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## **An Ilocano-Igorot Peace Pact of 1820**

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## Texts and Documents

### An Ilocano-Igorot Peace Pact of 1820

JOHN FLAMEYGH, CICM, and  
WILLIAM HENRY SCOTT

In the 1960s, Henri Geeroms, CICM, discovered an eight-page Ilocano manuscript bound into the back of the unpaginated *Libro de Casamientos de este Convento de Tagudin, Año de 1734 y Bautismos* of St. Augustine's Church, Tagudin, La Union, with a Spanish superscription which reads as follows:

1820. Pact made by the community of *Capitanes Pasados* and the principal *Cabezas de Barangay* of the towns Bangar and Tagudin with the Igorots of Bacong, Kayan and Cagubatan and other settlements of the Igorots who pay recognition fees to the King, our Lord (whom God keep), officially witnessed by the *Gobernadorcillos* of the said towns. Don Agustín de Valencia and Don Simón de los Reyes.

The document is in fact a peace pact entered into for the purpose of restoring the highland-lowland trade which had been broken-off three years before by the death of an Igorot in Tagudin and the retaliatory killing of an Ilocano of Bangar. It is a valuable document for the study of historic Igorot-Ilocano relations: its text indicates that it is based on even earlier peace pacts, and its very existence suggests that the old men of Besao cited in James Robertson's "The Igorots of Lepanto" (*Philippine Journal of Science*, vol. 9, 1914) were not being fanciful when they said their ancestors had possessed a written pact with Candon and Santa Lucia, Ilocos Sur, in the time of Lepanto Military Governor Antonio Perea (1853–1856). It is also a valuable document for the study of what is, after all, a very old and indigenous Filipino institution.

Peace pacts are at least as old as written Philippine history. At

the time of the Spanish advent, there was no Filipino government strong enough to monopolize military or civil power, and individual leaders made seasonal raids called *mangayaw* for purposes of vengeance, booty, or slaves. Under these conditions, some means were necessary to permit the safe movement of forest products to the coastal ports, and the import of such foreign products as Chinese porcelains and their distribution throughout the archipelago by the tens of thousands afterwards. The pacts which made such commerce possible were promptly extended to the Spanish invaders. Those in which the first generation of conquistadores participated were actually non-aggression pacts — unlike such western-style mutual aid treaties as Francisco de Atienza made with the Sultan of Sulu in 1645 and 1646. Technically, these pacts served two different purposes — to guarantee safe passage to strangers, as in the case of Legazpi's pact with Si Katunaw of Bohol in 1565, or to bring hostilities to an end, as in the case of Martín de Goiti and Soliman in Maynila in 1570 — differences which are still formally distinguished in Bontoc peace pacts today.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Spaniards considered the legitimacy of their occupation of the archipelago an accepted fact and so no longer recognized any Filipino bodies as competent to make such pacts. In frontier areas where such legitimacy was not recognized by independent Filipinos, however, the institution continued, and hard-pressed military commanders and lonely missionary friars regularly made use of them during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By the nineteenth century, these unsubjugated areas began to loom large in Spanish plans to put the colony on a paying basis: they represented an untapped source of tribute and, especially in northern Luzon, wrought havoc with the tobacco monopoly's profits. It is against this background that the Ilocano-Igorot peace pact of 1820 must be seen.

The Agustín Decdec of Kayan (Mountain Province) who figures as one of the chief signatories of the 1820 pact, was an Igorot chieftain with pretensions to authority over 27 neighboring communities (as his son Soliman and nephew Sakyod claimed in Malacañang in 1814), who very possibly had a few drops of Spanish blood in his veins. (Judging from his name, his great grandfather, Miguel Mestizo, who received the title of *Maestro de Campo* of Igorots in Vigan in 1700, appears to have been born

and baptized during the short-lived Spanish occupation of Kayan in 1667–1668 under the patronage of the Archangel Michael.) Back in Decdec's youth, the central government had neither the will nor the means to prevent the untaxed highland-lowland commerce which involved most of the colony's gold production. But by 1820, monopoly revenue agents were roaming the narrow Ilocos coastal plain, and Kayan itself had been reported in 1811 as the major local source of contraband, what with its *superabundantisimas siembras de tabaco*. Wise producers like Decdec therefore dutifully paid the minimal "recognition of vassalage" fees required of law-abiding pagans, and when their traditional peace pact with their lowland customers and partners broke down in 1817, they restored it by submitting to legal proceedings in the Spanish town hall. To these circumstances we owe the production and preservation of the present document.

