Colonialism has been thought to be disruptive to indigenous cultures, especially when the entanglements prioritize assimilation. Traditional scholarship underscores this impression, since most studies focus on the process of colonization. More recently, scholars have emphasized the way colonized peoples have responded to culture contact (Acabado 2017; Lightfoot 2005; Panich 2010, 2013; Rodríguez-Alegría 2008; Silliman 2005, 2009, 2012). These studies have also mediated the idea of continuity and persistence amid the order imposed by colonial powers. Barbara Voss (2015) argues that indigenous populations respond creatively to the unequal power relationship to perpetuate certain aspects of their culture.

The changes brought by foreign powers often result in plurality within and among conquered groups, even when colonization aims to develop a monolithic culture. This process happens “within” because of new identities that emerge out of the new power dynamics and “among” because of the colonial strategy to divide and conquer. While persistence could be argued to be a dominant theme in studies such as ours, plurality makes it a dynamic process.

These responses are demonstrated in how landscapes are constructed and conceptualized in colonial settings. Using the concept of place making (Adams et al. 2001; Cresswell 2004; Rubertone 2009), we investigate space and how it becomes a place filled with meaning and identity. The imposition of Spanish order in the Philippines appears to have transformed the landscape drastically, but these changes are not monolithic.

In the Philippines, the influence of the Spanish Empire was magnified by the rapid conversion to Catholicism among lowland indigenous groups. This also resulted in the marginalization of non-Christianized upland groups and the continued distinction and division among those who were directly colonized and those who successfully resisted Spanish
conquest. The processes of conversion, accommodation, and resistance have been the basis for present-day identities of Filipinos. In this chapter, we provide two case studies that describe divergent responses to Spanish colonialism, both of which are anchored on landscape and place making (Map 8.1).

This chapter argues that culture contact provided the venue for Philippine groups to craft their identities in relation to the more powerful Spanish Empire. The Ifugao and the Tagalog marked space and place to develop their identities, which were centered on the landscape. Among the Tagalog of Pinagbayanan, San Juan, Batangas, classes of material goods were used in ways that were distinctly different from how colonial elites utilized exotic goods, which became the link of Pinagbayanan to a new form of social hierarchy. Similarly, the Ifugao rice terraces became the impetus for the intensification of social differentiation (Acabado et al. 2018), which provided the organizational prerequisite to fight off conquest. In essence, they were marking their place within the colonial Philippine society.

In the first case study, we highlight the ability of the Ifugao to successfully resist colonization by organizational shifts anchored on landscape management (Acabado 2017, 2018; Acabado et al. 2019). The Ifugao case provides a follow-up to Martin Gibbs and David Roe’s work (Chapter 7) of the failure of conquest; the Ifugao were able to respond creatively to the pressures of the Spanish push to the northern Philippines. This successful resistance catalyzed the identity of the Ifugao, who are portrayed in dominant historical narratives as uncolonized. As such, Ifugao identity is based on three fundamental aspects of their history: they were uncolonized, they had a long history of using a rice-terracing system, and rice played a central role in their culture. The Ifugao inhabit the interior of the Philippine Cordillera and are known for their rice terraces.

The second case study, which focuses on the Tagalog from the town of Pinagbayanan, San Juan, Batangas, is a classic example of how the policy of reducción reorganized Philippine communities. Reducción forced and/or stimulated the development of towns and urban areas in the Philippines, where migrants’ and local residents’ socioeconomic, political, and religious differences were highlighted in the new settlement. This new space provided the emergence of a new social status, which is referred to as ilustrado (enlightened).
Map 8.1 Map of the Philippines, showing the upland area of Ifugao and the lowland town of San Juan, Batangas.
These two case studies emphasize the varied responses of indigenous groups to contact with hegemonic powers. In Ifugao, landscape modification for wet-rice cultivation became the fulcrum with which they resisted conquest. Thus, the later emergence of wet-rice cultivation is considered as one of the responses of the Ifugao to the arrival of the Spanish in the northern Philippines. Elsewhere, Acabado (2010, 2015, 2017, 2018) argues that the highlands become a refugium for lowland populations who were avoiding the Spanish. He further argues that the highlands are pericolonial areas that served as a venue for political and economic consolidation far from the central administration in Manila. Archaeological, ethnographic, and spatial datasets strongly support rapid subsistence, environmental, and social change in the region soon after the arrival of the Spanish in northern Luzon at ca. 1573 C.E. (Acabado 2018).

