

systems. Ultimately, these papers show that coming to terms with the post-colonial is an ongoing process and event.

Social scientists who are studying Island Southeast Asia would find the topics relevant—issues that are either constantly in the news or things that Southeast Asians encounter in their day-to-day lives. It is clear how this kind of work has emerged as a response to an effort to understand the situation that Southeast Asians find themselves in. For scholars engaged in archaeology, the book may not seem to be directly related to the field but there are some salient points and problems that can be found useful. These are the use of postcolonialism to answer archaeological questions, and the practice of archaeology itself as a study on postcolonialism. The latter issue is hinged upon the notion that anthropology and archaeology are colonial enterprises wherein the colonised culture becomes an intellectual commodity. Nonetheless, the stories can also serve as resources for ethnographic analogy in the study of archaeology.

Looking through the collected studies, the book was successful in demonstrating that Southeast Asia is still coping with the after effects of colonisation. Though published seven years ago, the book is worth having in every archaeological institution's library.

*Cordillera: Diversity in Culture Change*  
*Social Anthropology of Hill People in Northern Luzon, Philippines*

Toh Goda

2002. Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers

Review by Michael Armand P. Canilao, MA

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This work by Toh Goda belongs to an increasing body of academic work that engages the “oriental stagnation hypothesis,” which assumes the static social, economic, and cognitive dimensions of Southeast Asia prior to intervention/colonisation by the West. Goda presents the results of his longitudinal ethnographic fieldwork among the Bontok and Ifugao in the Cordillera region in northern Luzon which span almost three decades. He believes his Bontok and Ifugao data can demonstrate that pre-Contact societies in Southeast Asia were not “cold” or unchanged, but were rather “warm”—constantly entangled in a flux of culture change.

Goda argues that cultural diversity among the neighbouring Cordillera groups (notably the Ifugao, Bontok, Ibaloi, Kankanaey, Kalinga, and others) is attributed to diachronic culture-change. This he establishes through his data on the divergence of neighbouring Bontok and Ifugao kinship systems and its inheritance rules coupled with a peek into the shift in the internal religious institutions of the latter. These data sets serve as his anchor point as he goes down deeper in time to retrace/reconstruct pre-Contact culture transformations undergone by the Bontok and the Ifugao. He seeks to unravel the latent structure-functions embedded in both the Bontok and Ifugao kinship systems and the functions as well in the internal -to-Ifugao shift in religious institutions.

Perhaps Cordillera region archaeological data can further confirm Goda's arguments if a reprinted edition is already *in press*. Diachronic methodologies/modes of investigation typical of what Goda attempts can benefit from the support of archaeological evidence. Archaeology should be tapped by social/cultural anthropologists in trying to explain culture change in the past. As archaeologists we find fulfillment when we begin to understand why culture changed in the past? The work of Stephen Acabado (2009) in Ifugao and my own work in Benguet (2008) may supplement Goda's work on diversity in culture change among the different ethnolinguistic groups in the Cordilleras.

It is essential for us to know the background of the author *ergo* his area of expertise to understand the context of the writing of the book,. Toh Goda is a Japanese professor of social/cultural anthropology in Kobe University in Japan. He earned his doctoral degree in social anthropology from Tokyo Metropolitan University. Toh Goda is an alumnus of the Department of Anthropology in the University of the Philippines, Diliman. He began his Cordillera fieldwork in 1974, studying the different ethnolinguistic groups in the area with a particular focus on the Bontok and Ifugao. He received various grants from Japan agencies which allowed him to sustain his longitudinal research.

Goda's framework takes root in the American school of functionalism in cultural anthropology, wherein the dynamics between culture-change and history take centre stage. The American functionalist school differs from the British functionalist school in that the former treats culture-structure as processual while the latter treats it as static (in a "Saussurean" mode). The latter is often critiqued to be a brainchild of colonialist ideology (British). Hence Goda's basic questions are: do "primitive societies" (in Southeast Asia) have no ability to change their

own society without European influences or enlightenment by colonial control? Is the "oriental stagnation" a fatal social defect particularly in Southeast Asia? His conclusion is that these societies (he calls "traditions") are flexible and have the power to change their systems as they negotiate through the ever-changing cultural situations.

Goda tries to prove group diversity through culture change in the Cordilleras by method of deduction from the observed structural differences in the kinship systems of the Bontok and Ifugao. He basically identified the latent functions of these systems coupled with its inheritance/property rules and how it relates to the maintenance or transformation of social structure in the past.