The word "peace pact" is nowadays most popularly associated with the name of the Kalingas in northern Luzon, both because of anthropologist Roy Franklin Barton's classic study of their particular use of this institution, and because of their much publicized opposition to government plans to build a series of hydroelectric dams in their territory. The traditional Kalinga peace pact was instituted by two warrior leaders who guaranteed to enforce its terms by their personal prowess, and is characterized by a series of reciprocal feasts between the two parties in which grievances are arbitrated and valuable goods exchanged as gifts and indemnities. Such a procedure also characterized the Apayao peace pacts in which Dominican Fray Pedro Jiménez participated in the 1680s, and it is probably such a pact holder whom Father José Tomás Marin refers to as a native *Maestro de Campo* in the same river valley in 1741. The actual stipulations agreed to during these palavering exchanges are defined in what the Kalingas call the *Pagta*, and are nowadays committed to writing in Ilocano or English. The final development of the Kalinga system occurred during the early twentieth century under the impetus of Lieutenant Governor Walter Franklin Hale who, to enhance American control of local custom law, required every region to hold a peace pact with every other region. It is this refinement which causes the modern Kalinga to believe — somewhat fondly, perhaps — that peace, law, and order can be maintained throughout the sub-province by an interlocking network of bilateral non-aggression pacts.

The modern *Pagta*, with its formal articles set down in writing, naturally invites comparison with the 1820 peace pact. Kalinga peace pacts invariably state the names of the covenanting parties, the boundaries of its jurisdiction, and a brief code of laws covering murder, wounding, theft, hospitality, and sexual misconduct. It will immediately be noted that the 1820 pact satisfies all these requirements except the last — perhaps because Igorot-Ilocano relations were strictly business. In particular, the stipulation that a thief shall restore twice the value of the stolen goods is a standard Kalinga judgment, and the requirement that Igorot visitors to Bangar and Tagudin must be received in the homes of the *babaknang* — literally, “the wealthy” — would certainly meet *pagta* hospitality standards. Moreover, in the matter of rhetoric, the Bangar-Tagudin willingness to pay the indemnity while denying the guilt has a fine Kalinga ring — though probably no *pagta* would commit the obfuscation to writing so baldly. All in all, therefore, it would seem that the 1820 document is an example of a stage of development in a valid Filipino tradition which extends from modern Kalinga back to 1528 when Alvaro de Saavedra first drew blood in Sarangani Bay with some Filipino chieftain whose name is lost to history.

#### TEXT AND TRANSLATION: A NOTE

A few words in the Ilocano text are Spanish. We have been unable to locate any meaning for *bajar* in *Kakapitan Bajar*, but the Spanish superscription indicates that these Filipino officials were *Gobernadorcillos*. Likewise, the *Kakapitan ti Barangay* of the text are shown to be *Cabezas de Barangay*. *Picota*, technically “a pillar or column of stone or masonry they had at the entrance to certain places where the heads of the executed and condemned were exposed,” we have rendered more delicately as “whipping post.” *Extraviadores* are literally those who lead astray, but other early nineteenth century documents indicate that these were “shysters” or “embezzlers” such as lowland traders who mulcted ignorant mountaineer customers, so we have translated, “unlicensed peddlers.” The proscriptions which employ these terms, incidentally — 25 lashes for receiving a visitor and a thirty-peso fine for harboring “apostate Christians,” that is, lowlanders who take to the hills — reflect a government reaction to the Filipinos’

constant attempts to escape the stern hand of colonial law and order.

