

UP-ASP 26th Anniversary

Indigenous Responses to Colonial Incursions

An Online Conference

BOOK of ABSTRACTS

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Indigenous Responses to Colonial Incursions

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Session 1

The Katipunan's Concept of the Hari ng mga Tagalog and the Path to Kalayaan

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The aim of this paper is to prove, not merely to suggest that the numerous revolts and resistance launched by the Filipino people at different locations at the different period of time in our history during Spanish colonialization served not only as seeds, but also as a reminder and an undeniable inspiration that helped the hastening and eventual realization of the national revolution of 1896. This is incontestably and unmistakably clear from the documents, pronouncement, philosophy and literature of the Katipunan who successfully vanquished and slay the Spanish power in this country and in so doing, became the first revolutionary national government. The Katipunan through Andres Bonifacio utilized the concept of Haring Bayang Katagalugan to refer to the nation or Inang-Bayan that they wishes to get back from the clutches of Spanish occupation. That eventual revolutionary government, which unfortunately snatched by the counterrevolutionary forces, ironically by "Filipinos" themselves became the moral and legal basis of our so-called "Republic", albeit short-lived, which nonetheless is the first ever in Asia.

The Uncolonized Land of Cordillera

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This composition intends to reveal the failure of Spaniards to subjugate the Igorots of Cordillera during their reign in the Philippines. Its failure was caused by the refusal and resistance of the Igorots to submit themselves under the Spanish colonial rule, which restraints the Spaniards to establish Pueblos in the Cordilleras.

The sudden habitation of the Spaniards in the lowlands brought the Igorots deeper into their ancestral land, which also indicates how the Igorots refused the following offers of the Spaniards. These are (a) conversion of religion – from indigenous religions to Christianity (b) sharing their gold mines (c) going down to the lowland areas to relocate themselves to the pueblos and (d) submitting themselves under the colonial rule. This refusal and resistance can be seen through the accounts of different primary sources, that notes that the Igorots were cunning; they would always make a way to outsmart the Spaniards, blocking ways and passages that Filipino converts and Spaniards need to cross, take converted children from Ilocos and introduce them under indigenous religions, take the lives of Spaniards and Filipino Christian converts who steps into their lands, etc. Moreover, it also indicates the reasons for their refusal and resistance. Some of their reasons are: (a) protecting their gold mines (b) loyalty to their tradition, religion, and political and social order and (c) to cherish and treasure the legacy of their ancestors. Due to the refusal and resistance of Igorots, the Spanish Colonial Administration and the Filipinos converted to Christianity on lowland areas considered them as enemies. Meanwhile, there are converted Filipinos who would settle in the Cordilleras to find sanctuary due to dissatisfaction with the Spanish colonial rule. They are known as the tulisanes and remontados.

Lagutaw's Revolt: Timeless Import of a Short-lived Resistance

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Spanish colonization – alongside the blessings of modernity – brought disease, death and division to the Philippines. In the late 1700s, a revolt in northern Luzon led by the Kalinga warrior Lagutaw erupted amidst a smallpox pandemic. The otherwise dramatic event, as narrated by William Henry Scott, was short-lived and marked a resounding suppression of indigenous resistance against Spanish rule. Scott also presents another side of the story: the collaboration of other Filipino natives with their Spanish masters, as depicted and exemplified by Lagutaw's brother, Onofre Liban.

This paper reflects on the timeless import of this short-lived rebellion. It first discusses a three-fold strategy of conquest by the Iberian colonizers -- asymmetrical warfare (i.e., weaponization of disease, use of advanced technology, and deployment of insuperable manpower), politics of narrativization (i.e., the power of nomenclature and the discourse of sanctification), and social classification (i.e., group designation and breakup of communitism). It next focuses on how this set of conquest strategy continues to operate in a different-but-similar configuration even in a postcolonial world. Finally, it addresses how a counter-strategy may be developed by indigenous peoples drawing insights from the Kalinga concepts of *um-umag* (fictive and non-fictive narratives), *vinodngan* (peace pact-bound communities), and *paniyaw* (taboo) all of which can provide opportunities for developing counter-narratives, inter-ethnic collaboration, and cultural redemption.