In Pinagbayanan, the development of towns was influenced by migrants through the transformation of space into a place that became their home. We argue that although the indigenous population strictly followed the European concept of settlement, their relationship with the physical space followed an emic tradition that operated on a network that revolved around the acquisition and possession of foreign objects. The foreign markers of wealth and status, which are permanent and physical in the landscape, and the indigenous notion of prestige, which is fluid and movable, make a powerful combination that secured the local elites’ social position.

**PLACE MAKING AND IDENTITY**

A space becomes a place when the space becomes a representation of social relations that “define and create social and spatial contexts” (Adams et al. 2001:xiv). In this sense, place is both personal and political, and “place making is a product of social practices of constructing place and inscribing memories, which do not necessarily require particular skills or special sensibilities” (Rubertone 2009:13). A place, then, guides us to navigate spaces and helps us define our identity. A place is “dynamic and fluid” (Adams et al. 2001:xxi–xxii). Multiple identities can inhabit a place, and a place can create multiple identities, including dominant and nondominant groups that are subjected to an ideology or follow a different one.
Three things make a place: “its location,” the “setting for social relations,” and a “sense of place” (Cresswell 2004:7; see also Agnew 1987). As our case studies illustrate, rice fields and colonial towns became meaningful spaces that provided the venues for new institutions and identities to emerge in the midst of colonial imposition. In Ifugao, rice fields are thought to have anchored successful resistance to conquest; in Pinagbayanan, new identities emerged as a response to the colonial enterprise.

Thus, the place referred to in this chapter is not just the geographical and physical location; instead, it includes place or position in the society using the physical dimension of space as the background (Cresswell 2004:2; see also the introduction to this volume). In the Spanish Philippines, the place, which is the new town, is class-based and map-based (Gipouloux 2011:15), whereas indigenous settlements were usually linear, following the contour of the landscape (Javellana 2017:90). In Ifugao, where the Spanish were never able to establish a permanent presence, villages maintained local settlement patterns.

SPANISH CONQUEST AND COLONIALISM IN THE PHILIPPINES

Ferdinand Magellan, sailing under the flag of the Spanish Empire, dropped anchor along the coast of the central Philippines on March 19, 1521. His voyage to the Philippines was spurred by the objective of discovering a western route to the Spice Islands, which are located south of the Philippine archipelago. Although Magellan planted the Spanish flag in the Philippines in 1521, it was not until 1565 that Miguel Lopez de Legaspi formally established a colonial government in present-day Cebu City.

The establishment of the Spanish colonial government in the Philippines was a consequence of the discovery of a safe route between the Philippines and Mexico, the *torno viaje*, which facilitated the famous Manila–Acapulco trade. The Philippines was an afterthought in the conquest of the East Indies, as the archipelago was thought to be an expensive possession, but the islands offered the potential springboard to trade with and to colonize China (Skowronek 1998).

Legaspi moved the administration capital from Cebu to Manila in 1571 because Manila’s location facilitated trade with other Asian cities; the area also has one of the best harbors in the archipelago (Pearson...
2001). Within six months of his capture of Manila, his grandson, Juan de Salcedo, led an expedition to explore the western coastal region of northern Luzon in search of the famed Igorot gold (Scott 1974).

The *torno viaje* eased the Manila–Acapulco galleon trade, which introduced Philippine communities to European and American goods from 1565 to 1815 and brought Asian goods to the Old and New Worlds (Legarda 1999). After 1815, foreign trade expanded due to more new ports and shipping subsidies granted by Spain (Legarda 1999). Profits from international trade created the rise of the middle class, the *ilustrados*.

