

Rethinking Locality in Ifugao: Tribes, Domains, and Colonial Histories

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In the context of Ifugao municipalities applying for Ancestral Domain, a review of the oral histories collected within a community of precolonial “migrants” allows this article to locate an indigenous group on quite a different terrain, one with no concrete locality or authentic identity to begin with. Instead, this locality is forged through the resources provided by colonial histories, and is spreading out into different nodes, in an attempt to gain land and livelihood security. By tracing the history of this group, the article shows how expectations of definitive precolonial geographic identities – tribes on domains – are part of a colonial imaginary. The story of how one barangay came into being through engagements with colonialisms exemplifies one of the many ways of becoming and being indigenous possible in the Philippines.

KEYWORDS: Indigenous peoples; colonial history; Ifugao; migration; politics of representation

Familiar images of Cordillera landscapes and peoples that circulate, in the Philippine media and beyond, include those of an Ifugao woman sitting at a backstrap loom, the rice terraces of Banaue, and dancers at the Grand Cañao in Baguio. Texts that accompany these images frequently represent a world distant from cosmopolitan Manila—a space untouched by globalization, where life proceeds much as it always has. Using ethnographic data collected from within communities in Ifugao, secondary sources treating colonial histories, and newspaper articles on the Ifugao rice terraces, this article suggests the importance of such representations by demonstrating how colonialisms continue to shape

understandings of places and people on the Cordillera.¹ To do so, it examines how place-based identities have become attached to one Cordillera community.

Most contemporary representations of Philippine ethnicity cite longstanding distinctions between the colonized coastal metropolitan areas and the “tribal” uplands. While these upland/lowland distinctions underlie popular conceptions of ethnicity, they have particular and contested histories. The late historian William Henry Scott devoted much of his academic career to historicizing and “denaturalizing” the apparent differences between coastal peoples and the upland indigenes known as Igorots. Scott described in detail the history that could be reconstructed for the upland interior of northern Luzon in order to demonstrate how the peoples who inhabit it were comparatively little changed by colonial regimes. In both his *The Discovery of the Igorots* (1974) and *Barangay* (1994), he argues that, before colonization, the upland peoples were not much different from their neighbors on Luzon’s central plains and northern coasts. Scott’s analysis suggests that Cordillera groups may exhibit some important cultural continuities with precolonial Filipino societies, despite an overlay of colonial transformations. However, it is a misreading of Scott to suggest that these groups were completely “untouched” by colonialism and somehow remained outside of Filipino history. Instead, Scott argues passionately for the inclusion of Igorots in the national (and nationalist) imaginary as different-but-equal fellow Filipinos and against the “upland/lowland divide.”

Scott’s explanation for the construction of a category of “indigenes” from those Filipinos who had resisted colonization most effectively rests, in part, on the natural geographical barrier of the mountains of the Gran Cordillera Central. When confronted with such a spectacular landscape, it is easy to see why nationalists might be tempted to represent the Cordillera as comprised of “uncolonized local places” in what anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1991) would call a “national mediascape.” Photographs of mountains frequently show hills girded by spectacular stacks of terraces where the area’s indigenous inhabitants grow wet rice, though often without any evidence of contemporary rice-cultivators themselves. Scott’s work, along with that of other historians and archaeologists, tells us that, while some of the rice

terraces have been cultivated for centuries, many date only to the mid-to-late 1800s (Scott 1974, 1976) and were constructed during a wave of in-migration during the late Spanish era, a mass movement caused by Spanish rearrangements of peoples in the Ilocos, Cagayan valley, and plains of central Luzon (Keesing 1962). While scholars tend to group the region’s indigenous peoples together under the ethnic classification of Igorot, indigenous groups on the Cordillera vary by language, culture, and date of first settlement in the mountains. Ironically, the best known “Igorot” terraces (and arguably most often represented, perhaps because they are most accessible from the national capital) belong to the indigenous communities of Ifugao, who mostly reject the appellation.

Postcolonial Representations of Landscape

The heritage value of the Ifugao rice terraces is now internationally recognized. In 1995 UNESCO designated the terraces of three contiguous central Ifugao municipalities—Kiangan, Banaue, and Hungduan—as a World Heritage Site.² Press coverage of the World Heritage listing describes Ifugao people as both as an “authentic, tribal culture,” as the “oldest agricultural community” in the Philippines, and as representatives of a regional Igorot culture (Villalon 1995a, 1995b). Augusto Villalon, a scholar and journalist, acted as the major public proponent of the World Heritage listing. Villalon (1995a) describes the terraces’ value as follows: “Our Cordillera brothers have yet to realize they’re custodians of a most precious symbol, and we have yet to thank them for keeping it alive.” In this description, Villalon represents Ifugao culture and landscape as the location of a generalized Filipino precolonial past that has symbolic and educational value for Philippine society. It is this symbolic past, rather than the contemporary Ifugao communities that maintain the terraces, that serves to anchor the “we” of a postcolonial Philippine nationalism in the terraced landscape.

The terraces, however, remain an economic as well as symbolic landscape. They are farmed by Ifugao smallholders who cultivate rice, usually for their own subsistence, rather than cash income. In contemporary Ifugao, subsistence rice production competes for local labor

with other, potentially more lucrative, activities that generate cash. Ifugao farmers have become increasingly linked to the national and global cash economy and the consequent changes in crops and livelihood activities have also transformed the conditions under which people work. Ifugao livelihoods can no longer be portrayed as “pure subsistence,” if that representation was ever accurate. The same infrastructure improvements—roads and electricity—that enable tourism in the terraces have seen significant numbers of local people turn away from subsistence rice cultivation to cash-based activities, including handicraft production, forest product extraction, and commercial agriculture. These changes in local livelihoods, arising from increasing market integration, have set “modern” Ifugao economic strategies, which often involve minimizing the labor devoted to subsistence rice cultivation, against conservation priorities that would entail a significant reallocation of labor into maintaining and cultivating the terraces.

As a national symbol, the terraces are represented as in danger and in need of defense, yet it is the quotidian activities of owners and cultivators of the terraces that are supposedly putting them at risk. Water shortages, worm infestation, and a lack of interest in rice cultivation are the “threats” to the terraces enumerated by respondents in Ifugao. In 2003, President Arroyo reportedly planned to send the army to help restore the terraces (Gascon 2003). My respondents, however, described the “threats” to me with a wry smile, pointing out that their families’ economic security must remain their first priority, and national efforts aimed at sustaining the symbolic values of their agricultural landscapes will only succeed if and when their economic needs are met. They wonder if the tourism development planned for the terraces can really fill the gap they experience between representations of the terraces and their daily lives, or if tourism is more an economic fix for the regional tourist center of Banaue and, more particularly, its new business elites.

These representations of landscape—in this case, the Ifugao rice terraces—as symbolic of a precolonial and unglobalized authenticity are not unique to the Philippines. Similar attempts to locate the precolonial in particular landscapes characterize efforts to create postcolonial cultures of resistance around the globe. These representational strategies are part

of a more generalized anti-imperial imaginary that has informed literature, art, and popular culture across the decolonizing world. Considering Irish literature, postcolonial theorist and literary critic Edward Said (1990, 77) writes:

[I]f there is anything that radically distinguished the imagination of anti-imperialism, it is the primacy of the geographical in it. Imperialism after all is an act of geographical violence through which virtually every space in the world is explored, charted and finally brought under control. For the native, the history of his or her colonial servitude is inaugurated by the loss to an outsider of the local place, whose concrete geographical identity must thereafter be searched for and somehow restored.

To be native, in Said’s definition here, is to have lost a local place to imperialism and to search for an authentic and “concrete” geographical identity in response. Said’s broader point is that uncolonized places on the national landscape are recruited in the construction of postcolonial nation-states where people search for a native authenticity as a foundation for a new identity. In this search, supposedly uncolonized places metaphorically ground the “new” postcolonial nation in a “somewhere” untouched by imperial power, a place that then serves as an authentic site of resistance. Said calls this desire to seek out uncolonized places the “cartographic impulse.”

The brief sketch of the Ifugao rice terraces offered above shows the cartographic impulse at work on the postcolonial Philippine landscape, projected onto the interior of the archipelago and the areas inhabited by “indigenous tribes.” By locating the national past in the Ifugao terraces, the cartographic impulse opens up into what anthropologist Renato Rosaldo (1989) calls “imperialist nostalgia.” By glorifying an imaginary past, imperialist nostalgia devalues the present. Projected onto the terraced landscape, an imperialist nostalgia favors the desires of metropolitan audiences for a “pure” landscape of history, rather than a terrain that reflects the economic interests of the contemporary cultivators. Ifugao people, reading representations of themselves as unworthy or ignorant of the value of their own rice

terraces, understand that this nostalgia on the part of metropolitan audiences poses challenges to their contemporary land-management decisions and development strategies.

Representations of the terraces infused with this nostalgia seemed to produce uneasy feelings in some of my Ifugao interviewees, and open the question: “Can this kind of nostalgia actually provide the impetus for dispossession?” Many Ifugao communities consider this to be a real possibility and now feel they need to formalize their legal entitlements to the lands they occupy with the government. With the introduction of the Indigenous Peoples’ Rights Act (Republic Act 8371 or IPRA) in 1997, they have begun to engage with the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) and the ancestral domain certification process (for details, see Prill-Brett 2000; Hirtz 2003; Perez 2000). In this new era of claims for ancestral domain in Ifugao, the search for identities to attach to local places has intensified and, thus, ethnic identities have proliferated. A case study of one such Ifugao community reveals the complex relations of place and ethnicity that are currently at play on the Ifugao landscape.

The Translocality of Haliap

Haliap is a barangay in Asipulo Municipality, occupying the eastern slopes of the Antipolo valley in the southwestern part of the province of Ifugao. In 1996, Asipulo began the process of secession from Kiangang, one of the municipalities covered by the World Heritage listing. Since the heritage listing was declared in 1995, but the final “land area” of Asipulo was not transferred from Kiangang until 1999, respondents in Haliap were of the opinion that Asipulo should continue to be considered as part of the “heritage” zone. However, Haliap is not particularly close to the tourism development centered at Banaue, and this remains wishful thinking.

Approximately fourteen hours from Manila, Haliap *sentro* is accessible by jeep via a gravel road that runs from a junction along the Lagawe-Kiangang road towards the Asipulo municipal government seat at Antipolo. In most barangays, though, the farthest sitios still require sev-

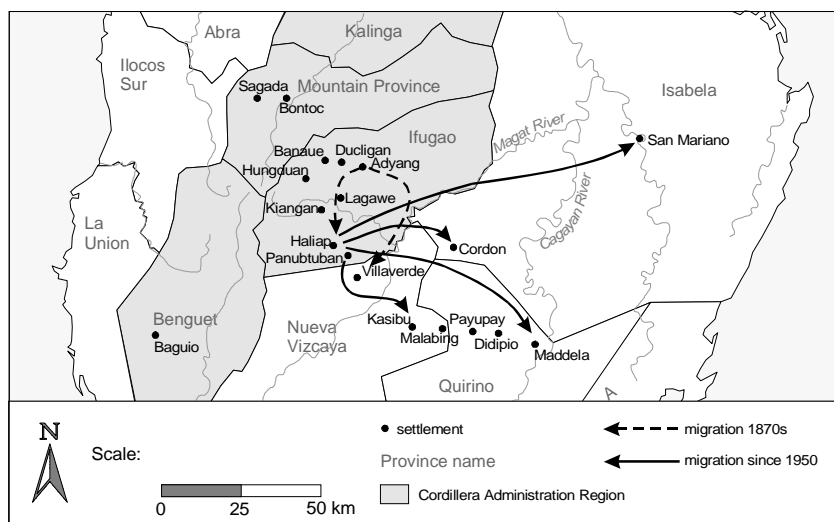
eral hours hiking. There is no telephone landline, but mobile phone service was introduced around 2000, following electrification in 1996. The barangay has rice terraces, but they are not so well known or perhaps as spectacular as those made famous in photographs of Banaue, the “heart” of the heritage-listed landscape.

People in Asipulo Municipality speak several indigenous languages of the Ifugao sub-groups:³ Tuwali,⁴ Hanglulo,⁵ and Ayangan.⁶ The population of Haliap consists almost entirely of Ayangan speakers—a term that they pronounce with an extra “d,” as “Adyangan.” The Filipino and English languages are taught through the school system, and the local mediascape includes radio, newspapers, books, and videos in these languages. Ilokano, the language spoken in neighboring lowland provinces, is often used for local travel and marketing, although people generally speak the Tuwali “dialect” as an Ifugao lingua franca. For Haliap, local political divisions do not follow patterns of kinship or land use. Many residents actually cultivate land in the neighboring barangay of Panubtuban, which has historically been the site of majority of the terraced pondfields. Haliap and Panubtuban form one contiguous area, and people living in both barangays consider themselves to be one community.

Not all of the people who might claim rights to cultivate land locally live in these two barangays. The community exhibits what Appadurai (1995) calls translocality—a situation where locality, as a structure of feeling, is produced, in part, through extra-local and often transnational relationships. In Haliap, intimate connections with emigrant community members and circular migrants, as well as religious orders, NGOs and overseas visitors, have transformed what is represented by the National Census as a bounded rural village into a rather cosmopolitan form of locality. On a 2005 visit to Haliap, my respondents were in regular text message and voice contact with outmigrant kin in other areas of Ifugao; in the nearby provinces of Nueva Viscaya, Quirino and Isabela; in the Cordillera region’s metropolitan center, Baguio City; in Manila; and in Singapore, Hong Kong, and Dubai. The everyday life of the community is shaped by arrivals and departures of outmigrants, and people gather regularly to either welcome migrants home or say

farewell to those traveling out to these sites of the “extended village.” People travel by bus to and from the homes of relatives in Isabela or in logging areas near Maddela, Quirino. Others go south, riding three or more jeeps through Nueva Viscaya to arrive in the citrus orchards of Didipio. Outmigrants from Manila visit irregularly, bearing bags and boxes from department stores. Travelers carry agricultural products, goods, and stories back and forth across the region, and cash, letters and more boxes of goods arrive periodically from contract workers overseas.

Map. Contemporary outmigration from Haliap/Panubtuban and Adyangan migration from Adyangan



Source: Author's Fieldwork Data.

Though they identify as “Haliap people,” the indigenous but trans-local livelihood strategies that connect them intimately to lowland areas make it difficult for people to accept their classification as Igorots. Instead, people described themselves to me as potential world-travelers, global subjects, and Filipino nationals while simultaneously identifying through their ethnicity, as Adyangan, or by their place of origin, as “Ihaliap” people, or, more generally, as “IPs,” indigenous peoples.

Ethnicity, like other axes of upland identity, is grounded in places, spaces, and bodies, allowing it to be geographically and historically contextualized and also contested. The Adyangan dialect, for example, distinguishes Haliap people from their Tuwali neighbors. Both groups practice terraced rice-farming, but Tuwali characterize Adyangan as later arrivals in the Ifugao foothills and thus less expert terracers. On my first visit to Haliap, in 1992, my Tuwali respondents described Adyangan as *kaingneros* (“shifting cultivators”) and claimed that they, as a group, tend to be shorter, darker-skinned, and have curly hair. I initially visited Haliap in the company of Tuwali hosts from the local agricultural college and I was assured that the community did not have many rice terraces simply because “they were Adyangan” and therefore “made kaingin.” A survey of local land-use, however, revealed that Haliap people were cultivating significant areas of terraced pondfields, dating back at least seven generations, within the area now demarcated by the political boundaries of barangays Haliap and Panubtuban. This reputation as *kaingneros*, Adyangan respondents told me, was due to their history of movement and current activities in “pioneering” new settlements in nearby lowland provinces. Haliap migrants in these lowland frontier areas deployed “slash-and-burn” cultivation as a way to claim and “improve” land that could then be planted with cash crops such as squash and citrus trees. However, they claimed that they did not make “much” *kaingin*—or, at least, any more than their Tuwali neighbors did—in Ifugao, and they rejected outright the idea that they were somehow physically distinct from their neighbors.

In 2005, one of my long-term respondents now working in Hong Kong, reflecting on his identity, explained to me that he had been a *kaingnero* in Nueva Viscaya, an Ihaliap rice farmer in Ifugao, and was now “just plain Filipino” because he was working overseas and all because “that is what the people call me.” In his experience, identity depends on his location, often in ways beyond his control, and this suggests that the contingent, multiple, and conflicting stories which create Ihaliap identity are, like those of other place-based identities, continually taking on different forms across time and space. However, the Ancestral Domain era (see Hirtz 2003) has provided a new impetus for attempts to definitively link identity to place.

In 1997, my Haliap respondents provided me with a copy of the 1990 Socioeconomic Survey. They noted that this was the first government document they had seen which listed Ifugao people as members of one of over forty (mostly) place-based “tribes” belonging to four linguistic groups (see table), rather than only with the names of the Hanglulo, Tuwali, and Adyangan Ifugao sub-groups recognized in Asipulo. They were perturbed that, despite the important local differences between the Adyangan and Tuwali groups, Ihaliap was listed as a Tuwali-speaking tribe. Additionally, they pointed out that the neighboring Hanglulo group does not appear at all, the Yattuka, and Keley-i Kallahan speakers who compose it are also listed as Tuwali. Reading in secondary sources for local history, I found some of the other tribal names that appear in this list stem from colonial era taxonomies and more recent linguistic studies while others are simply local place names. My respondents and I were asking ourselves: why both this proliferation and this confusion? To find some answers to this puzzle, the history of the Ihaliap “tribe,” as told to me by my Haliap respondents, is worth examining in more detail.

Tribes and Domains: A Colonial History of Place

In the Socioeconomic Survey, the Ihaliap “tribe” represents the populations of both Haliap and Panubtuban. The prefix *I-* means “people of” or “resident of” while Haliap is the central Ifugao or Tuwali term. The Adyangan term, *Holyap*, is drawn from the English expression: “hurry up.”⁷ Tracing the history of Ihaliap requires working between oral histories, genealogical reckoning, and secondary historical sources that summarize material from the Spanish and American archives. This exercise in historical reconstruction requires, in turn, an understanding of the limits of both oral histories and colonial records. Many histories passed down from one generation to the next were transmitted through animist religious ritual associated with the agricultural cycle and prestige feasts. Religious conversion—particularly to Pentecostal and Iglesia ni Cristo denominations—has meant that recent generations have not been exposed to this knowledge. The colonial records are also limited. Records for the Upper Cagayan area, including the Magat Valley—

Table. Four ethnolinguistic groups of Ifugao Province, listed by “tribe”

Group	<i>Ayangan</i>	<i>Tuwali</i>	<i>Kalanguya</i>	Kalinga (Alfonso Lista Municipality)
Tribe	I Olilican	Ilag-aw- Munkanape	Iddaya	*
	I Ihananga	Ibunne	Itenec	
	I Alimit	Munkigo-a	Itabuy	
	I Guinhon	Munalyon		
	I Adyang	Munganu/ Mungkalyoj Kele-e Yattuka Ipakawol Ihaliap Iboliwong Iambabag Dikkaloy Ikamandag Ibannawol Icambulo Igohang Ihapo		

* no tribes listed (author note)

Source: Republic of the Philippines (1990)

referred to by Spanish with the term “Ituy” (for the middle-upper Magat Region) and “Paniquy” (for the Ganano Valley area)—are partial and, crucially, difficult to verify on the ground against contemporary place names (Keesing 1962, 269).