The Ilocano of the text is understandably archaic, and sometimes confused. It is recorded in an orthography which appears quaint to the modern eye, and proceeds for four pages in one almost unbroken sentence — as equivalent Spanish documents of the period also do. The signatures occupy another four pages. Not including those of the certifying priests, there are 60 names, mostly of Spanish origin — e.g., Arzadún, Castro, López, Villanueva — executed with the grand flourishes the Spaniards call *rubricas*. The 18 Igorot names — such as Ayaoan, Dagtayan, Lumas-i, Sao-anan or Tilitil — all executed in the scribe's penmanship, are listed under the towns of Bacong, Batugan, Bulibay, Cagubatan, Ibato, Kayan, Lapang, Luconan, and Taba-ao.

We have modernized the Ilocano orthography and broken the text into paragraphs for more convenient reading and to give the appearance of a modern legal document. The following first two paragraphs are given in the original orthography, however, as a sample for those who may be interested.

Dacami daguiti Cacapitan Bajar cadaguiti Yli ataguding quen Bangar, D.<sup>n</sup> Agustin de Valencia Then.<sup>tes</sup> maiores D. Fernando Bernave, quen D. Matheas Morales Mupez Cacapitan pasados quen daddomapay a Babacnang, a Cap. ti Barang.<sup>y</sup> cadaguiti sinoa a Yli, Agsipud iti ysacsacalang ti tribunal iti Yli a taguding, ni D. Agustin Decdec, Panglacayen quet agturay cadaguiti Ygorot a sacopna iti lugar amanagan Cay-ang, Cagubatan, Bago, quen dadomapay Rancheros daguiti Padada a Ygorot, quet quinamet ti Mt<sup>te</sup> de Campo iti Rancheria amanagan Lap-angan, ani D. Paad, tapinalaoagda amaqisorotda iti naimbag a Aramid quen nalaing a Ornos, amaipuon nag-tuqueng ti panaga allatio, agapo iti ipapatay ti maisa a Ygor.<sup>t</sup> ay Bago, ani Lambino, tanatay iti lugar amanagan Ambalayay, a daya, quet lacam ti Yli ataguding idi taoen a sangarevo ochogasut sangapolo quet Pito. . .

## ILOCANO TEXT

DAKAM dagiti Kakapitan Bajar kadagiti ili a Taguding ken Bangar, D. Simon de los Reyes ken D. Agustin de Valencia, Ten.<sup>tes</sup> mayores, D. Fernando Bernabe, ken D. Matheas Morales Lopez, Kakapitan pasados, ken dadduma pay a Babaknang, a Kap. ti Barang.<sup>y</sup> kadagiti sinao a ili:

AGSIPUD iti isaksaklang ti tribunal iti ili a Tagudin ni D. Agustin Dekdek, panglakayen ket agturay kadagiti Igorot, a sakopna iti lugar a managan Kay-ang, Cagubatan, Bago, ken dadduma pay a rancheros ka dagiti padada a Igorot; ket kina met ti Mstre. de Campo iti rancheria a managan Lap-angan a ni Don Paad. Ta pinalawagda a makisurotda iti naimbag a aramid ken nalaing a ornos a maipoon nagtukeng ti panagallatiw a gapu iti ipapatay ti maysa a Igorot a Ibago, a ni Lambino; ta natay iti lugar a managan Ambalayay, a daya ken lak-am ti ili a Tagudin, idi tawen a sangaribo, ocho gasut, sangapolo ket pito;

KET AGSIPUD iti padapadakami a dua a ili a agkalikagum a mangdalus kadagiti lugar a natulawan, ket iti met pannakasubli ti daan a kadawyan a pannakabalinmi a mapan iti lugar dagiti Igorot, ket kastada met kadagiti ilimi;

TIMPOYUGMI a dua a ili ti inmay ditoy lugar a managan Sagat. Ket itoy met MRP Fr. Fran.<sup>co</sup> Hernandez, Prior ken Mstre. ti Doctrina iti ili a Tagudin, a gapu iti kaasina ken ayatna a mangisungsung kadakami iti nalaing a ornos, ken di pannakapalnuay dagiti addu a susik kadagiti Igorot.