Session 2

Tagalogs Turning Tropes Against Colonial Impositions de Trop

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The presentation tackles local Tagalogs' responses to colonialism in Silang, Cavite.

An instance of idiom recorded in an historical account; the concept used to define the nature of local folk beliefs and practices and the very value ultimately given the body of folk beliefs itself; legends and a folk song homologous to folk belief; as well as wordplay in the local lexicon are seen as trope-making that aims to subvert Spanish colonial incursion and influence, and in an act of reversal, serves to appropriate aspects of the Spanish language and responses as a means of native expression and self-determined definition.

In an account of a Filipino Katipunero from Silang, the wordplay used by players in the narrative shows how idiom is used to undermine the local Spanish authority and serve as a trope to identify belonging and boundaries between native Tagalogs of Silang and their Spanish administrators. This setting of boundaries between self and others, insider and outsider is supported by the lesson inherent in a folksong identified as locally generated by Silang folks. This attitude of "pulling one over the enemy" through language play may be seen as parallel to acts of appropriation, such as accepting the Spanish-imposed label, "herejia" for the locals' folkways, beliefs, customs and practices, but turning this around on its head to instead be an almost reverent term for valuing this body of native lore, whereby such beliefs and practices, along with the term survives today. This subversion is likewise echoed in the thematics and characterization in legends of the itinerant Spanish intent on establishing names for locales, only to end up befuddled by local perspectives on comprehension and definition of self, which may be reflected in legends and iconography of a nativized patron. A possible extension into Amadeo linguistic practice is suggested for examination.

Decolonizing Homosexuality: Babaylanism in Agi Poetry

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The agi is an indigenous articulation of homosexuality in Panay in central Philippines. This study traces the connection of the agi's attendant performance (kaagian) with the mystical tradition of babaylanism, as explored in agi poetry. The strong presence of babaylanic tropes and discourses in agi poetry unravels the connection of kaagian with a pre-colonial form of power called gahum, which is deeply attuned with the babaylanic spatiality of Panay. The babaylan as a shaman, culture bearer, and political leader embodies physical and spiritual powers that go beyond the human realm. Gahum is best exemplified in babaylanism because it harnesses animistic forces that guide and safeguard the community. By exploring the interconnected concepts of kaagian, gahum, and babaylanism, this critical study on agi poetry reveals that there is power in pre-colonial and indigenous belief systems that can be used to subvert colonial-imposed hegemonies such as catholicism and patriarchy. The analysis of the poems shows that agi writers champion the image of the babaylan to connect with a pre-colonial form of feminine power in order to decolonize and liberate the agi identity and how it is rendered in literature.

On the Hermeneutics of 'Ginhawa': Interrogating the Untranslatability of a Filipino Concept

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Ginhawa is a featured concept in Filipino culture. This concept is authentically Austronesian. In Zeus Salazar's framework on barangay, he enumerates different economic and cultural specializations – datu, bayani, babaylan, and panday. Their functions, according to Salazar, provide ginhawa to barangay. If we are to look at the dictionary, ginhawa refers to 'well-being'. If our analysis is to be stretched to ginhawa's cognates in other Austronesian languages, the term is often defined as ease in breathing, or life itself. Based on the data gathered from the old dictionaries and chronicles prepared by the early missionaries, as well as the entries in *The Austronesian Comparative Dictionary*, I would argue that ginhawa has no spiritual meaning. Even the related concept of kaluluwa, that in our belief has to remain inside the katawan to effect ginhawa (at least its primary bodily manifestations), cannot provide the expected spiritual dimension in understanding ginhawa as it was perceived by the early natives prior to the advent of Spanish colonialism. This study aims to take a glimpse at the cultural clash brought by the imposition of Catholic Church that the body (i.e. katawan) is originally sinful (as what can be gleaned from the confesionarios), and perspectival transformation about death. From here on, the process of putting religious dimension to ginhawa will be made obvious.

