person much more seriously than the guiltless one. If only one person be put to the test, it is said that the knife bends away from the hands of an innocent person. The monkalun, with all his might, it is said, cannot put the knife down on the hand: the gods of war and justice will not permit it. But if the person be guilty, the knife grips the hand in its eagerness. If the accused show fear and try to withdraw, the kin of the accuser may catch him and burn him well. I know a man whose fingers were burned off in this way, the thumb adhering to and congealing with the palm.

130. The alao or duel.—Eggs, runo stalks, or spears are used in trials, the accused facing each other and, at the word of the monkalun, hurling their missiles. The duel is not without its dangers. Even though eggs or runo be used, the one struck is likely to return a stone, and from throwing stones to throwing spears is an easy step. The two parties of kin are likely to take a hand. How much more likely are they to take a hand and avenge their kinsman if spears be the missiles and he be wounded!

The duel is used in cases of adultery, sorcery, and in some disputes over rice fields, everywhere in Ifugao. In adultery cases, only eggs are used in the duel.

131. Trial by boltong or wrestling.—This ordeal is used throughout Ifugao, preeminently to settle cases of disputed rice-field boundaries.

The Ifugao clearly recognizes that the processes of nature—landslides, the erosion of rainfall in wet weather, and cracking and crumbling in dry weather—tend to wear away a terrace not maintained by a stone wall. A terrace maintained by a stone wall is a rarity in the Kiangan district. Should the boundary not be well marked by pagok (see sec. 43) a dispute is nearly sure to result sooner or later. These disputes are usually settled by wrestling matches. The wrestling matches are usually friendly. The Ifugao believes that the ancestral spirits of the controversants know which party is in the right, that they know just where the true boundary is, and that they see to it that he who is right shall win, provided always that they be invoked with the proper sacrifices; and that they “hold up” even the weaker of the wrestlers, and cause him to win, provided his cause be just. Notwithstanding this belief, the people are sufficiently practical to demand that the wrestlers be approximately evenly matched. The owners of the adjacent fields may themselves wrestle, or they may choose champions to represent them. Between kinsmen these matches are presumably friendly; and only sacrifices of dried meat are offered the ancestral spirits. But between those not related, there is often a great deal of unfriendly feeling. In this latter case numerous chickens and two or three pigs are sacrificed, and ceremonies like those against enemies are performed.

On the appointed day the two parties meet at the disputed boundary and occupy opposite ends of the disputed land. A party of mutual kin follows along and occupies a position midway between the adversaries. With each party is one of the family priests. Taking betels and dried meat (presuming the contest to be a friendly one) from a head-basket, the priest prays very much as follows: “Come, Grandfather Eagle, Grandfather Red Ant, Grandfather Strong Wind, Grandfather Pangalina; come, Grandmother Cicada, Grandmother Made Happy, Grandmother Oragon; come, Grandfather Gold, etc. [throughout a list of perhaps a hundred ancestors]. Here are betels and meat; they are trying to take our field away from us. And was it here, Grandmother Grasshopper, that the boundary of the field was? No, you know that it was a double arm’s length to the right. Hold us up, you ancestors, in order that she may be the weavers of gold neck-ornaments; in order that we may be the ones who give expensive feasts. Exhort [here the priest names over the gods of war and justice] to hold us up. Was it here, Grandfather Brave, that the boundary was when you bought the field? Do not let them take our land away from us, for we are to be pitied. We are sorely tried!”

After the prayers of the priests, each champion is led by one of his kinsmen to the place where the first wrestling is to occur. This leading is very ceremoniously done, and suggests the heralding of the champions in celebratory days. The dike of the upper terrace has been cleaned off at intervals of fifteen to twenty-five feet in order that the owner of the upper field may have no advantage. The champions frequently work themselves down half-thigh deep in rice-field mud, water, and slime. Catching fair and even holds, they begin to wrestle, encouraged each by the shouts and cries of his kinsmen and by the calling of the old men and old women on the spirits of the ancestors.
Each wrestler tries to push his opponent into the territory that that opponent is defending and to down him there. If A throws B in B's field, ten feet from the line on which they wrestle, A wins ten feet of the rice field at that point. Finally, there is a fall that more than likely capsizes one or both of them in the black mud. One point in the boundary is determined. Frequently the lower terrace is eight or ten feet lower than the upper one, but there are no injuries for the reason that the mud is at least two feet deep and is a soft place in which to fall.

At every fifteen or twenty feet along the disputed boundary there is another wrestling match. Sometimes the champions are changed. The new boundary runs through every point at which there has been a fall.

132. The umpire and the decision.—The monobatu is the umpire in trials by ordeal. He interprets undue haste or a faulty performance as a confession of guilt. On the day following the trial by fire or hot water he goes to the house of the accused and examines the hand and forehead. If he finds white inflamed blisters, he pronounces him guilty. In the case of a duel, he pronounces the one struck by the missile guilty. The Ifugao believe that the gods of war and justice turn missiles aside from the innocent in these duels. For the umpire to be manifestly unfair, would be for him seriously to imperil his own life.

As a matter of fact, a person whose skin is rough, dry, and horny has a great advantage in these ordeals. Since sword climbing and the walking on hot stones and live coals have occurred in other parts of the world, it would seem that a question might be raised whether state of mind, or other factors as yet unexplained, may not enter these affairs.

EXECUTION OF JUSTICE

133. Retaliation.—In the case of lives lost in feuds, sorcery, murders, and head-hunting, capital punishment inevitably follows, provided the kin of the slain be sufficiently daring to execute it.

Capital punishment is the rule, and is almost invariably inflicted in cases of the refusal to pay proper fines, for which demand has been made in correct form, and after a reasonable length of time has been given in which to raise the sum demanded, in punishment of adultery, manslaughter, the putting of another in the position of an accomplice in case of murder or death in feud, or for wounds, provided the culprit be not a kinsman or person closely related by marriage. Rarely would there be much trifling in the infliction of this penalty. Seizure of something of sufficient value to cover the fine assessed might sometimes be made, except in the cases of adultery and manslaughter. To practice seizure in the case of adultery—except when a kinsman were the offender—would have the aspect of anxiety to profit by the pollution of the wife's body and might give rise to suspicion of conspiracy on the part of husband and wife to bring about the crime in order to profit financially. In the same way, a self-respecting family would disdain to accept payment for the life of a kinsman except as a matter of forbearance and mercy to the taker thereof. We have seen before that unless the tokom be collected the injured person is in danger of losing his own life should he not slay him from whom the tomok is due.

The crime of arson undoubtedly justifies the death penalty; but it is so rare a crime that it is impossible to say what is the usual Ifugao practice in punishing it.

The non-payment of a debt when there is the ability to pay it, and after many and repeated demands have been made in the proper manner for it, justifies the infliction of the death penalty.

Capital punishment is administered by the injured person and his kin. In all cases it is fraught with the greatest danger to the inflicter. Usually it is inflicted from ambush, although it may be a sudden slaying in the heat of passion. The culprit is never notified that he has been sentenced to death. The withdrawal of a go-between from a serious case is, however, a pretty good warning. It has about the same significance as the withdrawal of an embassy in an international complication.

The infliction of a death penalty has been the starting point of many an interminable feud between families. For this reason the injured person exhausts every effort to effect a punishment in some other way if any other punishment be consistent with his dignity and respectability.