Iti pannakaaramid ti ringor iti ipapatay ni sinao a Lambino. Palawagen dagiti Igorot a natay a gapu iti pannakasugatna. Ket addu met ti agdatag kadakami a Itaguding a natay a gapu ta iti dimmateng a sakitna. Ket no pay naldaang ti nakenmi a Itagudin iti panagdawat dagiti simaklang iti Walo Pulo a Pesos a pangliwiwa kadagiti partes ti natay, ipoonmi iti ayatmi a maisubli ti daan a kadawyan a panagalallatiw nga awan ti peggad kada-kuada a Igorot, annurotenmi a yawat ken sinao a Dekdek ken kaduana ti Lima Pulo a Pesos a biang iti natay, ket Tallo Pulo pay a Pesos, ta palawagen dagiti simaklang a napukaw a pirak ni sinao a Lambino idi ipapatayna. Ngem saan a pasig a pirak-ababel ti dadduma. Ket maaramid ti pannakayawatna kada sinao a Dekdek ken Paad iti saklang ti sinao a MRP Prior, dakami a Itagudin ken Ibangan, Igorot a Ibakong ken dadduma pay a rancherias dagiti Igorot ken bago a Cristianos. Ngem dagiti a maited di maipoon iti pagbayad iti biag ken pirak ti natay, ngem gapu laeng iti ayatmi a mangisungsung kadagiti Igorot iti yaaday kadagiti ilimi, tapno ammoenda a anamongan ti Apo a Ari (a Dios ti aluadna), ket nangrona ti St. a Pammati, ket tapno dida surnadan ti mamapatay kadagiti a Cristiano. Nga kas iti liput a inaramidda, z pammapatayda iti kailianmi a Ibangan, a ni Pedro Lusano. Ta natay iti armas iti lugar a managan Balingaong, a lak-am kadagiti Igorot a ipangutang, a lak-am ti ili a Bangar idi bulan ti Diciembre idi tawen a ipapatay ni sinao a Lambino. Ta imbalesda iti

## TRANSLATION

WE, the *Gobernadorcillos* of the towns of Tagudín and Bangar, Don Simón de los Reyes and Don Agustín de Valencia, *Tenientes Mayores* Don Fernando Bérnabe and Don Mathias Morales López, the *Capitanes Pasados*, and several other prominent persons who are the *Cabezas de Barangay* of the said towns:

WHEREAS, there have appeared in the courthouse of Tagudín Don Agustín Decdec, elder and leader of the Igorots whose territory is in the places called Kayán, Cagubatan and Bago, and several other Igorot farmers, and also the *Maestre de Campo* of the settlement called Lap-angan, Don Paad, to declare their willingness to accept just and lawful decision concerning the suspension of free travel in these parts resulting from the death of one Lambino, Igorot of Bago, who died in the place called Ambalayay, to the east of, but still within the jurisdiction of, the town of Tagudín, in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventeen;

AND, WHEREAS, we, the two towns, similarly wish that the places which have been violated should be exonerated, and the old customs be restored so that we can go to the places of the Igorots, and they come to us;

THEREFORE, we, the two towns, have agreed to come to this place called Sagat, and with us also, the Very Reverend Father Fray Francisco Hernández, Prior and Missionary of the town of Tagudín, because of his mercy and desire to institute good law and order among us, and to prevent all quarrels with the Igorots.

There has been fighting because of the death of the said Lambino, and the Igorots claim that he died of his wounds, but many of us from Tagudín attest that he died of a sickness that befell him. And although we from Tagudín are grieved that they demand Eighty Pesos as a consolation for the relatives of the deceased, we consent, in consideration of our desire that the old custom of free travel without danger from the Igorots be restored, to give the said Decdec and his companions the amount of Fifty Pesos for the deceased, and an additional Thirty Pesos because they claim that this sum belonging to the said Lambino was lost when he died. But this will not all be given in cash, but some of it in textiles. It will be given to the said Decdec and Paad in the presence of the said Very Reverend Father Prior, of us from Tagudín and Bangar, and of the Igorots from Bacong and several other settlements of Igorots and new Christians. And these things are given not as payment for the life and money of the deceased, but because of our desire that the Igorots will come to our towns again so that they grow accustomed to giving recognition to the King, our Lord (whom God bless), and, above all, to accept our sacred Faith, and also so that they will not repeat any killing of us Christians, as they did when they killed one of our townsmen from Bangar, Pedro Lambino, with arms and by stealth, he having been killed, in December



Ibangar ti natay iti lak-am ti ili a Tagudin. Ngem nupay kasta, agsaadkami laeng iti natalna iti panna-kisurot iti pannakaaramid ti nalaing a ornos ken kapia.