What historians have been able to reconstruct from the available archival materials indicates that the Spanish presence in southwestern Ifugao was fleeting and never fully consolidated, as the continual failure of missions during the eighteenth century attests (Keesing 1962; Scott 1974). The Spanish entered the region in 1591 and first attempted to convert indigenous villages, and then to subdue scattered local populations by force of arms. They then succeeded in removing some communities from the Cordillera foothills to lowland missions and

haciendas—*reducciones*—while starting short-lived missions, most commonly in foothill areas and river valleys. In response to Spanish incursions, people from the river flatlands around the Upper and Middle Magat moved away from Spanish control (Keesing 1962), retreating to the hills and displacing previous waves of migrants. Other people ran away from the *reducciones*, returning to the uplands as *remontados*. In the few areas more or less fully under their administrative control, the Spanish recorded local populations as Christian converts or non-Christians (or *infieles*), regardless of whether or not they shared a common language or way of life (*ibid.*). The archival materials from the Spanish era thus do not offer much insight into the ethnic composition and history of the “Ituy” region (*ibid.*).⁸

Given the paucity of historical data in the archive, it is not surprising that my searches found no record of the place names Haliap or Panubtuban in secondary sources.⁹ Oral histories also present interesting problems in generating archival correspondences. Two older residents of Haliap independently informed me that the name of their village came from the exhortations of a Spanish overseer, shouting at a local worker to “hurry-up, hurry-up.” When I suggested that perhaps they meant an American, because it was an English-language phrase, they gave me the sanguine reply: “It doesn’t matter. They’re the same thing. . . . A letter needed to be carried to Kiangan and they called to the man they chose to make him go fast. So here we said it was the place of *holyap*.” This cheerful disrespect for colonial periodizations seems to convey the subtext that “someone has always been pushing us around, and that’s why we have named our place this way.”

Over a cross-section of oral histories offered to me by Haliap residents and migrants, all interviewees described settlement in the Antipolo valley by migrants from communities on the eastern side of the province. According to respondents, these people were known as I-Adyang or Adyangan and came from an area southwest of Banaue, near the headwaters of the Alimit River, a tributary of the Magat. However, oral histories also indicated that they did not originally come from Adyang. Instead, they had been pushed up into the Adyang area several generations previously by Spanish colonial rearrangements of peoples along the banks of the Magat River.

The archival materials confirm this possibility, recording displacements of peoples from the *Paniquy* area of the Magat flatlands and the broader Ganano valley area (in present-day Nueva Viscaya), beginning perhaps in the mid-1700s (see *ibid.*, 269). In 1748, the Spanish made the first of many punitive expeditions into Paniquy in an attempt to stop the “Ygolots” there from raiding the newly settled mission communities of Bagabag and Bayombong (*ibid.*, 289). Keesing (*ibid.*, 296) reports that many people ran away from these Spanish punitive raids, thus depopulating the settlements of the Ganano and Magat river flats, but asserts: “they have not been described in the ethnological literature, so the problem of their origin and relationship must remain in abeyance.”

When the Spanish began entering what is now Ifugao Province (likely in the early 1800s), oral histories indicate there was not enough land for all the people at Adyang. Many people made *habal* (shifting cultivation fields) and grew *camote* (sweet potato) because there was not enough land for rice fields. Toward what is remembered in oral histories as “the end of the Spanish period” (perhaps in the 1860s), there was a famine in Adyang. Respondents explained how their forbears had left their Adyang settlements in an attempt to avoid the famine, intending to return to their old lands along the Magat River. They wanted to move back onto an area they had cultivated near a place called Ibong, located close to present-day Villaverde, Nueva Viscaya, and in the area of Paniquy. However, when they arrived at Ibong after several weeks of hiking, they found their old fields had been occupied by missionized Ilocano-speaking Filipinos. These Christian Ilocano communities were infected with some form of contagious disease—“malaria,” my respondents said.

The group who had left Adyang, led by a young woman, Bugan, then retreated back up the Lamut River into the hills, “sailing across the land like a boat on the water,” according to Haliap elders who recalled the phrase from traditional chants. Before departing Ibong for good, the men among her group took some Ilocano heads as a symbolic “payment” for the land they had stolen. The group then traveled from the western bank of the Lamut up toward what was then the most westerly Adyangan settlement at Bolog. Since some members of the

group could claim kinship with Adyangan in Bolog, the Bolog people suggested the migrants move into the next valley to the west, an area then known to the Spanish as the Antipolo valley. When the Adyangan migrants arrived in the lower reaches of the Antipolo Valley, along the Hagalap River (a tributary of the Lamut) in what is now barangay Panubtuban, they found the valley, “almost empty.” Respondents reported that the lower valley, closest to Bolog, was unpopulated, while the upper valley had a Spanish-built cement kiln, some abandoned rice terraces and a few rice fields cultivated by farmers from the Hanglulo ethnic group.

Family histories detail how the Adyangan group “pioneered” the area by building an extensive system of rice terraces in the lower valley. Here, they built their houses from trees they felled on the forested slopes leading down to the river. In the area they had cleared, they built their first rice terraces, watered by a creek from a spring they found up the slope. Along the banks of the creek and above their house lots, they cleared land for swidden. Once they had established their presence and secured their livelihoods by constructing houses and fields, the people held a ritual celebration. Led by *munfahi* (native priests) they slaughtered pigs and chickens in order to *mun-tubtub* (curse) the Ilocanos so that they would not become ill themselves. The settlers then called their new settlement “place-of-cursing” or *panubtuban* and this word became the first name for their new locality. More people then came from Adyang to join them.

With seven generations reported as the “oldest” lineage of inhabitants, it appears that this settlement at Panubtuban was made in approximately 1875.¹⁰ Respondents provided differing accounts as to how “empty” their corner of the Antipolo valley actually was when the Adyangan group arrived. Some respondents claimed that their forbears created all the rice terraces themselves, *de novo*. Other respondents said that their ancestors had found empty fields to take over, the Hanglulo cultivators having been taken down to the lowlands by the Spanish.¹¹ Still others claimed that their great-grandfathers had frightened away the Hanglulo inhabitants with magic and *ngayaw* (headtaking warfare) or arranged marriages between Hanglulo and Adyangan children to create interfamily relations. Meanwhile, the Adyangan community expanded

through natural increase and the arrival of other settlers from Adyang and Adyangan settlements stretching westward from it along the Ifugao foothills. This began to create pressure to open additional land and, as their numbers increased, the Adyangan moved up the valley, taking over terraces near a Spanish cement kiln.¹² Thus, Adyangan obtained land in the Antipolo valley through a whole series of strategies including abandonment, marriage, violence, and trade.

Two accounts, offered by different local respondents, claim that Adyangan ancestors purchased rice fields from Hanglulo speakers with the trade of *kalabaw*—carabao or water buffaloes (*Bubalus carabanensis*)—stolen from the Spanish settlements near Ibong in the lowlands. The carabao trade along the colonial frontier was part of a regional and interethnic trade in livestock. Reports of this trade indicate the way in which the Asipulo valley, like the rest of the Cordillera settlements, was always linked with the lowlands through complex networks (Conklin 1980). Before the Spanish incursions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, indigenous trade and political and cultural exchanges linked upland communities to those in foothills and plains. In the upper Cagayan Valley, shifting cultivators, as the forbears of the Adyangan most likely were, moved their settlements across extensive “hunting grounds” (my respondents’ terms) on either side of the Magat River and traded both with the Ifugao rice-terrace builders on the heights and the Isinai, Gaddang, Ibannag, and Ilongot peoples in the foothills, on the flatlands, and along the river. Long before the region’s ethnic groups became known as Christians or Ygorotes to the Spanish, or by terms such as “Christian Gaddang,” “Pagan Gaddang,” and Igorots, as they were to the Americans, they were part of a long-distance trade network. Spanish mission activities in the region were no doubt incorporated into this network at the same time as they displaced it. Scott (1974) reports that trade in livestock stolen by uplanders from the frontier mission settlements resulted in the spread of the carabao and the plow through communities that had previously tilled their rice terraces with wooden spades. This transformation occurred all over the Cordillera in a matter of decades and mostly appears to have predated the arrival of the Spanish missions themselves. Thus we could envision colonialism as having a “bow-wave”—to keep with the maritime

metaphors of Adyangan migration—that rearranged “uncolonized” communities in terms of trade, technology, and land occupancy often long before most people dwelling in such communities ever saw a Spanish priest or soldier.