The Manila area was an economic center even prior to Spanish arrival in the sixteenth century (Kimuell-Gabriel 2013; Scott 1994) and continued to be so until the present. Manila is a “hinge,” or *charnière*, a concept developed by Jean Gottman that refers to the connection between a place and a network. Manila linked the Philippines to the Southeast Asian and global networks. The influx of objects from other nations came with ideas, knowledge, languages, images, technologies, and beliefs (Gipouloux 2011:14).

These connections also facilitated the European education of the local elites, which allowed them to develop and later reinforce their nationalistic views (Heidhues 2000:121). The Manila–Acapulco galleon trade promoted the movement of ideas. During this period, Manila was connected to North America, South America, Europe, and Asia (Gipouloux 2011:13). This globalizing process defied national and territorial boundaries, penetrating spaces that did not conform to the map-based knowledge of the Europeans. The plaza complex gave rise to the notion of center and periphery, which can be translated into dominant and subordinate (Gipouloux 2011:22). And in the larger scale, Manila was and still is the center, while Pinagbayanan was simultaneously Manila’s periphery and San Juan’s center.

As Manila increasingly became the center of commerce and politics, provinces around it were being reorganized, with new towns established or existing towns infused with new inhabitants from elsewhere. As an example, San Juan, established in the late 1840s, received migrants who were arguably members of the local elites from other towns and were considered *ilustrados*. Their family names were recorded in archival documents as political leaders. These family names are still present in San Juan. The arrival of new migrants in Pinagbayanan is apparent, since the
recovered imported items from the stone-based houses (Barretto-Tesoro 2015) were interpreted to have been used by the occupants to distance themselves from the rest of the residents while simultaneously asserting their presence and strengthening their connection to the place they now called home.

The northern Philippines, including Ifugao, was affected directly by the galleon trade. As agricultural products in the Cagayan Valley were main exports of the Philippines, the Spanish colonial administration constructed infrastructure and roads that cut through the traditional territory of the Ifugao (Lim Pe 1978:196). Most present-day cities and towns that are adjacent to Ifugao started as garrison towns that were meant to secure the supply route between northern Cagayan Valley and Manila (Tejon 1982:50). This provided the Ifugao an opportunity to access the colonial economic system.

THE IFUGAO

The Ifugao of the northern Philippines are known for their magnificent rice terraces (Figure 8.1); they are also famous for successfully resisting multiple attempts by the Spanish at conquest. Resistance against the Spanish has become the foundation of Ifugao identity and how lowland Filipino groups view the Ifugao (Acabado 2017, 2018). Dominant Philippine historical narratives even describe the Ifugao as “original Filipinos” owing to presumed isolation of the groups from colonial processes. These descriptions have entered the national consciousness, since basic-education history textbooks reify the flawed premises of a pejorative model. The long-history proposition for the origins of the rice terraces (Barton 1919; Beyer 1955) also reprises the racialization and exoticization of identity formation. Recent archaeological and ethnographic information, however, actively humanizes the Ifugao.

The proposed 2,000-year origin of the rice terraces is not based on any scientific data; rather, data focus on the observations and racial assumptions of pioneer anthropologists. Current ethnographic and archaeological information suggests a recent origin of the agricultural marvels, the construction and subsequent expansion of which appear to have been responses of the Ifugao to colonialism.
Figure 8.1. The Nagacadan rice terraces in Kiangan, Ifugao.
Acabado (2017, 2018) argues that in the 1500s, the Ifugao inhabited both the highland Cordillera and lowland Magat Valley region of present-day Nueva Vizcaya (Keesing 1962). Highland Ifugao mainly cultivated taro, while the Magat Valley Ifugao were wet-rice cultivators. The arrival of the Spanish in Luzon forced migration into the uplands in the early 1600s. Archaeological data from the Old Kiyyangan Village indicate rapid population increase and a shift to wet-rice cultivation during this period.