Bontok society follows a parallel or bilineal system wherein the parallel family becomes the main social-economic unit. Consanguineal ties take priority over affinal ties in terms of rights and duties over communal lands and personal property. This function(s) to prevent class differentiation in Bontok society—to avoid the dissection of Bontok society into a broad spectrum of social strata with the big landlords on one end and the tenant farmers on the opposite end. The Bontok property system ensures that marriage will not be used for wealth accumulation in one family, as in the Ifugao case.

Just southeast of Bontok land, the Ifugao is seen to follow an ambilineal line with a rule in ranked bilateral primogeniture. The eldest child inherits the most part of his/her parents' properties thus making the family the main social-economic unit. The function of the Ifugao kinship system is to provide the avenue for couples to increase their property through the marriage of eldest sons and daughters. As a result, a very distinct *kadangyan* (elite) and *nawotwot* (peasant) class is put into place. Goda's functionalist analysis of the Ifugao kinship structure seem sound, he understates that the genealogical reckoning of the Ifugao *kadangyan* is very vivid/accurate due to the fact that they have to justify possession of properties by keeping tab/track of its transfer through the generations.

Goda also tried to identify the function of the internal-to-Ifugao shift from *funi* belief to *mumbaki* (shaman) sorcery with ritual bone washing. The former is seen in peasant Ifugao peripheries while the latter is more prevalent in the urban Ifugao centres. *Funi* is the belief that one must avoid envy and jealousy from neighbours in Ifugao society. The function of *funi* is to maintain a scattered settlement pattern among the peasants in the peripheral areas of Ifugao. It further functions to prevent

such communities from getting integrated into larger stratified communities. The belief in *mumbaki* sorcery and ritual bone washing in the urban Ifugao centres; on the other hand, function(s) to increase the social-ritual status of the *kadangyans* to go together with the increase in their hereditary property. The *mumbaki* is the medium for communicating to the spirits of the dead relatives who have bequeathed the property. This divergence in religious institutions is set in motion by the increase in the wealth of the *kadangyans*.

Goda believes that diversity by culture change was already taking place among the Cordillera groups even before the period of western contact. “Primitive society” or “tradition” is flexible and has a power to change their systems as they negotiate through the ever changing social-cultural situations. The comparative kinship system data of the Bontok and Ifugao may seem to account for diachronic culture change but can be rendered even more powerful if (or when) complimented with recent archaeological data.

Stephen Acabado determined the antiquity of the Ifugao mountain terraces to be 16<sup>th</sup> century or shortly after the Spanish Contact period through a Bayesian approach (see Acabado 2009). Rapid agricultural intensification followed soon after the first mountain terraces were constructed. This led to the rise of the *kadangyan* class. The *kadangyans* sought to further increase their property holdings in the barely two centuries that followed, just before a more permanent western presence was established in the area in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. By that time, a clear stratification in Ifugao society was already evident.

Similarly, my work in Benguet (southwestern Cordillera) has also demonstrated how the Ibaloi ethnolinguistic group has undergone three major socio-cultural changes/shifts: from gold mining in the 14<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> century to cattle herding in the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, and finally to wet-rice, mountain terrace agriculture from the 19<sup>th</sup> century up to the present (this lasting influence attributed to Ifugao influence from the east) (see Canilao 2008). This “agricultural” turn in the 19<sup>th</sup> century has similarly resulted to the solidification of an Ibaloi social stratification with the wealthy/landed *baknangs* on top and the *abiteg* on the lower end.

Goda is a social/cultural anthropologist trained to investigate/interpret contemporaneous culture change. In dealing with culture change in the past; however, he should also enlist the aid of the other general field (four fields) of anthropology—archaeology.

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Volume 15

2010

**Preliminary Report on the Earthenware Pottery from Ille Cave and Rockshelter, Palawan, Philippines**

*Yvette Balbaligo*

**Lost in the Retelling: Washed-out *Balitok* (Gold) in Ibaloi Generational Memory**

**Ibaloi Diaspora into Benguet (Part 2)**

*Michael Armand Canilao*

**Landscapes and the Archaeology of the Ifugao Agricultural Terraces: Establishing Antiquity and Social Organisation**

*Stephen Acabado*

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*Review by Roel Flores*

**Toh Goda (ed.). 2008. *Urbanization and Formation of Ethnicity in Southeast Asia*.**

*Review by Eleanor Marie S. Lim*

**Memories of a Dutchman during the Birth of a Nation**

*Review by Joan Tara Reyes*

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*Review by Ferdinand dela Paz*

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*Review by Donna Arriola*

**Toh Goda. 2002. *Cordillera: Diversity in Culture Change. Social Anthropology of Hill People in Northern Luzon, Philippines*.**

*Review by Michael Armand Canilao*