134. Seizure of chattels.—If a kinsman of remoter kinship than that existing between brothers commit a crime punishable by death, except sorcery or murder, and obstinately refuse to pay the fine assessed, seizure of his property or part of it is made.

Seizures are made from unrelated persons to cover fines due in punishment of theft, malicious killing of animals, arson, and the minor crimes, also to secure payment of a debt.

The following is a list of the things usually seized: gongs, rice-wine jars, carabaus, gold beads, rice fields, children, wives.
A seizure may be made by fraud or deceit. or it may be made in the absence of the owner of his household, or it may be made by superior force. Considering only the manner of the seizure, there is but one law to be followed: the seizure must be made in such a manner as to leave no doubt as to the identity of him who seizes. Thus if B consistently refuses to pay a fine owed to A, A may go to B's house when there is nobody at home and may run away with a carabao. If he leaves his bolo, his scabbard, his blanket or some other personal effect in the house as a sort of a visiting card, his seizure is legal. Or A may go to B's house and, pretending friendship, borrow the carabao, representing that he wants to play it at a feast and, having secured possession of it, refuse to return it till the fine be paid. Or suppose that an agent of B's is bringing a carabao up from Nueva Vizcaya, and that the agent has to travel through A's village. A and his friends stop the agent and take the carabao away from him, telling him to inform B that the carabao will be delivered to him when the fine is paid.

There is a second kind of seizure, a seizure of the property of some relative or kinsman of the culprit. The property of a wealthy kinsman may be seized to cover a fine due from a poor kinsman who has no property. This kind of seizure is more likely to lead to a lance throwing than a seizure from the culprit himself. The danger of such an ending increases with the remoteness of the kinship between the culprit and the person from whom the seizure is made.

A third kind of seizure is practiced against neighbors of delinquents who live in another district. Suppose a man B in one of the districts to the west of Kiangsan to have gone to Nueva Vizcaya (east of Kiangsan) and there to have purchased a carabao. He owes no debts, nor have any fines been levied against him. He returns through Kiangsan, however, and his carabao is seized by A, a Kiangsanite. B is informed that C, a resident of the same district as he, stole a pig a year or two ago from A. The evidence against C is placed before him in the minutest details. He is given thirty pesos as patang (interest in advance) and told to collect from C the payment proper to the case, and in addition the thirty pesos advanced as patang. When he makes these collections, and delivers them to A, he gets back his carabao. If C is innocent of the crime charged, he may kill A for this, or he may do so even if guilty. More likely he kidnaps A's wife or child and sells them for a ransom sufficient great to repay B, and leave a substantial surplus for himself. A may or may not retaliate with the lance.

**Procedure.**

In quarrels between *kadangyang* (for their dignity is very dear to them) and between persons of different districts or contrary parties, it is more frequently than not the case that the thing seized is not returned. Powerful individuals in a district are rather glad to have a seizure made of their property, since they can nearly always manage to come out winner in the finish. Thus in the case above, B, if a powerful individual, probably collects two or even three carabaos or their equivalent value from C, and besides he receives thirty pesos *patang*. It would seem that the obligation rests on every Ifugao—notwithstanding there is no political government—so to conduct himself as not to involve his neighbors in trouble with individuals of inimical or semi-inimical districts; and that should he be so involve them, he is liable to whatever punishment circumstance metes out to him.

In the case of altercations between individuals of different districts, seizure of animals was generally practiced by persons of those districts through which the road led to the region from which the animals were imported. Of all districts, Kiangsan was most advantageously situated in respect to this matter; since, for the greater part of Ifugao-land, the road to Nueva Vizcaya (whence most of the animals imported into Ifugao came) led through it.

135. **Seizure of rice fields.**—The seizure of rice fields is practicable only in case the fields are near the village of him who seizes them. For if located in a distant district, the working of the field would be extremely hazardous, and it's protection and continuous holding impossible.

Fields may properly be seized for collection of debt or for refusal to pay fines or indeminitities. Portions of fields are seized sometimes in disputes as to ownership or boundaries.

Disputes over ownership and boundary come to a head during spading time. One party begins to spade for the next year's crop the land claimed by the other. The other party sticks up *runos*, tied "district lock" fashion (*alpad*), along the line which he claims to be the true boundary. The first party then pulls up these *runos*, and sticks down others along the line claimed by it as the true boundary. The issue is joined. The defendant has made his "rejoinder." A *monkolan* is now selected by the plaintiff party, and tries to arrange—and in case of disputed boundaries nearly always does arrange—a means of peaceful settlement, either by compromise or through trial by wrestling. Sometimes the ownership of a field itself is in question. Usually the question is one of inheritance; although there are a num-
ber of other causes that may give rise to dispute. Ownership is usually peaceably settled by means of a wrestling match.

We come now to those cases in which a field is seized for debt as payment of a fine or indemnity. The plaintiff or prosecutor seizes the field at spading time by playing runu stalks, alpud, in it. The defendant probably pulls up these stalks and throws them away. An attempt may be made by mutual friends and relatives to secure a peaceful settlement of the trouble. A rice field is a thing so dear to the Ifugao, and so necessary and useful to him, that such attempts are extremely likely, however, to come to naught.

If the matter be not arranged otherwise, the seizer of the field sends a body of men to spade it, holding in reserve an armed force of kinsmen and relatives to protect and maintain the spaders if they be attacked. The other party emerges with an armed force to drive the spaders away. The two parties meet. If one be greatly superior in strength, the other usually retires, and surrenders the field. If they be fairly evenly matched, a battle is likely to ensue. If the first wound be a slight one, the party receiving it is likely to withdraw; but if it be serious, or if one of their number be killed, they fight to avenge him. Sometimes four or five men are killed in one of these frays.

But in the meantime, and often before actual fighting begins, a body of mutual relatives, friends, and neighbors emerges and tries to make peace and secure an amicable settlement.

136. Enforced hospitality.—Sometimes a creditor and a numerous and powerful following of kinsmen descend upon a debtor's house as unwelcome guests, consume his store of food, and force his hospitality until appeased by the payment of the debt.

This form of collection can only be used in the case of debts, for in all other controversies, taboos forbid the eating of the adversary's food, drinking his water, chewing his betels, etc. Even in the case of debt, if a go-between has been sent to the debtor, this means may not be used. It can only be used in a case where "diplomatic relations" have not been ruptured.

18 The very day that I wrote this, the ownership of a field was settled by a wrestling match. An Ifugao some time before passed a field to a christianized Ifugao. This worthy had the temerity to sell the field. Although the pursuer would have surely been sustained in his right had he appealed to the lieutenant-governor, nevertheless, he was so confident, being in the right, that he would not lose, that he consented to settle the ownership by a wrestling match. He won. The christianized Ifugao may possibly now have more faith in the tenet of his former religion that the ancestral spirits uphold him who is in the right.

22 He may gratuitously add an insult by implanting a few of them in a pile of feudal matter.
spaced, and throw his seed-bed away. Both men led armed parties to the field, but this time Gumaring was careful to have a sufficient number of backers on hand. Dumaluan's party took to flight.

In Burana, a fight occurred over the seizure of a rice field that resulted in the killing of four men.

Kodamon of Pindungan and Katiling of Ambonage had a dispute over the boundary of a field. There were pahkot to mark the boundary, but Kodamon contended that all memory of the planting of the pahkot was absent, and that they were, consequently, without significance in the matter of dispute. They wrestled, and Kodamon lost a little ground, but Katiling tried to take more than was due him according to the verdict of the wrestling matches. Katiling sent men to spade the disputed territory, and led an armed force out to support them. Kodamon led an armed force to the field. At the same time and at a safe distance, the mutual kin of the two parties and a goodly number of neighbors gathered. Kodamon was armed with a Remington rifle whose trigger was broken; Dulhanag, a kinsman of Katiling, with a revolver for which he had no ammunition. The other members of each force however were substantially, if less spectacularly, armed with spears which they well know how to use. Women rushed in between the two parties, and catching the warriors by the waist tried to lead them away. One could well believe the air was riven by cries, threats, accusations, unbridled imprecations, invocations. The women sent kin shouted from their safe distance that if Kodamon killed Katiling, they would kill Kodamon (as a vengeance for the death of their kinsman) while if Katiling killed Kodamon, they would avenge their kinsman's death by killing Katiling. "What kind of a way is this for co-villagers to settle a dispute?" they shouted. "Go back home and beget some children, and marry them to each other, giving them the two fields, and then it will make no difference where the division line is!" There was an exchange of spears in which Bayara, a kinsman of Kodamon's, was wounded slightly. The matter was then left in abeyance with the understanding that as soon as possible, the two families be united by a marriage, and the two fields given the married couple.

It happened, however, that on account of the sexes of the unmarried children of the families, a union between them was impossible. Accordingly, Kodamon gave his field to his son Dulhanag, and Katiling traded his field to Bingihan, his brother. Both of these young men had pregnant wives. Pingihan's wife gave birth first, the child being a girl. Shortly afterward, Dulhanag's wife gave birth. I met Dulhanag, and not knowing of the event, and noticing that he seemed downcast, asked him why he was so sad. "My wife has given birth to a child girl," he said. The quarrel over the boundary is as yet unsettled.

Kuyapi of Nagakanan, before the Spanish occupation, sent a slave child to Gumining of Basy, to be sold in Balian (Vizcayern), stipulating that the child must bring at least five carabao. Gumining sold the child for seven carabao, delivering five to Kuyapi, and kept two.

The Spaniards came. They were exceedingly partial to the people of Kaugan district in which the village of Basy is located. They paid little or no attention to complaints of people of other districts against people of Kaugan district. Many debts owed by Kaugan people were unpaid, for the Kaugan people took advantage of the protection given them by the Spaniards. And yet the Nagakanantes and Kauganantes were very closely united by marriage and by blood. Indeed Kuyapi and Gumining were second or third cousins.

Owing to the difficulty the Nagakan people had in collecting debts owed them by the Kauganantes, they conceived for the latter and for the Spaniards a most violent hatred, and began to make reprisals. The Spaniards punished these reprisals by making an expedition to Nagakan in which they came off second best. They sent another and stronger expedition, which killed a number of Nagakan people and which burned all the houses in the district. To turn all the Nagakan people have not been able to rebuild their houses—the large trees having long since been cut from nearby forests—and live in wretched shacks built on the ground. They blame the Kiangan people, saying that the latter invited the Spaniards into Ifugao.

Kuyapi claimed that the terms on which he sent the slave to Gumining were that Gumining was to receive only one carabao for having effected a sale, and that all the rest were to be delivered to him, and that there was consequently a carabao still due him. It seems likely that the claim was false, and that it was advanced merely as an excuse for making a reprisal.

Pagudut, the son of Gumining, to whom demand was presented for the payment of the carabao claimed to be yet due, refused to pay this debt. The Nagakan people made an expedition into Kaugan district (about two miles distant) and captured Ormaya, the daughter of Pagudut, a very comely girl of sixteen or seventeen. In order to make her wait, and in order that she should not casually offer resistance, they took her skirts off so that she really had to cover her shame with her hands and would also hurry to arrive at the journey's end. But the Basy people managed to cut off Lubbit the son of Kuyapi, and imprison him. They took him to a granary in Basy, intending to keep him as a hostage for the return of Ormaya. But word was carried to the ears of the Spanish commandante of this capture. He had Lubbit brought before him. He struck Lubbit, tied although he was, twice in the face, and would have continued, had not Angawawu the husband of Ormaya seized and held his arm and beseeched him not to use Lubbit harshly. The commandante promised not to take his life. But a soldier called attention to the fact that a gun had been captured with Lubbit, which gun, it was claimed, was that of a Spanish corporal whom the Nagakan people had killed. Angawawu and his companions started back to their homes in Basy. But on the road, they saw, across the valley, Lubbit with his back turned to a firing squad, saw a puff of white smoke, and saw Lubbit fall into a rice field. Angawawu says he burst into tears for he realized that this meant serious trouble for him and his relatives, and placed Ormaya's life in the greatest peril.

When the Nagakanantes heard of Lubbit's death, they at first blamed the people of Basy for it. Inasmuch as it is against the ethics of people of the Kiangan, Nagakanantes Maggot area to kill women, or at least to kill any but Silisan women, they considered taking Ormaya up in a spelebro and leaving her to die for want of food and drink. The women relatives of Lubbit wanted very much to kill Ormaya, and pointed out that while it would not be permissible for the men to kill her, there would be no disgrace in their doing so. 243

234 The Nagakanantes claim that only five out of forty of the first expedition returned.
so. But Kuyapi would have none of it. He himself guarded his prisoner two or three nights to see that her life was not taken.

Soon a monkalum was sent to ascertain the true details of Lubbat's death. His report exonerated the Basy people. The Nagakaran people held Ormsya's ransom considerably higher, however, because of that death. They received five carabaos, twenty pigs, two gold beads, and a great number of spear and bole, and death blankets. It was five months before the Basy people could raise the amount of this ransom. During this time, Ormsya was well treated—for was she not a kiaswoman?—but she was carefully guarded.

THE PAOWA OR TRUCE

189. The usual sense of the term "paowa".—The word paowa means literally prohibition. As most commonly used, it denotes a period of truce imposed by the monkalum in cases that cannot be peaceably arranged. It is a period that gives both sides to a controversy a chance to cool off. It avoids that rash and ill-considered action that would be likely to follow the breaking off of diplomatic relations between the two parties.

I say the paowa serves these purposes. However, it is imposed by the monkalum in order to allow him to withdraw with dignity from the case, and without loss of reputation. A lance throwing or a seizure made while he is acting as monkalum or occurring soon after he has severed his connection with the case as an insult to him. People say to him: Dinawan-da tolban-me, "they went over your head." Such an occurrence is exceedingly hurtful to his reputation. People will not employ him as monkalum for the reason that his cases do not end in peaceable settlements. He thus loses many fat fees.

Assuming that the Ifugao's culture would some day, if left alone, develop courts somewhat after the fashion of the courts of civilized nations, have we not here the embryo of "contempt of court"?

The period usually set by the monkalum, as truce, is fourteen days. During this time, should one of the parties to the controversy commit any act hostile to the other, the monkalum must avenge or punish it. At the conclusion of this period of truce, the two parties may fight out the dispute to suit themselves, kidnapping, seizing property, or hurling lances, without injuring the dignity of the monkalum; or the aggressive party may employ another monkalum.

190. Another sense of the term "paowa".—Should a wife have committed a crime against the marital relation, and should her husband be unable for any reason to collect the gibu due him in the case, he may put a prohibition on her marrying any other man until the gibu be paid.

PROCEDURE

TERMINATION OF CONTROVESIES: PEACE-MAKING

141. The kidi or religious aspects of peace-making.—The word kidi has three senses: It refers to a class of deities, the offspring of one of the principal deities of war; it refers to sacrifices to these deities; it refers to peace-making. Deities, sacrifice, and peace may seem widely distinct, but a glance into the Ifugao's religion will show the connection.

The kidi (deities) desire peace: but the peace must be made in the proper manner, and accompanied by sacrifice to themselves. The kidi have established the taboo that those who are involved in a controversy or enmity must not chew betels with an adversary, nor be in the same house or gathering or feast with him, nor drink with him, nor receive gifts or hospitality from him. The penalty for breaking this taboo is the affliction by the kidi with diseases of the lungs, throat, voice; the condition known as "big belly," leukaemia, short wind, swelling of the feet, dropsy, etc. This may be said to be the punishment for making peace without ceremonies. But sometimes the kidi punish the prolongation of a feud, enmity or controversy, by afflicting one or both of the parties as set forth above. Those who are involved in long enmities sacrifice continually to the kidi in order to offstand such affliction.

The kidi or peace-making ceremony is performed in the following cases:

(a) At the termination of the funeral of a married person. It is performed between the kin of the dead spouse and between those of the living spouse.

(b) Between adversaries in case of adultery, rape of married woman, sorcery, murder, manslaughter, malicious killing of animals, false accusation, disputes over rice fields, theft (sometimes), or other serious controversy, provided the controversy terminate peaceably.

(c) At the peaceful termination of all ordeals and trials.

(d) Between the kin of a dead spouse and the widow or widower on occasion of remarriage of the latter.

(e) Between parties to a controversy ending in payment of the token fine.

(f) At the termination of a feud, between the families involved in the feud. A feud was rarely—my belief is that it was never—terminated except by a marriage or on request of one of the members of the family afflicted by the kidi deities. In the latter case, peace might or
might not be purchased. At any rate, the family suing for peace furnished the animals for sacrifices.

In most parts—I believe all—of Ifugao, peace was never made between districts or villages. Peace was always made between families; but peace between the principal families of two villages or districts was sometimes in effect a peace between the districts or villages involved—I say sometimes because such a peace was uncertain and undependable.

When peace was made between families of different districts, or between families of the same district in cases of serious controversy, two men were chosen, one by each party to the peace, and with appropriate prayers and ceremonies, were given good spears. It was understood always that these spears were for the purpose of killing the first one of either party who reopened the feud, war, or controversy. After this ceremony, other spears were broken and tied together as a symbol of the breaking and tying up of all enmity; as a symbol, too, that spears were no longer needed.

AN INTER-VILLAGE LAW

142. Neutrality.—When a war expedition or party passed through a village en route against another village, the intermediate village might signify its neutrality by casting a spear at the party. The spear never struck a member of the party, of course, nor was its casting taken as an unfriendly act. It was merely a declaration of neutrality. Should a village fail to cast a spear in these circumstances at such a party, the people of it would be held as enemies and accomplices of the members of the war party.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: IFUGAO BEREONING OF RELATIONSHIP

All Ifugao words denoting relationships except the words for father and mother are common in gender.

To any individual of any generation:
1. All his kin of his own generation are tulang (brothers, sisters).
2. All children of his kin of his own generation are anak (sons, daughters).
3. All grandchildren, great-grandchildren, etc., of his kin of his own generation are apo (grandsons, granddaughters).
4. All kin of the same generation as his father and mother are ama or iva (father or mother).
5. All kin of the same generation as his grandparents, great-grandparents, etc., are apo (grandparents).
6. All relatives by marriage who are the husbands and wives of the kin of the same generation are sidu (brother-in-law, sister-in-law).
7. All relatives by marriage, the husbands and wives of the kin of the generation of his father and mother, are amaan or ivaan.
8. The father or mother of his wife are ama or iva (father or mother), by courtesy.
9. The kin of the father or mother of his wife are tulang di ama (or iva) 'n di inay-ak (kin of the father, or mother, of my wife).

In the Banaue district, the kin of one's father or mother, in addition to being called father or mother, are also called uliao (uncle or aunt), and the husbands or wives of the uliao are called uliaon (uncles-in-law, aunts-in-law). The son or daughter of a kinsman or a kinswoman of the same generation in addition to being called son or daughter of one's self is called amaan or ivaan.

APPENDIX 2: CONNECTION OF RELIGION WITH PROCEDURE

An Ifugao myth.—Partly because of its connection with the Ifugao marriage ceremony, partly because it illustrates so well the use to which the Ifugao puts his myths—rarely telling them for amusement, but reciting them in religious ceremonies as a means to magic—and partly because it is so characteristically Ifugao, I have decided to append the following myth, despite the fact that it might more properly appear in a work on religion.
Most of the Ifugao’s myths have either been invented or if not invented, changed, for the purpose of affording an analogy to the solution of the difficulties or misfortunes that confront men today. The Ifugao have a myth telling of a great flood, whose only survivors were a brother and sister—Baltok and Bagan. In chagrin and shame because her brother has gotten her with child, Bagan flees into the East Region to seek destruction from the terrors there. They refuse to destroy her, but teach her how to take the curse off marriages between kindred by the sacrifice of two pigs, a male and female of the same litter. Notice how a flood myth—an element in the mythology of nearly every people under the sun—has been modified and made to serve a magic purpose.

The myth given below is a further and utterly inconsistent modification of this flood myth. In the myth above, Baltok and Bagan are represented as having a child and not wanting it—in the myth below, they have no child but want one.

The ceremony of using a myth to serve a religious end consists of two parts. The first is the recitation of the myth by the priest. This is called buked. It affords an analogy to the condition of sickness, war, famine, harvest, union in marriage, or what not, in which the performers of the ceremony find themselves, and the happy solution of the problem. It is terminated by what I term the fit. This is an expression of the priest’s will that the happy solution related in the myth shall be existent in the present situation. It is not, I think, the fact of the priest’s will that is thought to bring about the solution so much as the compelling and magic power of his spoken word to that end.

Up to this stage, the ceremony is sympathetic magic. In the second stage it becomes witchcraft, and is called tabut, “pushing.” In it the priest “pushes” the deities of the myth over the route from their habitations in the Skyworld, the Underworld, the East Region, the West Region, or wherever they may abide, step by step to the village of the Ifugaos performing the ceremony. He may recite their passage through as many as thirty or forty localities, and as the priest chimes: “They climb the steep at Numbalabog; they descend at Baat, they wade at Monk’ikatun,” etc., the compelling power of his spoken word “pushes” the deities along. Finally the deities arrive and declare through the priest that they will confer the benefits requested.

This myth is employed in all of the final ceremonies of marriage, and in all ceremonies of married persons that have the obtaining of children as their object. The translation is absolutely literal and without embellishment.

How Baltok and Bagan obtained children—And it is said that Bagan and Baltok of Kiangan were childless. “What is the use of living?” said Bagan.

“Stay here, Baltok. I am going to go to the East Country. I will see Ngilin, Umbumabahal, Dauwak, Pinyukan, Bolong, and the God of Animal Fertility of the East.” She got betels together and packed them. Bagan and Baltok ate. After taking them, they chewed betels.

Bagan put her pack on her head and started. She came to Balseong [Ligues Gap]. She went on to Kituman. Went eastward to Ulu. Forded at Agawan. Encountered the Fire at Bayukan. He [the Fire] asked, “Where are you going, Bagan?”

“I am going into the East Region,” said Bagan, “because we are childless, Baltok and I. I am going to find some one to devour me, because we are very lonely.” Fire laughed. “Do not feel so, Bagan,” he said, “keep going eastward until you come to Ngilin, Umbumabahal, and the deities of the East Region.”

Bagan put her pack on her head and continued to Balahiang. She came to the lake [or ocean?] at Balahiang. She aroused the Crocodile.

“Who are you, human?” said the Crocodile.

“I am Bagan of Kiangan.”

“And why is it,” said the Crocodile, “although the Flood of the East Region and the Flood of the West Region came upon me and fear to arouse me, that you, Bagan, a [more] human, [presume to] molest me?”

“Yes,” said Bagan, “that was my intention; for I am searching for someone to devour me.”

“Why?” said the Crocodile.

“Yes, for I have become very lonely; for Baltok and I have no children.”

The Crocodile chuckled. “Oh, I will not devour you, Bagan,” he said.

“I would shame to devour one so beautiful. Continue on eastward, and arrive at the dwelling of the Shark. Wake him up, in order that he shall be the one to devour you.”

Bagan thought well of it. She put her pack on her head. She went on eastward and came to the waters where dwells the Shark. It was fear-inspiring, and caused her to exclaim “Jag!” She was terrified, but she conquered her fear. She reached for betels, and threw them between her teeth. She crunched them. They became like blood. Bagan spat into the waters. She beheld a great wave circle. The Shark came into sight. He grunted.

“Who are you, human?” he said.

“I am Bagan, the wife of Baltok at Kiangan,” she said.

“And why is it that you arouse me, human? And there come the Strong Wind of the East and the Strong Wind of the West, and they arouse me not; for I am ferocious here in the East Region. Yet you, Bagan, the wife of Baltok at Kiangan, you arouse me?”

“Yes, that is what I purpose,” said Bagan, “for I am looking for someone to devour me.”

The Shark chuckled. “Why!” he said.

“Yes, for I want to be devoured because Baltok and I have no children.”

“I would shame to do so, you are a beautiful woman. Come into my house in the Waters in order that we may eat.”

Bagan entered. They ate.
pigs and the chickens became many. Their children scattered throughout the hills of Pugao [the Ifugao's earth]. The rice dikes climbed up the mountains. The hills smoked day by day [from the burning off of clearings for sweet potatoes]. Life was miraculously increased.

[Put by the priests:] It is not then but now; not in Kiangan, but here in our village of X. It shall be the same with these children, A and B. Their children will be many. Let some be male and some female. Let their pigs and the chickens, etc., etc.

[Feld:] "We will go now," said Umbumabalak. "All right," said Bugan. "There is a calling above," said Ngilin.

"Have you kids yonder?" said Umbumabalak.

"Yes," said Bugan, "we have kin in the village of X."

"Let us thither," say the Gods of Animal Fertility. They come westward to Talbun. They continue to X. [The priest 'pushes' the deities step by step on the way in which he is performing the invocation. When they arrive, the same occurs as shown in the tiulad inserted above."

The halupa feast.—The halupa are a class of deities that keep an idea constantly before the mind of one whom they are sent to harass. They are most frequently used against debtors; but they may be sent to soften the wrath of an enemy or the stubbornness of a pretty girl, or for other purposes. They are induced to serve the end of him who invokes them by the sacrifice of a pig or chicken and by offerings of betels and rice wine. There are about a hundred of these deities.

After the ancestral spirits have been invoked, and beseeched to intercede with the halupa for the purpose desired, the halupa themselves are invoked, in some such words as the following:

"Ye halupa of the Skyworld, of the Underworld, of the West Region, and of the East Region, are beseeched to attend. It is prayed ye to go and harass him [name] so that he will not sleep for thinking of his debt to me. If he goes to get water, go with him; if he goes to get wood, go with him; if he goes on a trading trip, go with him. Harass him to the extent that he will give me his pig, his rice, his chickens, his death blankets, his money, his rice fields, his 'iron' his house furnishings: [There is no danger of asking too much of a deity or a white man!] May the speech of the go-between make him ashamed to refuse! Do not let him sleep till he pays the debt."

A subclass of the halupa deities have, for their especial function, the soothing of obstinate debtors so that they may not get angry at the words of the go-between, nor run away from him when they see him coming. These are also invoked.

The priest then is possessed by the halupa one by one, and through him, each of the halupa takes a sip of rice wine, and states that he will harass the debtor and that he will not allow him to sleep till he pays. After this ceremony, a fowl or pig is sacrificed and given the halupa. The meat is cooked and spread out on some cooked rice.
Myths relating how some ancestor successfully invoked the halupe, are then recited for the magic power that lies in the recital, and are followed by *fulled*, ceremonies of witchcraft in which the deities are "pushed along" by the compelling power of the word of the priest to do his bidding. More frequently than not, the myth changes abruptly into the *tulied*. The following instance is taken verbatim from a series of ceremonies that I had a priest perform against a delinquent debtor who owed me a sum of money. I regret to say that the ceremonies were not efficacious.


[The priest blows, in the direction of his debtor.]


[Here the myth changes into a twold, "pushing."]

The halupa speak, saying, "Let us return to our village in the Skyworld." "There is a calling," said Tumayaban. "Whence comes this call from above? Have you kin there?" "Yes," said Bogus, "we have kindred above."

And the halupa ascend at Tatawang. They come on to Kulah. They continue to Gitigit. They continue to Panganban. They climb up to Nambalabog. They listen for a calling at Basay and Pindungan. [These are villages in the vicinity of Umbal, the village where the priest was performing the ceremony.] "Ah! the calling is at Umbal!" they say. They walk on the level of Pamaungan. They descend at Iwakal. They come to Upanon. They continue to Tobal. They come out at Uhat. They wade at Xunginul. They go around the hill to Boko. They continue to Pugao. They climb at Takalalag. They ascend to Domok. They walk on the level of Patalog. They listen for the calling. They hear it there. They travel on the rice dikes at Kabusnung. They wade at Tudoawa. They come round the hill at Umbal. They arrive and, "Why, it is Barion and Patikwal," says Tumayaban. "Where are your refractory debtors?"

"There is Kedaman. He does not pay his debts to us. Go and disperse yourselves in the vicinity of his house, and harass him continually with the remembrance of his debt, so that he may not sleep, even in the middle of the night. Make him anguish. Soothe him (so that he will not be angry). Harass him so that he may think of nothing else than his debt; so that he will finish with it; so that he will sell his rice fields (in order to pay); so that we will give him pigs, his money, his rice, his rice and his rice fields."

[The priest blows and waves his hand in the direction of Kedaman's house.] "Goo-off! Wait there till I come in the morning."

The collector of a large fine performs an unpretentious series of ceremonies directed to the gods of animal fertility and growth. The fact that he has won out in collecting the fine shows that his star is in the ascendancy and that a more pretentious feast is not needed. Peace-making ceremonies.—A full account of these ceremonies would be too extended to give here. The following are two of the myths that are recited in the course of these ceremonies:

1. And it is said that the father of Amtalao of the Skyworld spoke to his son, saying: "Go down and cause the enemies of earth to make peace, in order that there be no longer coughings, and shortness of breath, and bleedings from the nose, and quick fatigue among them."

Amatalao packed his beto, put on his hip-bag, and took his spear in hand. He descended to Habitan. [Here the myth goes into a detailed account of the places passed in the journey.] He arrived in Kiangan. He went to the house of Balitok [the hero ancestor of the people of Kiangan culture area]. He threw the shoot of his spear handle into the flat stone used as a seat in front of the house. It cracked like a dry leaf.

"You have spoilt this flat stone," said Balitok. Amtalao kicked the pieces of stone with his foot. They all joined together as if never broken apart.

"I did not spoil it," said Amtalao.

"Why is it, Balitok, that you do not make peace with your enemies? Is it that you wish to be afflicted by the hidit?"

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"I do not know how," said Balitok. Amtalao went to the sons of Imbalitayan. "Make peace with Balitok, in order that ye be not afflicted with coughings and snarlings and bleedings from the nose and shortness of the breath," said he.

And they caught their pigs and chickens, the sons of Imbalitayan, and the people of Kiangan, and Amtalao taught them to make peace. And when they had finished, Amtalao ascended into the Skyworld.

"How many did you cause to make peace?" said his father.

"There are no more enemies on earth," said Amtalao. Even though the Ifugao travel far, they are safe. Even though spears be thrown, they do not seethe. No longer is there shortness of the breath, and labored breathing, bleeding from the nose, and coughings and quick fatigue. The people are anointed with gold, which tarnishes not, like unto the waters of the river, which never become small, and like unto the dancing plumes of the cypo and rano grass. They talk and talk, and talk straight. They ask for what they want and get it.

Let it be so, not at Kiangan, but here; not them, but now; in order that there be no more shortness of breath and coughing and labored breathing [the priest's will being that the benefits mentioned by Amtalao in the paragraph immediately preceding become existent].

(2) The Thunderer of the Skyworld was sitting on his lounging bench in the Skyworld. "Alas! why do the people keep fighting all the time?" he said. He took his spear in hand. He descended unto Kiangan. He went to the house of Balitok. "Why do you not make peace with the sons of Imbalitayan?" said he. "I desire to make peace, but they will not," said Balitok.

"Come with me," said the Thunderer. They went to the village of the sons of Imbalitayan. The Thunderer shouted to them. They came down out of their houses, spears in hand, and carrying their shields. They advanced toward Balitok. The Thunderer was angry.

"Why did the people of Kiangan offer to make peace, and ye would not?" shouted he. The Thunderer smote. The branches fell from the trees. The sons of Imbalitayan were blown to pieces. Their limbs were torn from their trunks and went hurtling hither and thither.

And below every house was heard the wailing of the old women. And every woman's head was encircled by mourning bands.

Let it be so, not then, but now, with those that do not keep the peace! Let them be blown to pieces and scattered hither and thither, and may there be none to avenge them.

The chewing of betels together by the reconciled enemies is the essential part of the peace-making ceremony. Three constituents are used in betel chewing: the betel leaf, the areca nut, and the lime. The priest takes position between the two (as yet) enemies. One of the enemies then gives the other an areca nut, and his courtesy is returned by his enemy giving him a betel leaf. Both are then supplied by the priest with lime. They proceed to chew betels thus, and the priest prays as follows:

"Ye are chewed, Betel Leaf, Areca Nut, and Lime. Let not them who were enemies be afflicted with coughings, shortness of breath, quick coming fatigue,
bleeding from the nose, nor labored breathing. Let them, instead, be like gold, which tarnishes not; like the tail feathers of the full-grown cock, which never touch the earth; like the waters of the river, which never cease coming, like Talal of Ambungas, who ate his own children, yet was not afflicted by the hidit. Let them be as active as the waters of Luade (a cataract) or the feathery plumes of the cogon and ruco grass. Let them be like the rising sun, like the Cobra of the White Mountain, like the Full-grown Cock of Balul, like the Hard Stone of Kusunan. May their enemies stand aside from them in fear. May their valor be heard of in all the hills."

Ceremonies connected with the payment of large fines.—At the termination of a controversy in which a large fine is paid, the two parties perform the hidit, peace-making ceremonies, as a matter of self-interest. To leave them unperformed would be to subject themselves to the wrath of the hidit deities who would afflict them with tuberculosis, shortness of breath, etc. The peace so made is theoretical, oftentimes, rather than actual. Usually there is a great deal of ill feeling smoldering in the breasts of the controversialists.

He who pays any large fine invariably performs a general welfare feast soon afterward. To this feast he invites all the deities of the Skyworld, the Underworld, the Fabulous Region of the East and the Fabulous Region of the West. In addition, if he feels great resentment against the fine collector, he secretly performs the following ceremony:

Talad (Pestering).—"The Ender of the East Region sits on his lounging bench there. He hears a call. He arises and puts betels in his lip-bag and takes his spear in hand. His hesitates, and then starts westward. He comes on to Pawa. [The priest 'pushes' him, as in the preceding talad, stage by stage through the following places: Ulikon, Halpli, Lalu, Kitoa, Lingay, Bahan, Lalu, Bayukan, Ula, Tukubayaban, Kitsanan, Kusunan. From Kusunan onward the road is variable, depending on the village of the priest.] He arrives at [village]. He receives the chicken. He chops off its head. [The priest at this stage chops off the chicken's head.] Even so [he says] I chop off the life of the fine collector. [The priest blows and swings his arm in the direction of the fine-collector's house.] Travel thither, Ender, to the house of him who took from us the death blankets. Stay with him. If he goes to get wood, turn the axe into his body. If he travels, push him off the steep. If he sleeps, sleep with him. In the middle of the night stab him, and we will hear about it with the rising sun. [For we are poverty stricken. We owe them no debt, yet they have taken our pigs and our chickens and our death blankets and our rice [etc.]. We are to be pitied, alas!"

Other deities that may be sent against the fine collector are the Spider-webbed One, the Smotherer, Dysentery, the Short-winded One, the Trapper, the Twister.

28 Myths relate how the Full-Grown Cock overcame the Half-Grown Cock, how the Cobra overcame the Python, how the Hard Stone overcame the Soft Stone.

APPENDIX 3: PARRICIDE

A rather startling case was called before the Court of First Instance in Kianggan in December, 1913. Limitit of Ayungan was charged with having murdered his father. The phrase "Are you guilty or not guilty?" translated into Ifugao changes significance slightly, and stands as "Are you at fault or not at fault?" With a candor almost pitiful, Limitit admitted the facts in the case, but pleaded "not at fault." "He was my father," he said. "I had a right to kill him. I am blameless, for I provided a generous funeral feast for him."

Interrogation developed that Dilagan, the father, was a spendthrift. He had raised a sum of money—possibly for the purpose of gambling—by pawnning, balal, his son's rice field. The son was angry, but Dilagan promised faithfully to redeem the field by planting time. But planting time came round, and Dilagan was unable to keep his promise and redeem the field. In a quarrel over this matter, the son lost patience and killed his father. So far as I am able to ascertain, his act is justified, or at the very least, condoned by his co-villagers. They excuse him on two grounds:

First, the old man was worthless, and deserved killing for having wronged his son. Even though the damage done was not irreparable, it was probable that it would be repeated, and that he would impoverish his son for life.

Second, the old man was Limitit's father, and Limitit had the right on that account to kill him if he wanted to; at least it was the business of nobody else.

The American court, if I remember aright, sentenced Limitit to life imprisonment. He died shortly after being incarcerated.

Another case of parricide was that of Bayungubung of Kurug. He killed his father for the same reason that Limitit killed Dilagan: that is, for the wrongful pawnning of a field.

The essence of the attitude of the people in both these cases seemed to be that the son had the right to kill his father if the latter impoverished the family livelihood or position in society. It seems to us an inhuman doctrine. But remember that the be-all and the end-all of Ifugao existence is the family, and not the individual. With us, the opposite is true: the rights of the individual supersede those of the family. The fields in question had been handed down from past generations. The son in each case was responsible at the time of the parricide for the welfare of future generations of the family. The old man in each
case was a traitor to the welfare of the family. He had had his day, and was worse than useless. Remember that in a country where a living must be eked from a tough, stony mountainside with a wooden spade, the means to life handed down from the sweat of former generations is a thing as sacred, as it is precious.

Besides these considerations, there is the principle on which Ifugao society is based: The family exists principally for the youthful and future generations of it.

APPENDIX 4: CONCUBINAGE AMONG THE KALINGAS

The Kalingas are a tribe having a culture remarkably similar to the Ifugao. In respect to warfare, head-hunting, and social organization, it is an even more dazzling example of a barbarian culture, I believe. Concubinage is universally practiced by the wealthy. The concubine has a legal status. A man must secure his wife’s consent to take a concubine, but the consent is universally forthcoming.

During a six months’ residence in Kalinga, I became quite well acquainted with the unusually intelligent wife of a Kalinga headman. I asked her one day why the women permitted their men to take unto themselves additional wives.

“Oh, that’s the custom of us Kalingas.”

“I know it’s the custom. But I think it’s a poor one for you women who are so unfortunate as to be married to men who practice it.”

“Why are we unfortunate? Their children can inherit none of his wealth. Our children get it all.”

“Yes, but doesn’t it hurt you to see your husband running after other women?”

“I never see it. The other women never come here. Or if they do come to the house it is as if they were perfect strangers. They have their own house.”

“But you must know that your husband does leave you to go to these other women.”

“Oh yes! But I don’t see it. Besides their children are subject to my children. If my children suffer injury, they fight to avenge them. If my children demand, they stand back of them. It is good to have a large family.”

The logic of concubinage is embraced in this last reply, I think. It is an institution to render the family “strong to demand, and strong to resist demands.”

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A strong healthy Kalinga chief has usually two, often more concubines. He gives them rather limited material support: now and then a suckling pig to rear, a little rice to help out the year, work at good wages, yarn to keep them busy at the loom, a little capital for trading trips, and the like. He may help them a great deal, but they rarely cost him much. As indicated above, their children have no inheritance rights.

GLOSSARY*

adi, term of negation.
augajong, dormitory of the unmarried. In some sections of northern Ifugao a special building is constructed for this purpose. Among the Ifugao a special building is constructed for this purpose. Among the Ifugao’s generally a vacant house or the house of a widow is used.
agka, a magic stick used for the purpose of determining the cause of illness, or the answering of other difficult questions. The stick is believed to grow longer when it desires to make an affirmation.
aist, call, name. A ceremony to recall the soul of a sick or dead person.
alaung, a cooking pot of Chinese origin.
also, duel with lances.
alamas, a gourd carried as a water jug by women working in the rice fields. alap, a gourd with a mouth tied in a loop. It is an “ethics lock,” and denotes private property. Used by placing near or on whatever it is desired shall remain unmolested; as, for example, a sugar-cane thicket, cord of wood, house in the absence of owners, rice field in dispute, and so forth.
am, father (see Appendix 1).
amaw-on, father-in-law (see Appendix 1).
amas, aunt’s husband, etc. (see Appendix 1).
amak, son or daughter (see Appendix 1).
apo, grandparent (see Appendix 1).
*araya, a slender graceful palm which produces the areca nut, erroneously called the betel-nut, which, with the leaf of the betel pepper and lime, are universally chewed by the Ifugao. The physiologic effect is similar to that of coffee.
at, serory.
baas, fassetsious or uncalled for remarks.
bao, a hand servant; a household servant.
bakik, a “ten”; a half-score.
bato, a form of pawning of family property, in which a sum is loaned, the property passing into the hands of the lender, and remaining so until the sum is repaid. The use of the property constitutes the interest on the loan.
baklad, interest paid in advance at the time a loan is made.
banggo, a pot or tobacco pipe.
banggo, a back-basket used for carrying necessities on a journey. It affords a considerable protection against rain.
busting, lint and steel for fire making. Even applied sometimes, though improperly, to modern methods of fire drawing by means of matches. Never applied to fire making by means of sticks or fire springs.

* Starred words are not Ifugao.
bayan, a kind of fancy blanket.
binangawan, anything that has been cut in two; halved. Sometimes used to denote the half of anything.
bisesto, a child spouse that lives in the home of his or her parents in law.
bisukoch, a ceremony performed three days after a burial. The soul of the deceased is brought back to the village and interviewed.
bisukad, a tie, a knot.
bol, a heavy knife about 14 to 18 inches long, whose shape varies among the different tribes. It serves a multitude of purposes, answering now for an axe, now for a spade or hoe, now for a weapon, now for the ordinary use of knives.
bubusan, the final ceremony of marriage. Its main purpose is to secure offspring for the couple.
budat, one of the principal payments in the Bontoc district in the purchase of a rice field.
bukid, a religious ceremony in which a myth is recited for its magic effect.
bukis, a wrestling match; trial by wrestling.
bungan, jewel, specifically, ancient agate beads.
bupot, formerly, the nearest approach in the Ifugao language to "bravery". The Ifugao's ideal of bravery seems to be an aggressive and relentless, boastful, angry assertiveness.
habo, a synonym, has the sense of relentless boldness.
"kamote", a tropical sweet potato, of which there are numerous varieties.
dalag, offering to the soul of a deceased person.
"dampal", funeral feast.
datoh, offering to the soul of a deceased person.
dl, the article, "of the."
dalag, flesh; meat.
dalap, a wooden dish.
"pat", a term which I use to denote those phrases in religious ceremonies in which the priest clutches or compels the magic effect of an analogy by means of the spoken word.
gapaman, funeral shaving.
"gapan, or gapangao, a gong made of copper alloyed with zinc, tin, or silver. Many are very old. Some have been made in Igorot land, others imported from China.
gatang, purchase price; business transaction, the main payment.
giba, fine for marital or postmarital delinquency.
goba, arrow, burn.
god, cut, bisect.
ganol, intent.
golap, a small but valuable, and usually artistic, rice wine jar.
golapang, a peg on which articles are hung up. One of the payments in the fine for illegal confiscation.
hanabal, peg or bracket upon which articles are hung.
habalal, flood; flooding of fields with water.
halagadi, a lounge cut out of a bare tree trunk. It is the insignia of the upper class Ifugao. Its carving out of the trunk, and its bringing in from the forest, is an affair in which many villages participate, and is accompanied by pretentious ceremonies and feasts.
hapaghap, cleaning of terrace wall; chopping off grass and weeds.
haligig, a lesser fine.

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haba, gifts to kindred of bride from kindred of bridegroom.
habt, lust, anguish.
hakot, payment due persons of a foreign village who find the body of one dead by violence.
halag, a class of deities somewhat corresponding to the Greek Furies; suggesting and harassing deities.
haped, blowing, or breathing on.
hapaw, following, succeeding units of a series.
hapil, treachery.
hidt, peace ceremony; peace deities; sickness inflicted by peace deities because of delayed peace ceremony.
hin, a form of the word abo, meaning "one".
hingot, the third of the marriage ceremonies.
habon, damages due the injured party in case of breach of contract.
hokswa, scandalous adultery, accompanied by insults to the offended spouse.
hamas, a general warfare ceremony.
hinubad, fine for offense against engagement or for breaking off engagement.
habal, wid.
habal, exchange.
hin, companions; sometimes, kindred.
hibay, ceremony at transfer of ownership of rice field.
hin, evil, bad.
hamas, sacrifice at second ceremony of marriage.
ina, mother (see Appendix 1).
hangos, a kind of Ifugao blanket.
"mapamid, adopted; taken to oneself.
inao, uncle's wife, etc. (see Appendix 1).
hay, exclamation of pain or awe.
inhada, eat, one of the payments at the hibay ceremony.
insit, something held with pincers or pliers; also something grasped between the toes. In eating meat the Ifugao holds his knife between the toes and, grasping the meat with his hands, cuts it by sawing it back and forth on the knife.
"itlagalag, bastard.
"itlag, form of han.
rin, a form of han.
habangang, a wealthy person; person of the upper class. Some observers have interpreted habangang as "noble"; others as "chieftain". Correctly speaking, there are neither chieftains nor nobles among the Ifugao. The more powerful habangang rise to the dignity of bendmen—no further.
kala, an edible water beetle found in the rice fields.
halan, advice.
bindu, carried under the arm.
kina, surplus; portion of food left after appetite has been satisfied.
kotang, harvest feast.
kupe, feast at time rice fields are planted.
labangang, to become wealthy.
lakot, blood payment; indemnity for homicide or severe wounds.
lumad, commissio of go-between. Also called hina.
"lisa, cocked.
"lika, fee of go-between. See hina.
habo, commission; fee paid an agent.
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ilokap, unaggravated adultery; adultery unaccompanied by great scandal and by insults to offended spouse.

tunga, interest; increase.
magulutra, death blanket, usually imported. Of less value than the dili.
mang-buj, property for whose transfer the key ceremony is necessary.
mang-ad, pig or chicken, given by kindred of bride to kindred of groom as a return for pig given by the former in the latter in the lango and hagat ceremonies.

manahum, priest who performs certain ceremonies preliminary to the sugoun feast (see Sikman).
mata-an, his eyes.
mamacum, preliminary marriage ceremony.
mambasa, asker, requestor.
mambano, an alliance between families of different districts. Celebrated by very precious ceremonies.
mang-lung, seller.
mekalan, advocate, adviser. Specifically, in law, the go-between in a penal or civil case.
mang-tudol, a "shamer"; specifically, a traitor to his village; a betrayer.
mang-lung, jeweled.
mulang-lip, in addition to; accompanying.

na-imbabulogon (lit., "made one's child"), adopted child.
na-ta-o, single; one only; one alone.
na-anam, six at a time; a unit consisting of six subunits or parts.
na-tutinam, four at a time.

date, dead.
takibu, consisting of three subunits, or parts.

nakatukat, poverty-stricken; term applied to the lowest class of Ifugao society.

nenem, mind, feeling, thought, emotion, worry, intention. The term is of very broad meaning and applies to the mind or any act thereof.
siklay (lit., "taken to one's self"), adopted child, or a servant that is treated as one of the family.

nakambat, a pair; consisting of two subunits or parts; two together.

nakambo, the "jumping down from.

nakangat (lit., "he who was strong"), the conqueror, or originator, of a plot; he who assembled others to himself, and leads them in committing an injury or offense.

nakabulog, place where it was laid, or had fallen.

Ifugao prefers to divide all sales into ten subpayments. If the sale be comparatively small, two subpayments may be paid by one article, as by a death blanket.

oban, a blanket, about eight feet long and two feet wide, with which a baby is carried on the back of an elder. It is of great religious and poetic significance.

okol, sticks or trellis for climbing vines.
om, yes; affirmative.

ongot, menace; threat.

okol, a large knife, universally carried by the Ifugaoos. It is used in war or in work; commonly called throughout the Philippine "bolo" in both English and Spanish.

pa-ad, comfort; causing consolation.

paghob, landmark; usually chunks of wood or stone buried at a boundary line.

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pakidam, "causing to chew betel together."

pana, jewels, usually agate beads.

pana, tabao.
apa-an, mutual accusation, false accusation.
apoeba, prohibition, true.
apa, interest paid in advance on something borrowed.
apu, repetition.

pinakad, a ceremony to cure wounds.

pinakat, carried under the arm.

puna, ceremony to remove the prohibition on marriage of cousins. Full cousins may not marry.

puyog, finish; termination.

put-ba-an, his heart.

put-sa-an, his belly.

put-u, base.
asaw, a tall reed that covers the mountain sides. House walls, mats, floors, and fences are made of it. It also makes an effective missile.

lango, one of the principal payments made on family property. It corresponds to the initial payment made when an article is bought on installments among our people.

lani, term applied to the principal marriage ceremony in the Banaue district. Corresponds to baben in the Kalinga district.

lapur, wigg.
tat, because.

tokman, ceremony of tying up the bulls, appetites, passions, and desires of the guests at a feast.

lumak, spit on which edible water beetles are grilled.

lumak, the placing beside an article its equivalent.

lumak, assessed for putting another in the position of being an accomplice.

tomak, goats.

tomah, fine for manslaughter, wounds.

tomah, women's sweet-pota basket. It is used as a raincoat when at work in the fields.

tulang, brother (see Appendix 1).

tulang, series of ceremonies at the time rice is put in the granaries.

b announcer, a ceremony of witchcraft, in which, following the recitation of a myth for magic purposes, the characters of the myth recited are made to perform, or declare their will to perform, the desire of the priest.

bambat, persons of the middle class. Persons are accounted of this class who have rice sufficient for the use of their family throughout the year, and those who, having surplus rice, have not been initiated into the ranks of the kalingarum by means of the sugoun feast.

bambat, ceremony at the time of placing rice in granaries. One of the three greatest ceremonies of rice culture.

bambat, his seat.

wpd, treachery.

sibob, uncle (see Appendix 1).

siboba, spouse of uncle or aunt (see Appendix 1).

sibor, the placing on each side of an article its equivalent.

sumak, burning off the grass preparatory to plowing fields.
used, follow, a term applied to a second payment of interest in advance. Thus, a man borrows a carabao, paying $30 as the interest in advance for one year, and if at the end of the year he cannot repay the carabao he makes a second payment, or used, as interest in advance on the following year.

upwak, a series of pretentious and ostentatious ceremonies by which a person attains the rank of hokanggung. Sometimes it is combined with the last ceremony of marriage.

PLATES