The shift to wet-rice production provided the organizing mechanism for the Ifugao to fight off attempts by the Spanish at conquest, since wet-rice production requires a specific form of social organization (Bray 1994; Greenland 1997). Wet-rice cultivation necessitates management of water flow depending on the life cycle of rice—too much or too little water will kill the crop. This involves a complex water management system that could only be achieved with specialization. In addition, once the shift to wet-rice cultivation occurred, the land tenure system would have favored land ownership, as opposed to communal access. The agricultural shift thus signaled a culture centered on rice production, distribution, and consumption. For instance, Ifugao social status is customarily measured by the amount of a person’s rice landholdings and her or his family’s ability to sponsor feasts (which requires ritual animals, rice, and rice wine) (Acabado et al. 2018; Lapeña and Acabado 2017). The shift facilitated the emergence of Ifugao identity primarily based on landscape practices that are still practiced today.

**RICE, IDENTITY, AND PLACE**

The centrality of rice in Ifugao culture is manifested in how the Ifugao equate their rice terraces to life itself; the rice fields are considered as deified grounds sanctified by a covenant between the gods and their ancestors. As such, all sacred myths (hu’uwa) of the Ifugao are set in the terraces. It is fascinating that even though wet-rice cultivation was only introduced in the Ifugao agricultural suite after 1650, rice symbols have shaped Ifugao cosmology.

Furthermore, agricultural rituals anchored on the rice life cycle emphasize this aspect of Ifugao culture. Indeed, feasts of merit that elevate individuals in the social hierarchy were preconditioned on existing rice
field holdings. An individual’s social status was defined by rice through rituals that necessitated the invocation of numerous agricultural gods. Ritual rice fields were consecrated to set the pace of community labor and establish the sociopolitical hierarchy.

The shift to wet-rice cultivation is argued to have provided the impetus for social differentiation, since intensified agriculture requires a specific form of management (Bray 1994; Greenland 1997). As manifested by the archaeological record (Acabado et al. 2019; Lapeña and Acabado 2017; Yakal 2017), frequency of ritual fauna and exotic goods increased soon after contact with the Spanish. As argued elsewhere (Acabado 2018:2), the rice terraces became the venue where social practice and *habitus* were acted and rice production and its associated rituals became the structuring mechanism for Ifugao solidarity.

The maintenance of Ifugao agricultural practices is a testament to the power of place making. Since resistance to conquest was anchored on the shift to wet-rice production, intensified social differentiation and thus new statuses emerged. A similar pattern can be observed in the lowlands, where the Spanish had a stronger footprint.

**Pinagbayanan: A New Place, A New Home**

The Spanish followed specific guidelines in establishing towns as stated in the Laws of the Indies (Barretto-Tesoro 2015). Despite its homogeneous and orderly street layout, the plaza complex, a system of settlement introduced by the Spanish in the late sixteenth century, creates alienation, segregation, and exclusion. The Spanish occupation of the Philippines ordered status based on religion and ethnicity against the backdrop of the plaza complex. The plaza is the center of the town, and on each side on a grid layout following cardinal directions are the church, administrative offices, tribunal, and houses of elites. As one moves farther from the center or from within hearing distance of the church bells, the social status decreases (Barretto-Tesoro 2015).

Two stone-based houses (Figure 8.2), dating to the late 1800s, were excavated in Pinagbayanan, San Juan, Batangas, from 2009 to 2011 (Barretto-Tesoro 2015). Constructed using volcanic tuff blocks and lime mortar, these two domestic units were part of the plaza complex. To date, excavations in Pinagbayanan indicate that no precolonial settlement
Figure 8.2 A section of Structure A, one of the two stone-based houses in Pinagbayanan, San Juan, Batangas (photo by A. Tesoro).
was established in the immediate vicinity, signifying that the town was a *reducción*. Historical accounts noted that the first migrants were from neighboring towns. In the early 1880s, due to a big flood, the parish priest requested the administrative government to relocate the town capital inland. The elites opposed the move, but the central government finally ordered the town to be transferred in 1890 (Barretto-Tesoro and Hernandez 2017). The new town exemplifies space categories that emerged in colonial Philippines, the designation of places inside the town (civilized/colonized/orderly) and localities outside the new settlements (savages/brigands/pagans/disorder) (Javellana 2017:92). A point that we emphasize in this chapter is the reverse sense of place between colonists and natives (Cresswell 2004:9). What may be a place for the indigenous population is just space for the colonists, and vice versa.

This may explain why the dichotomy between the inside (place) and outside (space) of town associated with civilized and brigands, respectively, is a view of the Spanish not shared by the locals. In the new space, people oriented themselves based on the church’s location, while the indigenous relation with space was based on land and sea, *silangan* (where the sun rises) (Javellana 2017), *ilawod* (downstream), and *ilaya* (upstream) (Salazar 2013; Scott 1994). For the locals, places exist outside the settlement to which they had social, emotional, filial, cultural, religious, economic, and perhaps even political ties long before Spanish arrival. The voids were not unknown in the traditional context. If the Spanish viewed mountain dwellers or those living outside the *bayan* (town) as savages, for the indigenous population the mountains were “sacred places,” “secret lair[s] and refuge” (Javellana 2017:96; Salazar 1997).

**Symbolic Capital: Objects, Social Networks, and Places**

In Pinagbayanan, owning beautiful objects strengthened the connection of the migrants to the place, a newly established town at the time of their transfer. These everyday domestic objects were an assertion that the migrants belonged here. These objects reflected the migrants’ daily lives, experiences, and ties in this town. They were reminders of a new life in this new town. Since the stone-based houses were newly constructed and durable, it was challenging for the locals to transfer
immediately inland due to flooding when they themselves just transferred to Pinagbayanan from nearby towns. They initially did not want to move until they received orders from the governor general (Barretto-Tesoro and Hernandez 2017). The presence of imported items suggests that the inhabitants of the stone-based houses were wealthy and prestigious. However, these items not only were economic in nature but also represented what Pierre Bourdieu (1984) refers to as symbolic capital. Symbolic capital refers to “acquired tastes, knowledge, appreciation, and consumption of aesthetically pleasing forms” (Duncan and Duncan 2001:42). These items give prestige to the people who owned and used them, separating them from the rest of the local population. Losing control over the physical space, which the Spanish commandeered, the indigenous population, particularly the local elites, searched for an alternate venue to exercise control over their land and settlement. Control over international trade was one way to access prestige and status. They acquired goods from all over the world, as free trade granted them access to a multitude of items beyond China. These imported items are symbolic capital, representations of esoteric knowledge (Helms 1991:83) that elite individuals want to control. For the people residing in Pinagbayanan, the possession and display of imported objects validated and reinforced the migrants’ prestige in the new town and their potency to rule the political, economic, and social domains. Integration in the network is integration in the system that can break or make the longevity and success of one’s clan.

It may appear that the objects themselves are important, but if we look at object-human relationships, it is the symbolic value attached to these objects that makes them status symbols. It has been established that imports from faraway places, objects that traveled long distances, have higher values. We argue that the occupants of the two stone-based houses considered the symbolic value of the items in their possession.

During this period, the emerging elites were aspiring to access European goods (and connections), since Asian, particularly Chinese, goods were not highly valued (Diokno 1998; Hau 2017). Access to such symbolic capital, as well as the colonial economic system that emphasized economic, social, cultural, and religious capital (Hau 2017), further widened the gap between social classes, thus enabling the rise of the ilustrados against the backdrop of free trade after the end of the galleon trade.
To support our point, we integrated the imported items, such as medicine bottles, wine bottles, and porcelain sherds, recovered from the two stone-based houses in Pinagbayanan into the occupants’ daily experiences. These experiences engaged the full range of human senses, which Fenella Cannell (1999) and Michael Pinches (1991) describe as tangible, sensorial, and experiential—for instance, the ingestion and smell of cod liver oil, the taste of liquor, brushing teeth using a proper toothbrush, the feel of coins minted in Spain, the application of oil or balm, the sheen and smooth touch of porcelain from Europe, the buttons from France that adorned garments, the touch of shiny furniture. They fostered intimate relationships with the objects: holding the objects, holding a part of where they came from, wearing, touching, drinking, and ingesting them. The *ilustrados* embodied European sensibilities as they metaphorically absorbed the spirit of these foreign objects to demonstrate their increasing connectedness to the global network, thereby denoting prestige and status and thus legitimizing their presence in their new place. They reinforced their differences, separating themselves from the locals by representing the body through goods while simultaneously strengthening their relationship to the new town.

The effort to acquire imported goods is also associated with the process of aestheticization (Eagleton 1990). More importantly, attachments between people and place, known as topophilia, are manifested through “aestheticization of place and landscape” (Duncan and Duncan 2001:41). Transformation and/or redecoration of the landscape make the place meaningful to its inhabitants, creating a sense of home. In Pinagbayanan, the process of aestheticization is not confined to beautifying the landscape, particularly, the Spanish practice of grid layout to beautify space by bringing visual order. It also includes the acquisition of beautiful things. For instance, the occupants observed dental hygiene with the use of a modern toothbrush issued by a German dispensary (Barretto-Tesoro 2011). They had access to modern and imported medication, such as Chamberlain’s pain balm from Iowa (Cruz 2014) and Scott’s emulsion of cod liver oil with lime and soda from New York (Cruz 2014) (Figure 8.3). Hauthaway shoe polish from Massachusetts was used for leather shoes (Cruz 2014) so a man could look the part of a Europeanized Filipino. The presence of Japanese Gold Paint suggests that the owners of the house had wooden furniture that needed varnishing.¹ This could be an instance
of japanning (a European imitation of Asian lacquer work), which was a popular look in the mid-1800s. Japanese Gold Paint can also be used for gilding on porcelain.²

The emergence of the ilustrado class signifies the appearance of bourgeois ideology in the Spanish Philippines, since the imported objects

Figure 8.3 Bone toothbrush (top) (photo by A. Tesoro). Bottle of a pain balm (left) and cod liver oil (right) (modified after Cruz 2014).
have deeper meaning attached to them. They suggest that owners of these objects have knowledge and skills only available to individuals who can acquire such goods. More importantly, they denote ideas of progress that emulate European imagery of modernity and civility. These objects shape the body movement of the end users. They regulate the way the owners eat, how they handle dinnerware and wine bottles, how they apply balm, how they use a toothbrush, and how they appreciate what is beautiful. They add to the users’ skills because these objects force users to act and behave in a way that separates them from the rest of the population, simultaneously highlighting their access to objects of wealth.

**PLACE MAKING AND IDENTITY**

The Laws of the Indies guided the Spanish in establishing towns during the colonial period in the Philippines. Many of these settlements were *reducciones*, or forced resettlements, which means that early settlers had no connection with the land. Through ordering and modifying the physical landscape as dictated in the Laws of the Indies, the Spanish gained control over the new land. For the local migrants, there is perhaps a reverse sense of place that could be considered as part of the aestheticization process. Aestheticization made space meaningful, consequently making the area a place of residence, their home (Eagleton 1990). Aestheticization was originally used to refer to the modification of physical surrounding, but in Pinagbayanan, local elites extended the idea to the acquisition of goods, which can be argued as persistence of indigenous traditions of prestige economics. This would have facilitated the transformation of space as meaningful place for both locals and new migrants. As opportunities to obtain these goods increased due to free trade, these items eventually became symbols of wealth and status. The new middle class emerged. Securing their position in the social hierarchy by residing in sturdy stone-based houses located near the church and fortifying their position in a social network that governs their connectivity to the global world, the *ilustrados* became a powerful force in Philippine society.