For the Adyangan raiders involved in at least some of these raids, theft of livestock served as a status-enhancing form of payment exacted from the Spanish for the use of their former lands. As one Haliap man explained to me:

First, we just killed the carabao and carried the meat. Then we saw that it could be done to lead the carabao back. That was our pride, to kill many carabaos for meat when there was a death. That's how we were rich, sharing the meat. Then we saw the plowing and were challenged to try that, too. But that, using the plow, was only after the Japanese war.

Elders in a neighboring Hanglulo community, Amduntog, verified this Haliap account of carabao rustling. When I asked from where Amduntog people originally got their carabaos, the reply I received from my two “local history experts” was “from the Ayangan, through Panubtuban, of course.” Of course, thefts did not go unpunished. Thefts of livestock and head-taking attacks on the missionized communities of Bagabag and Bayombong justified Spanish punitive forays into Ifugao which began in 1748. Oral histories also narrate Spanish attacks on Adyangan villages to the east in which houses were burned and people scattered.

The first mention of a settlement called Panubtuban in the colonial records occurs in the correspondence of the American colonial regime. First Lieutenant Bates writes to Captain Thompson, Senior Inspector of Nueva Viscaya (Bates 1904, cited in Jenista 1987, 42), that three men and two women from “Panitubang” [sic] were en route to the Magat River when they were attacked by assailants—“Igorots” [sic]—hiding along the trail. A woman named Imuc was killed with spears and her head taken. Her companions returned the body to her relatives in Panubtuban. Bates was about to visit Panubtuban to begin an investigation of the head taking, having learned that the culprits apparently were people from Banhitan [sic]. His comments reveal many of the

challenges faced by colonial administrators: “if I succeed in getting the guide I will leave here on the 31st. I cannot inform you how long I shall be on the trip, not knowing where the place is, but will stay out until I find it and will try to capture the outfit . . . that committed the murder.”¹⁴ Bates’ letter describes the Antipolo valley as a zone of conflict where the neighboring Adyangan groups of Panubtuban (proper) and Banhitan were, apparently, making ngayaw on each other. Read in tandem with my respondents’ accounts of theft and conflict, his description suggests that the valley had long been a contested space where both people and places shift, vanish, and reemerge with new names.

It appears that interaction with the American colonial project of road building offered the community a modern name—Haliap—which writes over the histories of carabao rustling and headtaking warfare (ngayaw). Renaming villages in this fashion not only made indigenous spaces legible to American governance but also reworked spatial relations across the mountains, by redefining new local centers and relegating previously dominant areas to the periphery of colonial relations (Conklin 1980; Scott 1974). In the reports of American colonial officials, the inaccessibility of “remote” settlements was cast as a feature of the natural landscape and evidence of the “primitive” status of these settlements (see Jenista 1987) rather than as the partial result of the colonial creation of particular places with amenable leaders and more accessible geography as centers of governance and religious worship. These spatial relations were naturalized by colonialism. Haliap respondents, themselves still at least 6 kilometers from a fully paved road, still speak of “far-flung” barangays in the same terms: as if someone had hurled these communities into being, far from the road, rather than constructed a road that made some places peripheral and others central in local geographies.

Construction of the road by the Americans was the first step in rendering a disorderly and irregular past into a disciplined, “progressive,” and “modern” present for my respondents. The road marked the end of ngayaw and thus of living in fear of their neighbors. The colonial records report that, by the 1930s, the road network allowed the American presence to maintain a general semblance of control over the local populations (ibid.). Old conflicts over landgrabbing and

resources were put aside and the “warring tribes of the Antipolo valley” described by Bates were pacified. By this time the Adyangan of Panubtuban had long given up hope of reclaiming the lands along the Magat River. Instead, by the 1950s and 1960s, Haliap people were using the newly-constructed American road system to seek additional lands to settle elsewhere in the Upper Cagayan valley. Here, the history of Adyangan in-migration ends, and that of outmigration begins.

Contemporary movements of Haliap people and local struggles over land, however, remain underpinned by memories of late-Spanish-era population movements. In the early 1990s, a neighboring Tawali-speaking community of Kiangnan Municipality made claims to part of Panubtuban as their traditional pastureland. The claimants consider the Panubtuban Ayangan to be migrant shifting cultivators who “squatted” on what was originally Tawali territory. Cattle were introduced to the area through the Spanish, so this claim perhaps originates in a period before the arrival of the Adyangan migrants, but after the first Spanish incursions. However, people living in Panubtuban and Haliap have since built and maintained an extensive rice terrace system. These improvements allow them to claim that they are not “just kaingineros” as charged by their Tawali neighbors. These conflicting claims may yet be assessed against each other by the national government in an application of official recognition of Ancestral Domain for either group, as the area is currently undergoing boundary delineation with the NCIP.

Haliap remains the “focal point” for the dispersed livelihood networks of Ihaliap people. In interviews with outmigrants in Quirino, Isabela, and Nueva Viscaya, migrant respondents still asserted claims to land in Haliap. These outmigrants also mobilized other pre-Hispanic histories of Adyangan displacement to claim additional rights of residence for themselves in areas outside of Ifugao province, often using the “old” Adyangan or Ifugao names for the sites they now occupy in the San Mariano and Wigan areas in the provinces of Isabela; areas near Kasibu, in Nueva Viscaya; and areas above Maddela (formerly Pinappagan), in Quirino. These extended-Haliap communities feature Adyangan livelihoods sustained by illegal “carabao logging,” kaingin, rattanraft, small-scale gold mining, and planting citrus orchards, rather than wet-rice cultivation. Some of the settlers here are younger

migrants, in their late teens and 20s, or 50s and 60s who have left Haliap seeking “greener pastures” where they can earn cash income. Others have migrated seeking farmland, usually because their children have married and taken over the bulk of the family’s land in Haliap to support their new households. Much migration appears to involve Haliap grandparents in their late 30s and early 40s who move to the agricultural frontier in order to claim lands that can be inherited by younger siblings at subsequent marriages and to support themselves now that they have become “landless.”

Respondents in outmigration sites described themselves as Ihaliap in relation to their Adyangan neighbors and as Adyangan as opposed to people from different linguistic groups such as Tawali, Ibaloi, Gaddang, and Ilocano. In narrating their ethnic identities, they generally ignored the historical place names of their current settlement and did not (yet) take on new place-based identities such as I-Wigan (Isabela) or I-Scaling (Quirino), though these identities could potentially be constructed through their relations with the local landscape. None of my respondents, either in Haliap or in the outmigration areas, ever described herself or himself to me as belonging to a “tribe” called Ihaliap, but neither did they object to their classification as “tribe” in the Socioeconomic Profile. Most of their criticisms, not surprisingly, were directed at their inclusion, along with that of several other “Adyangan” barangays, within the Tawali Ifugao sub-group.

Making Tribes Legible

Considering the Socioeconomic Profile as a government document, we can see how the term tribe is deployed in it to produce what anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot (2001, 26) calls a “legibility effect.” Naming groups based on the political divisions of barangays as “tribes” operates as a technology of classification that makes ethnic interests in land legible to state governance. Yet, since the political boundaries of barangays are not always determined by preexisting ethnic identities, many barangays listed as “tribes” are areas of mixed ethnicity, with both Adyangan and Tawali residents, not to mention intermarried couples and several generations of dual-ancestry offspring.

Beyond this “problem” of ethnic admixture, there are questions of settlement and belonging. While the term “tribe” is supposed to denote a legitimately settled group, it is clear that Ihaliap people are at once rooted and mobile. Ifugao areas claimed by an Ihaliap tribe, for instance, might then be legitimately farmed, according to Adyangan understandings, by returning outmigrants from Nueva Viscaya, who could reactivate their hereditary landrights in Ifugao if they so choose. Despite these multilocal livelihood strategies, what was most important for all Ihaliap respondents was to have Adyangan security of tenure for Haliap. Thus, if it appeared security might eventuate from accepting the appellation “tribe,” they would not object to being so named. For them, the crucial gain to be made in becoming legible was to attach the name Ihaliap to their node of locality in the Antipolo Valley, thus securing the bundle of landrights that might be activated there.

Why would people accept Ihaliap as the name of this “tribe”? Both the name of Panubtuban and the broader ethnic category of I-Adyang remind people of their history of migration and, in the present circumstances, this may be undesirable. As one respondent pointed out, to be called I-Adyang in Haliap now could lead to an attempt to “deport” them back to Adyang. For him, Adyang was “a *sitio* outside Banaue”—a place he had never seen and a site that, as far as he knew, his ancestors had left seven generations ago. For him, accepting a name “from that place” would play right into the hands of the Tawali claims to Panubtuban as pasture land. Since the IPRA requires indigenes to have continuously lived in or occupied a territory since “time immemorial” (Hirtz 2003; Perez 2000, 12), and the NCIP seeks documentation of at least six generations of continuous inhabitation for “indigenous status,”¹⁵ entering the official records as the Ihaliap tribe may eventually offer the community a stronger claim to land.

Tribe is another English word and thus not an indigenous Filipino concept to begin with. Thus, to understand why new “tribes” are appearing on the landscape now, it is useful to revisit the way in which “tribe” entered colonial history. Igorot, the regional ethnic identity which Haliap people usually reject, occupies a conceptual space that mobilizes a simplified framing of identity dependent on particular regimes of representation and contestation—what Li calls the “tribal slot” (Li 2000,

6 after Trouillot 1991). Across the globe, the tribal slot has emerged when the apparatus of government takes up the classifications produced by academics, missionaries, and travelers in order to administer peoples previously found outside the state’s sphere of influence. In the Philippines, the Igorot tribal slot has been produced through a very particular set of representations. American colonialism described Igorots via comparisons, not with other Southeast Asian upland dwellers, but with North American indigenes: “Indians.” While historical trajectories elsewhere may be sufficiently distinct to allow a separation of “national or ethnic minorities” from “colonized indigenous peoples” (Karlsson 2003), in the Philippines the conflation of the Igorot with Indians means that the two categories have become coincident.

As an extensive literature attests, the term Ygorot entered the Spanish language during the colonization of the northwestern coast of Luzon as a reference to the peoples of the uncolonized uplands immediately beyond the Ilocos region (Afalse 1995, 12), and later came to identify people living on the Cordillera Central of northern Luzon (see Scott 1974 and map). The word Igorot itself signals a displacement, a standing away from a place of origin, specified in most general terms. *I*—the prefix denoting “people of”—is combined with *golot*, a word for mountain or upland.¹⁶ As this naming would suggest, when actually dwelling in the uplands, few people ever described themselves as Igorot. Instead, ethnic identities have operated in multiplicity and at different scales, both village and regional (Keesing 1962). Local identities, relating individuals to settlements in particular *barangays* or municipalities, have always prevailed at the regional level but have not, until recently, been “tribal.”

The new American colonial regime took over the administration of the Cordillera after the Spanish-American War and the purchase of the Philippine islands from Spain. The first American administrators simply applied the Spanish distinctions they had inherited to local groups (Fry 1982), in another example of Trouillot’s (2001, 26) “legibility effect.” With little time to undertake studies of language and culture, and facing intense pressure to produce an administrative map of the Cordillera, American administrators found Spanish categories expedient for local governance (Fry 1982; Jenista 1987). However, with the commencement

of American administration, religious distinctions between local peoples were soon superseded by modern “scientific” classifications of natural histories, human physiques, and their relationship to moral character (Bean 1910; Vergara 1995.) In the second decade of American rule, these new racial taxonomies were deployed by a cadre of American ethnologists. Americans classified natives on the assumption that they possessed distinct and specific characters or “natures” according to their group and geographical setting. This produced hierarchies of place-based groups as physical types (Vergara 1995), which then fit into a global and comprehensive scheme for ordering native peoples. The American administrators in charge of this classificatory technology adopted a paternalistic and protective attitude toward peoples on the Cordillera (Fry 1982; Jenista 1987) and, at the same time, imported the categories of America’s own experiences of internal colonization. This was how the American concept of “tribe” entered the Philippines and became applied to the apparently place-based groups of the Cordillera. Tribe was used on the Great Plains to distinguish between the “legitimate natives” and outlaws, describing as “real Indians” groups who could demonstrate localism and rootedness in a particular place and leadership vested in a particular individual (Paulet 1995). Applying this typology of “tribal” organization to Igorot placed a similar premium on demonstrations of localism, rootedness, and individual leadership. On the Cordillera, the intention was to develop a “benign” administration (Paulet 1995; Jenista 1987) that would ease the way for the inevitable incorporation of indigenes into the nation-state and the loss of their distinct identity.

American colonial officials thus reclassified the regional and place-based ethnic identities they encountered as Igorot tribes and the resulting Philippine tribal slot reflects its hybrid Spanish and American history. It has produced a “tribal” landscape layered with iterations of earlier classifications that favor local centers that had closer ties to missions, colonial administrators, and scholars. In the case of Haliap, the current NCIP listing for Ifugao sub-groups describes the Asipulo Valley as the territory of the Hanglulo tribe, with no mention of Tuwali or the Adyangan presence.¹⁷ This is so despite the third-term mayor being a Panubtuban Adyangan, Jose Jordan Gullitiw. Respondents attribute this

description to a tradition in which Hanglulo peoples have been “closer” to the regional seat of political power in Tuwali Kiang and the provincial capital in Lagawe than have Haliap Adyangan.

The ideas of localism and rootedness behind the category of “tribe” also inflect attempts to recognize indigenous rights to land. The current Ancestral Domain process under the NCIP relies on a circular argument that assumes land and people are inseparable. As Perez (2000, 18) explains in her analysis of the IPRA, the definitions in current Philippine laws set out: “*ancestral* domains... delimited by *indigenous* cultural communities who are defined by their ancestry; or, *indigenous* cultural communities... contained by *ancestral* domains which are defined by their prior settlement by indigenous or autochthonous populations.” The law, although well-meaning in its intention to recognize a special connection between people and land, requires conditions of both ancestry and boundedness that many groups, particularly those “rearranged” by the Spanish along the nineteenth-century colonial frontier, may not be able to meet. The wording of IPRA, in fact, reiterates the old American conceptualization of “tribes” as having legitimacy through historical settlement in a single, clearly bounded, place that is a “domain.”

Rather than using “tribe,” my respondents use the term “Adyangan side” to refer to a whole swathe of interrelated Adyangan communities in the Ifugao foothills that extends from Madjodjao (Mayoyao) to Asipulo. In this area, there appear to be new boundaries being drawn between what were, at least pre-1898 and well into the twentieth century, much more fluid and dynamic localities. Some of it is no doubt due to the localizing and pacifying effects of the trade relations, missionization, and administrative efforts of both the American regime and post-independence government. Another element of the reification of boundaries seems to be much more contemporary. It appears to be strategic for people petitioning for state services and recognition of indigenous landrights to present themselves as “tribes” from specific barangay. Yet, this does not always reflect the relations of land tenure at the local level. For instance, in the Socioeconomic Survey, Adyangan people from Montabiong and Cambulo are listed as separate “tribes” (and as Tuwali). However, I have surveyed several Haliap Adyangan residents who also have inherited landholdings in these barangays.

Perhaps the Adyangan can now choose their “tribal” affiliation based on the lands they intend to cultivate? But, as indicated earlier, the choice of landrights they activate may change over the lifecourse, particularly when children inherit their parents’ land on marriage. The ways that people are actually living on the land does not seem to fit with the expectations tied to the category of “tribe” by the bureaucracy. In fact, current regulations and legislation appear to be perpetuating a misrepresentation of tribes and domains that has its origins in at least two centuries of colonial history.

Recolonizing the Landscape

In places like Haliap, the very complexity of histories behind their local identities necessitates that people speak to Manila offices in terms that are both simple and familiar to the national bureaucracy. Ironically, it is by becoming legible as “tribes” and fitting themselves within the representations of the “tribal slot” that people demonstrate their familiarity with the state system and their accessibility and social proximity to government workers. On the Cordillera, the response to this situation has been twofold. Beyond the reinvigoration of a proud “Igorot” pan-regional identity, some local communities have supported antigovernment insurgents. Other communities are moving towards engaging NGOs, lawyers, and historians to document the injustice of state laws that apply to the resources of the uplands and inviting social scientists to describe traditional patterns of land occupancy, spiritual connection, cultivation, and resource extraction, in order to establish the distinct indigenous character of “new” place-based “tribes” to compensate for groups not listed or listed inaccurately. This more overt opposition is combined with strategies of accommodation, in which the existing laws are used to register traditional interests in land with the state. This is the course currently being charted by Asipulo Municipality where the concept of “domain” is reduced to existing barangay boundaries.

Thinking about the ways in which the government recognizes indigenous identities and places returns us to the representations of Ifugao landscapes with which we began. Such representations matter because they continue to frame the “tribal slot” and, thus, delimit the ways local

people can become legible to government. To illustrate this point, I draw an example from the national newspapers people receive in Ifugao. This quote comes from the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*,¹⁸ where one of the paper’s Manila-based columnists refers to “vanished civilizations” in magnificent landscapes, reinforcing a distinction between a metropolitan “us” and an Igorot “them”:

Even today, in places like Sagada and Bontoc and Ifugao, and less known, remote places along the way that were already Igorot havens perhaps millennia ago...one senses the ancient presence of a vanished civilization. Peering at pictures of these mountain peoples taken by anthropologists at the turn of the 19th century, in vistas that rival in physical and natural beauty anything in America or Europe, one cannot but develop a pride and sympathy for the Igorot peoples that make our latent prejudice toward them puzzling, despicable and self-demeaning. (Bocobo 1999, C2)

This narrative is relayed along colonial conduits of power, situating the reader in the imperial center, as the recipient of the reports of anthropologists on what is now a “vanished civilization.” In order to understand Filipino indigenes, and their possible anticolonial resistance, the columnist goes on to mobilize colonial comparisons produced through the particularity of the hybrid Philippine tribal slot:

Like the American Indian, the Igorots are a people displaced from their ancestral lands by irresistible waves of a new dispensation. But unlike the American Indian at the hands of white settlers, and quite unbeknownst to many Filipinos, the Igorots never succumbed to either the Cross or the Sword of the white conquistadors of Spain. (Bocobo 1999, C2)

The contradictions within this second section stem from the conflicting ideas that the Igorot are like Indians in that they were displaced from their lands, but then the Igorot did not actually succumb to colonialism. By representing Igorot as formerly sovereign and currently dispossessed, the inhabitants of places like Sagada, Bontoc, and Banaue are represented as displaced from the lands they occupy. This same narrative structure may be familiar from the examples of the cartographic

impulse and imperialist nostalgia offered earlier. In this quote, the ongoing occupation of Igorot or Ifugao “tribal lands” by contemporary inhabitants is rendered a blight on the landscape because it frustrates the fantasy of a “vanished civilization.” One can easily imagine how disturbing it is for a resident of translocal Haliap to read this, a reminder of an unbridgeable ethnic difference from fellow Filipinos and account of disentanglement to land and livelihood, in the Sunday Lifestyle pages of the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*.

As Said would suggest, this narrative is a single example within a broader discursive picture. Its argument is echoed both by quotes from Villalon on the heritage of the terraces, above, and, more recently, the directives of President Arroyo. During her 31 December 2005 visit to Banaue, the president was reportedly offended by the “increasing number of modern structures marring the beauty” at the World Heritage Site and ordered the secretary of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources to find a relocation area for the “squatters” (Ilagan 2006). The people whose housing has so offended the president are actually the customary landowners of Sitio Awan-igid. The Department of Tourism now refers to them as “informal settlers,” because they do not have formal government land titles, even though they are recognized as the customary owners of the land (Ilagan 2006). These people have built houses out of durable materials such as GI sheets—in a style common to across the rural Philippines—rather than renew the *cogon* roofing on their “native” houses. Now the president wants them to be relocated to “improve the beauty of the rice terraces because it is a key destination” for tourism (ibid.). This attempt to “purify” the terraces landscape fits Rosaldo’s formulation of imperialist nostalgia perfectly. For once, I imagine people reading this story in Haliap do not envy the government attention directed to Banaue.

The circulation of such narratives in the contemporary mediascape does give people cause to think their rights to land may be threatened because the politics of representation matters. The cartographic impulse, the imperialist nostalgia it enacts, and the particularities of the Igorot tribal slot all threaten to open up the region in various ways as a “vacant” terrain for nationalist development. By portraying the Cordillera landscape as empty of contemporary people (who matter), full of

resources to be exploited, and as the location of valuable symbols to be celebrated, the media enacts strategies of internal colonization that, in turn, can open the way for resource extraction and the displacement of people “on the ground.”¹⁹

We need to recognize that there are many histories and ways of becoming and being indigenous in the Philippines, and each is predicated on different relationships between peoples, localities and land. Although they make a tangential claim to heritage status, people in Haliap know that current efforts to conserve an Ifugao heritage landscape focus mainly on Tuwali sites, and increasingly this may be a source of relief rather than envy. And while they may be represented in a variety of ways—as migrants, as kaingineros, as Filipinos abroad, as Ifugaos—they know all of these identities can be dangerous in some contexts. What we can draw from regional history is the lesson that representations of indigenous localities as outside or beyond colonial histories serve to undermine indigenous peoples’ ability to negotiate claims to land, livelihood, and autonomy within the nation-state.

It is only by situating localities within both colonial histories and contemporary representations that we can understand contemporary livelihoods and claims to land. In Haliap, instead of a history as a “tribe” with a “domain,” Ihaliap people find themselves on quite a different terrain, with no concrete or authentic site of origin. Their locality is forged through the resources provided by colonialisms, and place-based colonial categories and representations offer the possibility of maintaining their current entitlements to land and resources. With this history, Haliap is not a place that was destroyed by colonialism and then recaptured by local resistance. Instead, it has become a locality through a mutually constitutive exercise of power between colonized and colonizers. By entering “Haliap” (hurry up) as the official place name in the government records, Ihaliap people in fact disrupt expectations of precolonial authenticity and offer resistance the cartographic impulse.

The Haliap case is a singular example and, of course, not paradigmatic for all mountain communities. It does, however, fracture Said’s description of the restoration of a concrete geographical identity as the definitive work of anti-imperialism. Instead, it leads us to conclude that,

on the Cordillera, the idea of an authentic and precolonial geographic identity is itself part of the colonial imaginary. The history of Haliap suggests that, rather than destroying locality, colonialisms have incited its production in novel, multiple, and, now, cosmopolitan forms. The Haliap example points us toward a rethinking of the forms taken by indigenous locality and perhaps questioning the history and cultural diversity that might be lost through accepting too easily the limits inherent in categories of “tribe” and “domain.”

Notes

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1. Local history and migration history interviews were conducted in Banaue, Kiangang, Asipulo, and Haliap outmigration areas during participant observation and interview-based fieldwork in 1992, 1995, 1996–1997, 1999, 2002, and 2005. Media monitoring was conducted simultaneously in the locally available print media.

2. UNESCO is the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. For more information on the World Heritage listing, see <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/722>.

3. As per the details currently reported by the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples, www.ncip.gov.ph/resources/ethno_detail.php?ethnoid=54, accessed 5 September 2005.

4. Tuwali comes from the word for “certain” or “real” in the dialect shared by a group of central Ifugao communities. For an explanation of names, see Afable 1989, 87–114.

5. Hanglulo is elsewhere referred to as covering Keley-i Kallahan speakers in Asipulo’s barangay of Antipolo and the “Yattuka” language spoken in and around Amduntog (Steffen 1997).

6. Adyangan means “from Adyang”—Adyang is a locality in the municipality of Banaue, near the headwaters of the Alimit River, a tributary of the Magat.

7. The Tuwali name is the official name of the community.

8. Ituy is the Adyangan term for “here,” as in “this area,” but it may be a term that was widely shared among the languages of the region.

9. Thanks to Father Wilfred Vermuelen for access to materials from the Dominican archives in Manila.

10. Calculated from data collected in 1992 using 17 years as the average time between generations.

11. Lim (1978) reports that the Spanish records indicate people from the Antipolo valley were brought down to the lowlands in a *reduccion* in approximately this time period. By 1850, the mission at Bagabag was recorded as controlling a number of mountain settlements (Keesing 1962, 294).

12. The kiln would likely be a remnant of the Spanish mission at Kiangang, which began in 1793. My respondents reported that their ancestors had seen a few Spaniards at first, but they left the area during the first few years of settlement at Panubtuban. The remains of this kiln are located close to what is now the Itum bridge, on the north bank of the Hagalap River between the Tuwali Barangay of Duit and in the former Haliap sitio of Mapitpitut. Mapitpitut is now Barangay Mapit of Kiangang, though it is still an Adyangan-speaking area.

13. Father Wilfred Vermuelen, personal comment, 8 June 1996.

14. Banhiton is likely the contemporary Panubtuban sitio Bangtinnon.

15. Aileen Paguntalan (Anthrowatch, Manila), personal comment, 8 September 2005.

16. *Golot* occurs throughout the Philippine islands and is variously rendered as *gulut*, *gurut*, and *golod*, depending on the local language.

17. As per the details currently reported by the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples at www.ncip.gov.ph/resources, accessed 5 September 2005.

18. In Haliap, people regularly purchase the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* in Kiangang and Lagawe. When I sojourned in the barangay in 1996, I bought groceries wrapped in it and the interior of my rented house was wallpapered with sheets of newsprint from the previous year on the interior walls. On a visit to Haliap in 2005, nearly everyone who passed through my host’s house scanned the previous day’s copy I had left on the table.

19. This discursive emptying of Cordillera land of the interests of its indigenous owners is a familiar story for indigenous communities. Brown’s (1994, 44) analysis of government documents on upland resource development and environmental issues finds:

Government officials frequently link the use of upland areas with national interests. They perceive the uplands as essential for the Philippines to cope with indebtedness, reliance on imports and international financing, unemployment and other attributes of economic stagnation, and unequal distribution of opportunities and resources.

Many of the government “development” projects on the Cordillera have relied on military intervention to facilitate resource extraction or access for lowland or elite interests (*ibid.*, 45). Haliap people have already experienced this, to some extent, in landgrabbing of local forests by non-Haliap government officials and the confiscation of “illegally cut lumber” by government representatives.

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