The Archaeomusicology of Cultural Adaptation: Colonial Incursions and Indigenous Response in the Material Culture of Musical Traditions

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Before the advent of sound recording technology, documentation of music was limited to written notation, historical accounts, and surviving traditions of musical practice. Unfortunately, written notation is not common to all cultures. Historical accounts are subject to interpretation of the writer. Persisting musical traditions may have gradually changed as a result of temporal distance – the time and different sensibilities from one generation to the next.

Part of the key to understanding the musical past is the analysis of their physical forms. Material culture provides a glimpse into past musical traditions; one that cannot be granted by notation, history, and ethnomusicology alone.

This talk will focus on the effects of colonial incursion, trade, and culture exchange in the musical traditions across the Philippine archipelago and other select culture groups. Specifically, it looks at how this manifests in the material culture of musical performance. This will demonstrate how an archaeomusicological approach provides a fresh perspective on the matter – showing how the musical instruments themselves are “snapshots” of specific time-periods and events that shaped the sound of the past.

Ultimately, this talk seeks to show the potential of archaeomusicology in the Philippines and Southeast Asia. While the field of study has been widely explored in other geographies, there is still much to be uncovered in the region.

Session 3

Cagayan's Chessboard: Mapping and Visualizing the Rise and Fall of the 18th Century Spanish Fortifications in Cagayan Valley

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Cagayan valley is known as one of the provinces with the most number of uprisings. Contemporary accounts before the widespread pacification of Cagayan Valley shows that rebellions spread throughout the region and even pillaged Spanish fortifications. Being a region of many ethnic "nations" speaking in different tongues such as the Ibanag, Itawit, Yogad, Irraya, Gaddang, the Apayaos and others, it seems that the first century of Spanish occupation had a hard time establishing its absolute colonial rule in Cagayan. This is due to the fact that the Spanish infantry is entering a dangerous valley – a territory of skilled warriors and aniteru/aniteras that does not welcome the Catholic religion. In this paper, it follows how and why the Spanish garrisons failed despite being technologically and architecturally "supreme" in that point in time. The forts and territory being reviewed in this paper are within the six fortifications mentioned by Don Fernando Valdes Tamon in 1739 (Lallo, Tuao, Cabagan, Cabicungan, Capinatan, and Itugud forts) and their gradual decay and disuse due to political, social, and economic reasons. Also, using satellite imagery in QGIS and infographics based from historical accounts and recent studies, it seeks to map indigenous territories and how the Valley people might have used their natural landscape to their advantage in resistance with the Spaniards.

Cota and Ilihan: Unravelling the Hidden History of Fortresses, Slaving Raids, Depopulation and the Colonial Economy of 17th – 19th Century Northern Mindanao

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For more than three decades, archaeological research was conducted in many areas in Misamis Oriental Province in Northern Mindanao. Its most significant discoveries to date were fortresses locally known as cota or ilihan, that are similarly situated in hilltops facing the bay. In order to understand the vital function of these structures to the community, oral accounts were gathered and research on historical documents further unravelled a forgotten period in local history that there were frequent slave raids resulting in great losses and destruction to coastal villages which in turn, severely affected the colonial economy. These historical facts are not studied in our schools or included in our local narratives. Perhaps in the near future, this can be brought in the open and accepted as an integral part of our past as a people.

Session 4

The Cult of the Brown Madonna in Early Colonial Tagalog Society: Spanish and Indigenous Interpretations

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The archetypal figure of the Brown Madonna figures prominently in the oral tradition of Medieval Spain and eventually, colonial Latin America. Miraculous images of the dark-skinned Virgin Mary became the central focus of popular devotions that resonates deeply in the psyche of Spanish colonists and indigenous populations. The classic case of the famous Virgin of Guadalupe (Mexico, 1531) illustrates the plurality of interpretations regarding her significance during the early stages of colonial transition. A similar religious phenomenon was observed decades later when the Spaniards were consolidating their control of the Tagalog region (1571-1647). This lecture examines three miraculous images that captured the imagination of Tagalogs and Spaniards alike during this early stage of colonial rule: Our Lady of Guidance (1571), Our Lady of Caysasay (1603), and Our Lady of Peace and Good Voyage (1626).

Spanish narratives saw in the marvels of these small images the Virgin's unwavering patronage of their military and religious enterprise. Indigenous narratives however tend to focus more on Mary as poon, a sacred feminine figure associated with fertile nature, an approachable mother- archetype interested in domestic concerns, a heavenly figure who talks to them in their language, and even appears often disguised as a Tagala. Unlike the Latin American experience however, there was no polarization of devotees along racial / ethnic lines. Although the Virgin of Antipolo eventually became so popular to the point of being hailed as the "virgin of predilection" of the Philippines, none of these images were used a rallying point of resistance to colonial rule (in contrast to its Latin American counterparts). Despite the plurality of interpretations regarding her role in colonial society, she was not necessarily a polarizing religious symbol.

Mga Poon at Pista sa Pasig: Ang Pagbabakas sa Katutubong Katagalugan

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Ang Ilog Pasig ay maikling ilog ngunit may mahabang kasaysayan na nasa sentro ng Kamaynilaan. Ito ay mahalagang daluyan at lunduyan hindi lamang sa ekonomiya at pangangalakal noon pa man kung hindi sa usapin at kalagayang pangkalinangan. Masisipat ang mga ito sa kaso ng mga lokal na poon at pista partikular sa bayan ng Pasig. Ang salita at konsepto ng poon ay sinasabing hindi nasakop ng mga kanluraning kaalaman at pagpapakahulugan. Ito ay isang matandang Tagalog na maiugnay sa mga salita't konsepto ng nuno, noo, puno, at pinuno. Batay sa isinagawang inisyal na pag-aaral, mababakas na ang ganito katutubong kaalaman at kamalayan ay nanatili pa rin sa kasalukuyang panahon. Bagama't nasa sentro ng kapangyarihan, kosmopolitan, at modernidad ay ang mga pagtatanghal ng mga "alternatibong pananampalataya" sa anyo ng mito at pista, napapalakasan at naipagpapatuloy ang katutubong katagalugan. Mga halimbawa nito ay ang mga kuwento ng kababalaghan sa pinagmulan at karangalan ng mga nakasaksi, maging ang pagliligtas sa pamayanan mula sa mga sakuna at kalamidad, at ang mga pamamanata sa iba't ibang anyo nito ng bawat padron. Kaya naman, sa huli, ang mga poon at pista sa Pasig ay pagbabakas sa Katutubong Katagalugan na maitatampok at didiskursuhin dito.

Ang Pagsalakay ng mga Aklasang Bayan sa Simbahang Katolika, 1621-1683

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Maraming naganap na mga aklasang bayan sa mahigit tatlong daang taong pananakop ng mga Espanyol sa Pilipinas. Mula sa mga entradas hanggang sa tuluyang conquistas ay palagiang may nag aaklas sa pamumuno ng mga Espanyol. Mula sa Sabwatan ng Tundo (1587-88) hanggang sa Himagsikang 1896 ay matatahi ang mga magkakaugnay na mga karanasan ng mga Pilipino at ang kanilang mga paraan ng pakikipaglaban sa mga mananakop.

Layunin ng papel na ito na tuntunin ang kaisipan sa pananalakay ng mga Pilipino sa mga Simbahan at mga misyonerong Espanyol kaalinsabay ng mga pananalakay nito sa pamahalaang Espanyol sa Pilipinas. Partikular na tatalakayin sa papel na ito ang mga aklasang bayan sa panahong 1621-83 at kung bakit pangunahing sinasalakay ang mga simbahan sa pagsisimula ng mga aklasang bayan. Sa kaso ng huli, may malaking kaugnayan ba ang pagsusunog at pag-aalis ng mga Espanyol sa paniniwala sa Anituisimo ang mga pagsalakay sa simbahan ng mga Pilipino? Isa pang mahalagang aspekto ay ang kabuuang pagnanais sa pananalakay ay ang pagbalik sa dating paniniwala. Sa huli, bagamat hindi tuluyang napagtagumpayan ang mga pag-aaklas, magsisimula naman ito ng mga susunod pang mga aklasang bayan hanggang sa mga susunod na dantaon tungong Himagsikang 1896 kung saan magtatagpo tagpo ang mga katangian ng mga naunang nag-aklas at siyang magbubunsod sa pagtatapos ng kolonyalismong Espanyol sa Pilipinas.

Folk Catholicism and Syncretism as Indigenous Response to Colonial Incursion

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Spreading the Catholic faith has been one of the primary motives during the Spanish colonial period. Whilst the religion has been widely accepted in the Philippines, traces of indigenous elements are still present in its manifestations in the present. Generally defined as either "folk" practice or syncretism, the indigenous elements are embedded in the exercise of the Catholic faith in the country. The paper goals to examine indigenous response to colonial incursion through its remnants in present day manifestations using theories in the study of art and culture. Three main categories are analyzed in the paper mainly: festivals, imageries, and practices. The elements of "folk" and syncretism is examined as a remnant of the indigenous response to the religion as a colonial incursion. In festivals, different indigenous practices have been observed in the various and unique ways of celebrating the feast day of a Saint attributed to the original practices of each town and city's indigenous peoples, such as in the case of the originally pagan Ati-Atihan festival. Meanwhile, the devotion to images of saints is examined and attributed to the same indigenous practice of anito worship. The creation of anting-anting coinciding with Catholic beliefs are also a product of the same religious syncretism. Lastly, the practices including ceremonies during the Holy Week such as the 3-day wake of the Santo Entierro or Poon provides an insight to indigenous burial practices in present day Catholicism in the Philippines. The findings directly relate to the response of the indigenous peoples to the Spanish colonization and Catholicism as a combination of both resistance and conformity which resulted to folk practice and syncretism.

Music, Ritual, and Headhunting in Northern Luzon – Historical Resistance, Conformity and Transformation

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Headhunting and headtaking in Northern Luzon was a ritual act and cosmological in nature. A head was required before rice planting began and after a successful harvest. It was also used to acquire a certain life force emanating from the victim's head, offered to a esteemed person before his death chair. The headhunting ritual complex was maintained by a complex system --- a dry rice and a wet rice agricultural system, trade relations with friendly villages and with the lowlands, kin and village alliances which defined the social units. Facets of an old megalithic culture, manifested in stone paved platforms in mens' houses, rice terracing, and buffalo sacrifice are evident, within a cosmology and a terrestrial relationship with the dead, with the ancestors or the spirit of nature. In all these, a system of symbols is expressed in rituals, prayers, chanting, offerings, music making, singing, dancing, village revelry or a declaration of a village isolation to propitiate the death of a kin victim of the headhunt. After the arrival of the Spanish conquistadores and Catholic friars in the late sixteenth century and later American Protestant missionaries in early twentieth century, the gradual conversion to Christianity changed the ritual and musical landscape of highland northern Luzon, after and following the systematic prohibition and slow erosion of indigenous musical traditions in the lowlands. This paper outlines the various trajectories of resistance, conformity without acceptance, an eventual forgetting of the past, and the ritual transformation of the headhunting ritual complex in highland northern Luzon, utilizing a variety of sources -- colonial documents, contemporary ethnography and musical field data, and videos and pictures from the internet and social media.