The *ilustrado* class differs in the source of their identity. It is neither based on ethnicity nor religion, which was prevalent during the Spanish period. Apart from historical documents that identify the occupants of the two stone-based houses as Batangueños, who are members of the
ethnolinguistic Tagalog group, no archaeological materials support their ethnicity. What is visible is the *ilustrado* identity, represented by foreign items shared in many historical sites, such as those found in Manila. Being an *ilustrado* crosses ethnolinguistic boundaries. Even in historical documents, the term referred to the middle class regardless of cultural affinity. Being an *ilustrado* was one trajectory an *indio* (native) or mestizo could take during the late Spanish occupation of the Philippines in the late nineteenth century. The creation of the *ilustrado* identity was driven by socioeconomics, which later became a source of national political movements.

Similarly, prestige economics appear to have been intensified in Ifugao and catalyzed social statuses, which were based on the amount of rice landholdings an individual was able to maintain. As detailed by Acabado (2018), the shift to wet-rice cultivation and massive landscape transformations would have provided the needed sociopolitical organization required in fighting a more powerful entity. The mountainous terrain might have played a part, but it is the conscious effort of the Ifugao to consolidate political and economic resources that were vital to the resistance. This has shaped Ifugao identity and is evident even today.

**CONTINUITY AND CHANGE: MEANINGFUL PLACE, SPACES OF IDENTITY**

Voss (2015:686) calls for a serious examination of how archaeologists have utilized the concept of ethnogenesis. Previous iterations of the concept have focused on the idea of the loss or extinction of indigenous cultures (Panich 2013:16), but recent archaeological investigations on culture contact have highlighted the observation that conquered and/or colonized groups tend to perpetuate certain aspects of their culture.

The case studies highlighted in this chapter show just that: the effects of conquest and colonialism are more dynamic than what has been previously thought of. In Pinagbayanan, the new place was accompanied by the rise of new identities, accommodating the status quo offered by the colonial administrators. *Reducción* gathered previously distinct ethnic and/or kinship identities into a bounded place, which resulted in the emergence of new institutions. The *ilustrados*, as the new elite, transcended ethnic and linguistic identities, as their status was based on the
ability to mirror the colonial state of affairs. To some extent, we still see this among present-day Christianized Filipinos.

On the other hand, the identity of contemporary Ifugao revolves around the long history of their terraces and the historical narratives that they were uncolonized—both concepts proposed by earlier scholars appear to leave Ifugao agency. Acabado (2017) has argued that these earlier models failed to identify how the indigenous group creatively responded to entanglements in the Philippine colonial period because of the inordinate focus on the exotic. Instead of humanizing the Ifugao, ideas of deep history and the uncolonized fundamentally shaped how lowland Filipinos view the former.

Archaeological evidence strongly suggests that the Ifugao were able to resist Spanish conquest by accepting the economic pressures exerted by the colonial administration. The shift to wet-rice cultivation gave them the ability to consolidate the political and economic resources they needed to solidify their ethnic identity. This pattern is observed today with the assimilation of the Ifugao into the Philippine state and the dominance of the market economy.

As a dynamic culture, the Ifugao have responded to this process with ingenuity by choosing to be part of the larger Philippine society but maintaining their identity. Following James Scott’s (1985:29) argument that powerless groups contest domination by “foot dragging, dissimulation, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage, and so forth,” we contend that the Ifugao responded to cultural domination creatively—by actively choosing options that were advantageous for their own purposes. Taken in a more positive way than how Scott illustrates how peasants around the world fight the perils of the market economy, the Ifugao chose to strengthen the power of their rice fields.

The Pinagbayanan and Ifugao examples show that colonization did not result in a homogeneous culture; on the contrary, the process encouraged regional differences that we still see today. Pinagbayanan, as a recipient of reducción, enhanced their Tagalog identity combined with European concepts of social elites. In Ifugao, they strengthen their cultural identity by emphasizing their distinctiveness from Christianized Filipinos. Both groups’ notions of uniqueness are fundamentally based on place and landscape.
NOTES

1. The inscription on this bottle was initially read as Japanese Cold Paint (Barretto-Tesoro et al. 2009:59).
2. www.antique-bottles.net.

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