KET ITI kalpasan ti panangawat da sinao a Dekdek ken Paad iti sinao a pirak, ket maimatangan ket mapnekan unay ti sinao a MRP Prior Fr. Fran.<sup>co</sup> Hernandez ti nalaing a pannakaaramid ti panagtimpuyogmi ken panagkakapiami kadagiti Igorot, imbilinna ti pannakabangon ti maysa a Cruz ditoy lugar a managan Sagat, a tanda ti pagbebeddengannami kadagiti Igorot. Ket iti abagatan ti Karayan ti biangmi a Ibangar ti aywanan. Ket iti pannipodanmi iti daya a pakibeddengannami kadagiti Igorot, iti lugar a managan Godel, uma-bagatan dagiti panpantok dagiti banbantay, agtungpal kadagiti lugar a Takima, Lolonga ken Balay Silet; ket iti laud dagitoy a lugar agtungpal iti ilimi, ket dagiti Igorot biangda met a aywan iti daya dagiti naipalawag a luglugar, ket daya met iti sinao a Cruz, nga umamianan iti Karayan a Bassit. Ket dagiti Itaguding iti met bangir ti Karayan iti amianan a agpadaya, a agtungpal met iti sinao a Cruz, ken dagiti luglugar iti daya ti ilida. Ta dagitoy a panag-bebeddeng a naganugotanmi kadagiti Igorot.

No kas addanto mattay, anno maranggasan kadakami, agtutulag itiinto met laeing akinlak-am ti rumbeng a mangted ti Lima Pulo a Pesos kadagiti partes ti matay, a kas naaramid kadagiti suplak ken tulag kadagiti napalabes a tawen. Ket maisagana met iti justicia aakinlak-am ti pakatayan ti matay ti mangakop, tatapno awanto ti duadua, anno susik a maaramid iti dina pannakaimatang. Kasta met daytoy a tulag timpuyogmi a di makatubeng, iti panagsingir kadagiti a mautang iti rebbengda a bayadan iti nagpautang.

Kasta met a timpuyogmi a isaad dagiti rondas iti lugar a managan Apadi. Ket iti bangir ti Karayan, iti amianan a dumaya, biangmi a Itaguding; ket iti bangir ti Karayan, iti abagatan ken dumaya met, ti aywanan dagiti Ibangar tatapno matubeng dagiti mannakaw a agisurong kadagiti animal ken dadduma pay a maiparit.

Ket awan met ti makabalin kadakami a dua a ili a mangisurong kadagiti sangsangaili. Ket no addanto masarong-karan, masaplitto iti duapolo ket lima a maisakab picota, a kadawian. Ket inkari met dagiti Igorot a dida palas-uden kadagiti lugarda dagiti mananakaw ken mataktakaw a animales ket dadduma pay a adda pategna. Ta no addanto masukalan, dobliendanto a bayadan iti rebbeng a pateg ti tinakaw. Ket didanto met palas-uden iti lugarda dagiti sangsangaili, ta mapadasan a luttuadan ti makadadael iti nalaing a ornos. Ket nangrona kadagiti estraviadores. Ket maibilin met kadagiti Igorot ta no addanto agpapaing a Cristiano iti ilida, dagusendanto a baluden. Ket no baybay-anada, itinto vario a pakasukainan, madusanto iti Tallo Pulo a Pesos.

Kasta met a tulagmi kadagiti Igorot nga iti kaaddadat ditoy ilimi, agdagusda iti balay dagiti babaknang, ket dida agdagus kadagiti kakailian

of the year in which Lambino died, in a place called Balingaong, which is Igorot territory but belongs to the jurisdiction of Bangar. Thus they took their revenge on one from Bangar for one who died in the territory of Tagudín. But even so, we wish to live in peace and accept the institution of law and order.

AND, the said Decdec and Paad having received the money, and the Very Reverend Father Prior Francisco Hernández having witnessed and confirmed the agreement and peace pact with the Igorots, he ordered that a Cross be erected here in this place called Sagat as a sign of the boundary with the Igorots. We from Bangar shall be responsible for the territory south of the [Amburayan] River, and to the east of us, the boundary of the Igorot territory shall begin in a place called Godel, and, going south, follow the crest of the mountains, including the places called Takima, Lolonga, and Balay Silet. West of this line shall be the jurisdiction of our town, and the Igorots must take responsibility east of this line, and also east of the said Cross in the territory north of the [Río Chico] Creek. Those from Tagudín shall be responsible for the territory north of the River eastward as far as the said Cross, including the places east of their town. This is the boundary we have agreed to with the Igorots.

If someone should die because of wounds, we agree that only the place where it happened shall be obliged to pay Fifty Pesos to the relatives of the deceased, as was done according to the pacts and treaties of past years, but legal action shall be taken against the place where the killing occurred without delay so that fighting not break out. Likewise, with this pact we agree not to prevent the collection from the debtors of the amount they owe.

We also agree that patrols shall be stationed in the place called Apadi, and that over the River to the northeast, it shall be the duty of Tagudín to patrol, and below the River to the southwest, those from Bangar, so that thieves will be prevented from bringing animals and other contraband upstream.

We, the two towns, will not receive [unregistered] visitors, and if there are any who do, they shall be given 25 lashes at the whipping post, as is the custom. The Igorots likewise promise that they will not let thieves stay in their places, or hide stolen animals and other things of value there, and that if one is caught with such things, he shall be fined twice the value of the stolen goods. And they also will not receive visitors in their place, especially unlicensed peddlers, to the detriment of good law and order. The Igorots, moreover, are ordered that, if any apostate Christians should be found in their places, they must apprehend them at once, and that if, after due investigation, it is found that they have permitted them to remain at large, they shall be fined Thirty Pesos.

We also agree that when the Igorots are in our towns they shall stay in

a di gawgawayen dagiti tao, tatapno maispal dagiti pagdagusanda iti dida pannakarangranggas, ket dipannakataktakaw dagiti kukuada.

KASTA TI timpuyogmi a naimatangan toy sinao a Padre, ket dawatenmi a ipaayna a certificacionan. Ken iti met MRP Priormi iti ili a Bangar, Fr. Manuel Gonzales. Ket maaramid a agkalima. Ta iti dua, agsinsinkarni a dua a ili. Ket iti dua agsinsin met dagiti dua a papadre. Ket iti maysa maited kadagiti Igorot.

KET firmaanmi a nainaganan a Kakap.<sup>n</sup> Bajar, Ten.<sup>tes</sup> mayores, Kakap.<sup>n</sup> passados ken dadduma pay a babaknang a Kakap.<sup>n</sup> ti Barang.<sup>y</sup>, ken patalgeden dagiti saksi a mangadkadua kadakami ita a sangapulo ket uppat ti Enero, sangaribu ocho gasut ket dua pulo ti tawen.\*

\*Note: the Spanish certification by the two witnessing priests gives the date as 24 January 1820.

the houses of prominent people, and not in the houses of people who are not respected, so that their stay will be safe and that they will not have their things stolen.

THIS PACT we have made in the presence of the said Father, and we request him, and also our Very Reverend Father Prior of Bangar, Fray Manuel Gonzáles, to make the documents in five copies, two of which shall be taken by the two towns, two by the two priests, and one shall be given to the Igorots.

AND WE, the *Gobernadorcillos*, *Tenientes Mayores*, *Capitanes Pasados*, and the several other prominent persons, all *Cabezas de Barangay*, sign it with our names, and the witnesses who are our companions all verify it, this fourteenth day of January of the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty.