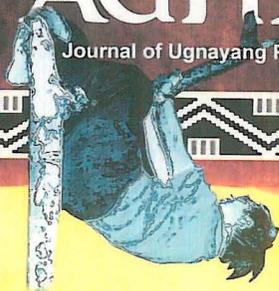


# AGHAMTAO

Volume 20 (Special Issue) / 2011

Journal of Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao, Inc. (UGAT) / Anthropological Association of the Philippines



Bakit UGAT? ..... Ponciano L. Bennagen

Archaeology and the Public ..... Israel B. Cabanilla



ugat



**AGHAMTAO**

ISSN - 0118-4857

Copyright ©2011

*Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao, Inc.*

**Volume 20 (Special Issue)**

**Issue Editor**

Rozanno E. Rufino

---

**AGHAMTAO** is the official publication of the *Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao, Inc.* (UGAT), the Anthropological Association of the Philippines. Beginning with its maiden issue in 1978 devoted to a stocktaking of Anthropology in the Philippines, **AGHAMTAO** continues to provide a forum for the "scholarship and practice of anthropology" in the Philippines. **AGHAMTAO** features papers read in annual conferences as well as reports from special events organized by UGAT. **AGHAMTAO** comes out as a regular issue in October. All submissions are screened by the Editorial Board and undergo a double-blind review process.

Issues of **AGHAMTAO** are available at the Central Subscription Service of the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC).

---

Instructions for authors/contributors: Each article should be accompanied by an abstract of not more than 250 words. The minimum length for article submissions is 3,000 words. Please list up to 5 keywords, alphabetically arranged. For referencing style, please consult the **AGHAMTAO** style guide at the UGAT website.

The Editors assume no liability or responsibility for the personal views or opinions expressed by the authors.

Inquiries and communications should be addressed to the Head of the Publications Committee or to the Executive Director of UGAT:

**Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao, Inc.**  
Philippine Social Science Center  
Commonwealth Avenue, Diliman  
Quezon City 1101, Philippines

Email: [aghamtao@ugat.org.ph](mailto:aghamtao@ugat.org.ph)  
Web page: <http://www.ugat.org.ph>

<i>Paunang Salita</i> ROZANNO E. RUFINO	<i>i</i>
<b>Bakit UGAT?</b> PONCIANO L. BENNAGEN	1
<b>Archaeology and the Public</b> ISRAEL B. CABANILLA	19
 <i>Mga Apendise</i>	
<i>Mga piling larawan ng mga nakalipas na kumperensya ng UGAT</i>	62
<i>Talaan ng mga kalahok, Unang Kumperensya ng UGAT (1978)</i>	82

# Paunang salita

*To my mind, every people, each in its own time,  
must create its own anthropology, that is to say,  
its own understanding of its humanity  
even as this humanity is being refracted by others.*

Ponciano L. Bennagen (1978:2)  
Pambungad na Pananalita  
sa Kauna-unahang Kumperensya ng UGAT

*Man is root-seeking. He wants to know where he came from,  
just as much as he wants to know where he is going.*

Israel B. Cabanilla (1978:27)

Ang paglalathala ng isyung ito ng *Aghamtao* ay nakaplano sana noong 2008 upang markahan ang ika-tatlumpung taong anibersaryo ng pagkakatatag ng UGAT. Bukod sa pagiging pantulong sa pagbabalik-tanaw, may karagdagang motibasyon na mailabas sana ang lathalain sa okasyon ng Ika-tatlumpung Pambansang Kumperensya ng UGAT sa San Fernando, Pampanga sa kadahilanang ang tema nito ay tungkol sa pamanang pangkultura/*cultural heritage*. Ano ang koneksyon?

Maraming antropolohista ang labis-labis ang pagkalungkot at pagkabahala sa pagkawala at pagkalimot ng mga nakababatang henerasyon sa katutubong kaalaman at kakayahan. Nagmamadali tayong makapanayam ang mga matatanda at iba pang "sisidlan ng kaalaman" sa mga pamayanan upang maisadokumento at masilayan ang mga "nanganganib na kultura" bago ito tuluyang mawala. Maaari nating tanungin, ano ang pinagkaiba ng "pamayanan" ng mga antropolohista – ng UGAT – sa ganitong kalagayan o suliranin? Bilang isang pagsasama-sama ng mga taong may pinanghahawakang natatangi o ispesyalisadong wika, kaalaman, at pagbibigay-kahulugan sa mga napagbabalingan ng ating pagtitig at pag-aaral, palagay ko ay may kahalagahan din para sa atin ang *pag-uugat* at pagsusuri ng ating sariling pamana.

Kung walang kamalayan sa pagpapanatili ng ating mga *partikular* na salaysay at natatanging kaalaman – na nabuo sa pag-

ugat ng UGAT sa akademya at mga usaping panlipunang ating kinasangkutan sa nakalipas na mahigit tatlumpung taon – tayo nga ay maaari ring makalimot at umusad ng tila baga walang malinaw na patunguhin. Bagama't alam nating masalimuot at hitik sa debate ang usapin ng pag-aala-ala at identidad (gaya ng alam nating ang pamana ay kadalasang tuon o paksa ng pagtutunggalian), bilang isang samahan, naniniwala akong kinakailangan nating pagtuunan ng kaukulang pansin ang mga katanungan tungkol sa pamanang intelektwal ng UGAT at, sa mas malawak na pananaw, ang tunguhin at identidad ng antropolohiya/aghamaing Pilipino.

Samu't-sari ang paninindigan tungkol sa pagbubuo ng aghamaing Pilipino. May mga seryosong naghahanap at nagsusumikap buuin ito. May mga nagsasabing laos na ang mga pagtatangkang lagyan ito ng "label" at bunga lamang ito ng panahong naging uso ang usapin ng nasyonalismo. At may iba rin naman na sadyang hindi lang ito binibigyan ng malalim na pag-lisip dahil sa hindi nila makita ang kahalagahan nito. Tulad ng sang-sanga at buhol-buhol na ugat ng punong-kahoy, ang mga antropolohista sa ating "pamayanan" ay may kani-kaniyang pakay, perspektiba, at adyenda sa pagsasagawa at pagsasabuhay ng antropolohiya. Gayunpaman, hindi ito hadlang sa pagpapalalim ng diskurso sa pagbubuo ng aghamaing Pilipino. Bagama't ang mga buhay na ugat ng punong-kahoy ay kung saan-saan nanunuot, nagkakabuhol-buhol, at nabubuhol sa iba pang bagay sa paligid nito, ang mga ito ay nakarugtong pa rin at patuloy na nagbibigay buhay sa puno. Sari-sari man ang "mga ugat" ng UGAT, naniniwala akong mapananatili nating buhay (at higit na mapayayabong!) ang "puno" ng aghamaing Pilipino.

Sa panahong papabilis ng papabilis ang palitan ng impormasyon, pagbabahagi ng kaalaman (na sadyang nag-uumpaw), at mobilidad ng mga tao sa loob at labas ng bansa, tumutulin din ang mga pagbabago sa ating lipunan at ugnayang pangkapangyarihan (minsang sa bilis na talaga namang di-inaasahan at nakamamangha). Malaki ang epekto nito sa disiplina ng antropolohiya at iba pang agham panlipunan. Sa usapin halimbawa ng hedyemonya ng wikang Ingles sa kontemporaryong antropolohiya, naaalala ko ang kamakailan ay nabasa kong sulatin ng antropolohistang si Eriksen (2006:xi) na makapukaw-isipan at minabuti kong sipiin dito:

*... publications in other languages nowadays also tend to echo Anglophone anthropology, unlike the situation in the first half of the twentieth century, when non-Anglophone anthropologies followed their own itineraries and agendas. When I was*

*recently doing library research for a book on globalization and anthropology, I was disappointed to find much less local flavour in the Spanish- and German-language anthropologies of globalization than I had expected. They mostly referred to, and discussed, the same Anglophone theories and scholars as everybody else, thereby tacitly acquiescing in their own, unjustly imposed identity as peripheral scholars.*

Seryoso at marahas ang obserbasyong ito. Bagama't hindi tukoy sa ating sariling konteksto ang kanyang pahayag, ano kaya ang kasagutan kung gagamitin ang kahalintulad na pagsusuri sa antropolohiya sa Pilipinas? Saan naka-ugat at nakapook ang aghamtao sa bansa? Mainam na pag-isipan at pagdebatihan sa UGAT. (Huwag isipin ng bumabasa na ito ay pagpunitrya lamang sa isyu ng wikang ginagamit sa pagbubuo ng kaalaman. Lampas pa ito rito.)

Sa ganitong konteksto at tungo sa pagpapalalim ng ating talastasan tungkol sa pag-uugat ng UGAT at "antropolohiya ng aghamtaong Pilipino," inihahain ng UGAT sa natatanging lathalaing ito ang sulatin ng dalawang "matandang ugat" - si Ponciano "Pons" Bennagen at Israel "Sweet" Cabanilla - na kapwa miyembrong-tagapagtatag ng asosasyon.

Ang artikulo ni Pons Bennagen, tagapagtatag na pangulo ng UGAT, ay isang pagbabalik-tanaw na kanyang inihanda para sa ikatatlumpong taong anibersaryo ng UGAT. Isinasalaysay ni Pons ang konteksto ng pag-aaghamtao noong panahong nabuo ang UGAT, ang mga nakalipas na kumperensya, mga isyung kinasangkutan, at ilang ideya tungkol sa direksyon ng aghamtao at ng UGAT bilang isang samahan. Matapat sa pamana ng UGAT, si Pons ay patuloy na "nakiki-ugat" sa mga pamayanang katutubo sa iba't-ibang bahagi ng bansa, tumutulong sa pagkamit ng kanilang karapatan sa lupaing ninuno, sariling pagpapasya, at iba pang karapatang pantao, pati na rin sa pag-agapay sa kanila sa paglikha ng kanilang sariling aghamtao. Sa mga hindi naka-aalam, si Pons ay miyembro ng *Constitutional Commission* o "ConCom" na bumalangkas ng Konstitusyon ng Pilipinas (1987) at pangunahing may-akda ng mga probisyon nito na nagbibigay pagkilala sa mga karapatan ng mga pamayanang katutubo. Ito ay binabanggit niyang "ugat ng UGAT" sa Konstitusyon at batayan ng ating responsibilidad-moral na patuloy na makisangkot - at tunay na maging kapaki-pakinabang - sa paglalakbay ng mga pamayanang katutubo tungo sa ganap na realisasyon ng kanilang mga karapatan at tunay na kaunlaran. Lubos na pinasasalamat si Pons sa pagbabahagi ng oras upang tapusin ito sa harap ng kanyang siksik na iskedyul at walang tigil na

paglilibot upang “maghanap-buhay” (sa kanyang sariling pakahulugan sa salitang ito).

Ang pangalawang sulatin ay isang personal na pagsasalaysay ni Sweet Cabanilla ng kanyang mahigit apatnapung taong pag-iral sa larangan ng arkeolohiya. Ito ay isang pinaunlad na bersyon ng kanyang “retirement lecture” na inorganisa ng mga kaibigan sa UP Diliman noong 2008. Binabalikan ni Sweet ang mayaman niyang karanasan bilang mag-aaral ng arkeolohiya – kasama ang ilan sa mga antropolohista-arkeolohista na kinikilala sa kanilang mahahalagang ambag sa arkeolohiya ng Pilipinas – at sa kanyang ekstensibong *fieldwork* sa iba’t-ibang lugar. Maraming maliliit na detalye ang maaaring mapulot rito ang mga interesado sa pag-aaral ng kasaysayan ng antropolohiya at arkeolohiya sa bansa. Halinhinan sa mga nakatutuwang anekdota ng eksplorasyon, paghuhukay, at iba pang aspeto ng pamumuhay habang nasa *field*, ibinabahagi ni Sweet ang kanyang pilosopiya at paninindigan sa tunguhin at pagsasagawa ng arkeolohiya. Tulad ng mahihinuha sa pamagat – “Archaeology and the Public” – tinutumbok niya ang hamon sa mga arkeolohista na magkaroon ng makatuturan at epektibong pakikipag-ugnayan sa mas malawak na publiko, na may makabansang layunin na mapalalim ang pag-unawa ng ating kasaysayang pangkultura at mapangalagaan ang mga sityong arkeolohikal sa bansa. May malaking hamon si Sweet sa mga institusyong pangkultura, lalo na sa Pambansang Museo, na magkaroon ng isang sistematikong plano sa arkeolohikal na pananaliksik at edukasyong pangmadla. Maraming punto ang sigurado akong gugustuhing tugunan ng Pambansang Museo at magbubukas ng malnit na diskusyon.

Malugod na inilalatag ng UGAT ang pagbabahagi ni Pons at ni Sweet sa hapag-talastasan ng aghamtao sa loob at labas ng akademya. Ito ay isang kontribusyon sa “etnograpiya ng UGAT at ng aghamtaong Pilipino.” Nawa ay magbigay gana ito sa iba pa na mag-isip, magsulat, makipag-usap, makipagdebate, at *maki-ugat* tungkol sa usapin.

*Nais kong bigyan ng natatanging pasasalamat sina Luisa Fernan, Jaja Paulate, Malu Umaly, at Lerma Yambot sa malaking tulong na ibinigay sa paghahanda ng mga sulatin para sa lathalaing ito. Salamat sa patuloy na pagmamalasakit at pakiki-ugat sa UGAT.*

**Rozanno E. Rufino**  
*Pangulo, UGAT*

Disyembre 10, 2010  
Ika-62ng Anibersaryo ng Pandaigdigang Deklarasyon  
sa mga Karapatang Pantao

**Mga Sangguniang Binanggit**

- Bennagen, Ponciano L. 1978. "Opening Remarks [First National Convention of UGAT, UP Los Baños, April 14-16, 1978]." *Aghamtao* 1:1-2.
- Cabanilla, Israel B. 1978. "Philippine Prehistoric Research: An Appraisal." *Aghamtao* 1:21-29.
- Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. 2006. *Engaging Anthropology: The Case for a Public Presence*. Oxford: Berg.



**Ponciano Bennagen.** Ika-30ng Pambansang Kumperensya ng UGAT. Oktubre 23-25, 2008. San Fernando, Pampanga.



**Ponciano Bennagen at Dr. E. Arsenio Manuel.** Ika-12ng Pambansang Kumperensya ng UGAT. Oktubre 27-28, 1990. Manila.

# Bakit UGAT?

Ponciano L. Bennagen

Ngayong 2008, tatlumpong taon na ang UGAT! Eh, ano ngayon? Ang sumusunod na sanaysay ay isang maikling personal at impormal na kasagutan.

UGAT: Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao, Inc., inirehistro sa Securities and Exchange Commission noong Oktubre 23, 1978. Sa inisyatiba ng Departamento ng Antropolohiya ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas (UP) at sa pamumuno ni Israel B. Cabanilla ng Committee on Extension and Special Programs, inumpisahan ang pagbubuo ng isang pambansang samahan ng mga antropolohista noong Abril 1977 (tingnan ang Bennagen 1978; PSSC 1978). Bago pa noon, may mga usap-usapan na na kailangan nang bumuo ng organisasyon para sa pagsusulong ng disiplina at ng interes o kapakanan ng mga antropolohista. Noong wala pang UGAT, kanya-kanyang lakad at tila bagang "unconcerned" at "uninvolved and without any commitment" ang mga antropolohista. Ito ay obserbasyon ni Prop. Nagasura Madale, ang unang Bise Presidente ng UGAT sa kanyang Pangwakas na Pananalita sa Unang Kumperensya ng UGAT sa UP Los Baños noong Abril 14-16, 1978 (Madale 1978:126).

Bagaman may bahid ng katotohanan ang obserbasyong ito, lubhang marahas kung titingnan sa konteksto ng panahon noon. Totoong walang organisadong pagkilos ng mga antropolohista kaugnay ng mga maiinit na usaping pandisiplina at mga usaping kaugnay ng pambansang sitwasyon. Noon ay panahon ng batas militar ng nasirang Pangulong Ferdinand E. Marcos, panahon ng matinding pagtatanong, pagkilos, at paghahanap ng kasagutan sa mga pambansang usapin na nag-umpisang uminit at lumaganap mula pa noong dekada '60.<sup>1</sup> At bago umiral ang batas militar at ang kaakibat nitong laganap at matinding pang-aabuso ng karapatang pantao, aktibo ang mga antropolohista

---

<sup>1</sup> Sa usaping nasyonalismo, tingnan ang Corpuz (1989) at sa usaping diktadura, tingnan ang Javate de Dios, Daroy, at Kalaw-Tirol (1988). Maraming babasahin ang pumapaksa sa usaping nasyonalismo at diktadurang Marcos ngunit pinili ko ang dalawang ito dahil sa paggamit nila ng "roots" - ugat - bilang metapora-teorya.

bilang mga indibidwal sa kani-kanilang mga ispesyalisasyon at mga organisasyon, na karaniwan ay mga ahensya ng pamahalaan. Halimbawa, mula noong kalagitnaan ng dekada '60, napaka-aktibo noon ng UP Departamento ng Antropolohiya sa pamumuno ni Dr. Mario D. Zamora. Aktibo siya sa pakikipagtulungan sa Commission on National Integration (CNI) bilang Direktor Heneral ng National Research Center for Integration of Filipino Culture and Society. Sa ilalim ng Center na ito, naging aktibo ang mga mag-aaral ng antropolohiya sa pananaliksik at mga kumperensya. Isang gradwadong mag-aaral, si Leothiny S. Clavel, ang naglabas noong 1969 ng isang maliit na libro na may pamagat na "They are also Filipinos: Ten Years with the Cultural Minorities." Tungkol ito sa CNI at ang nagawa nito para sa mga "national cultural minorities," na siyang opisyal na tawag noon sa mga "indigenous cultural communities" o "indigenous peoples." Sa pakikipagtulungan ng CNI, UP Departamento ng Antropolohiya, at iba pang organisasyon, idinaos ang *First National Symposium on National Integration* noong 1966. Dito, naging aktibo din ang mga mag-aaral ng antropolohiya ng UP. Sa larangan ng paglalathala, nakapaglabas din ang CNI, sa tulong ng mga antropolohista ng UP, ng isang isyu ng *Journal on National Integration* noong 1968.

Hindi nagpaiwan ang UP Departamento ng Antropolohiya na naglabas ng isang libro noong 1967 bilang parangal kay H. Otley Beyer na pinamatnugutan ni Dr. Zamora. Isa pang libro, ang "Anthropology: Range and Relevance, a Reader for Non-anthropologists," ang lumabas noong 1969. Pinamatnugutan ito nina Dr. Zamora at Dr. Zeus A. Salazar. Sa mga lathalaing ito magkasama ang mga propesyunal na antropolohista at mga mag-aaral ng antropolohiya. Maganda ang ugnayan ng mga mag-aaral at ng Departamento. Noon ay may samahan na ang mga mag-aaral na unang nakilala bilang UP Anthropology Society (UPAS). Kasama nila ang Departamento sa paglabas ng *Anthropology Bulletin* na unang lumabas noong 1965-66. Hindi nagtagal, ang UPAS ay tinawag na Anthropological Society of UP (ASUP). Nagkaroon din sila ng lathalain, ang *Anthro Newsletter* na unang lumabas noong 1974. Aktibo ang mga mag-aaral sa pakikisangkot sa usaping pandisiplina at pambansa (tingnan, halimbawa, ang *Anthro Newsletter* 11(2), 1977). Nagpakita sila ng interes na makibahagi sa pagsasaayos ng kurikulum, pagtuturo, at - sa kasagsagan ng *Martial Law* - sa paglilingkod sa sambayanan gaya ng usapin ng mga katutubo na tumutol sa mga dambuhalang proyekto tulad ng Chico River Basin Development Project sa Cordillera at ang Cellophil Resources Corporation sa Abra. (Dahil hindi ako nagkaroon ng pagkakataon na makapagmasid sa ibang paaralan noon, karamihan ng mga mababanggit dito ay tungkol sa mga mag-aaral sa UP.)

Pero hindi lamang sa UP aktibo ang mga propesyunal na antropolohista. Sa University of San Carlos, Cebu aktibo sila sa pagtuturo, pananaliksik, at gawaing pangkomunidad. Naglalathala sila sa isang multi-disiplinaryong dyornal, ang *Philippine Quarterly of Society and Culture*. Naglabas din sila ng isyung komemoratibo noong 1968 para kay H. Otley Beyer, na pinamatnugutan nina Fr. Rudolf Rahman, S.V.D. at Gertrudes R. Ang. Sa Dumaguete, aktibo ang mga antropolohista sa Silliman University. Naglalathala sila sa *Silliman Journal*, isa ring multi-disiplinaryong dyornal. Ang mga antropolohista sa Silliman ay nagkaroon din ng proyektong pangkaunlaran sa komunidad ng mga Ati sa Mabinay, Negros Oriental. Isa sa mga isinulat ni Dr. Timoteo S. Oracion tungkol sa mga Magahat ng Hinobaan ay ginamit ng mga Magahat/Bukidnon noong 1997-98 sa kanilang aplikasyon para sa kanilang *ancestral domain claim*, na naibigay naman sa kanila, bagaman hindi "title." Sa Ateneo de Manila, aktibo ang mga antropolohista sa pagtuturo at pananaliksik. Naglalathala sila sa iba't-ibang mga dyornal kasama na ang *Philippine Studies* at *Philippine Sociological Review*, ang dyornal ng Philippine Sociological Society (PSS). May lathalain din ang Institute of Philippine Culture (IPC) ng Ateneo de Manila, ang *IPC Papers*. Ang IPC ay pinamumunuan noon ni Fr. Frank Lynch, S.J., na siyang kinatawan ng antropolohiya sa Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC).

Isa pang sentro ng gawaing antropolohikal ay ang National Museum (NM). Aktibo sila hindi lamang sa arkeolohikal na paghuhukay kundi pati sa pagtuturo sa UP ng ilang taga-Museum, kagaya nina Dr. F. Landa Jocano, Prop. Alfredo Evangelista, at Dr. Robert B. Fox. Noong Hunyo 24 hanggang Hulyo 4, 1972, idinaos nila ang *First Regional Seminar on Southeast Asian Prehistory and Archaeology*. Sa kumperensyang ito, binigyang-pansin ang teknikal at siyentipikong aspeto ng arkeolohiya at ang pangangailangan ng kooperasyon sa larangang ito sa rehiyon. Binigyang-pansin din ang kahalagahan ng arkeolohiya at prehistorya sa pagbubuo ng bansa at sa paghahanap ng ugat ng kultura ng mga grupo ng tao sa rehiyon. Sa kanyang Pambungad na Pananalita, sinabi ni Dir. Godofredo Alcasid ng NM na interesado tayo sa paghahanap ng "deeper cultural roots," na ang tinutukoy ay ang ebidensiya ng arkeolohiya at prehistorya (Alcasid 1974:8). Sinuportahan ito ni Dr. Eric Casiño, Curator noon ng Anthropology Division ng NM, na nagsabing mahalaga ang arkeolohiya at prehistorya sa pagsagot ng mga tanong na "What is Filipino?" at "What is Filipino culture?" (Casiño 1974:12)

May mga iba pang antropolohista sa iba pang mga unibersidad sa Pilipinas na abala sa pagtuturo, pananaliksik, at paglalathala. Hindi mababanggit lahat dahil sa kakulangan ng espasyo, ngunit importanteng

banggitin ang ilan pa para masilip ang kalagayan ng pag-aaghamtao noong dekada '60 at '70. Ipagpaliban na muna ang buong-tingin.

Sa Mindanao, aktibo sila sa Mindanao State University, Marawi sa pamumuno ni Dr. Mamtua Saber ng University Research Center. Naglalathala sila sa kanilang multi-disiplinaryong *Mindanao Journal*. Sa Jolo, Sulu, aktibo noon ang Notre Dame of Jolo College, na may programang "Coordinated Investigation of Sulu Culture," sa pamumuno ni Gerard Rixhon. Noong dekada '70, naglabas ito ng serye ng mga lathalain na tinawag na *Sulu Studies*. Sa Cagayan de Oro, ang mga antropolohista, sa pamumuno ni Dr. Erlinda Burton, ay aktibo sa Xavier University na may Department of Anthropology and Sociology at Research Institute for Mindanao Culture.

Noong dekada '60 at '70, halos lahat ng mga disiplina ng agham panlipunan ay may kani-kanilang pambansang organisasyon na. Noong 1967 inumpisahan ng ilang *social scientists* itatag ang PSSC, kaugnay ng isang okasyon kung saan naglektyur si Dr. Margaret Mead sa Maynila. Ang mga antropolohista ay kasama sa mga gawain ng PSSC bilang indibidwal at kasapi ng ibang organisasyon, partikular ang PSS. Kaming mga gradwadong mag-aaral ay sumama rin sa mga gawain gaya ng "Public Lecture Series" ng PSS na tumalakay ng mga maiinit na pambansang usapin.

Sa pangkalahatan, ganito ang sitwasyon na nagbigay-daan sa pagluwal ng UGAT. Ang mga "tribal elders" ng disiplina ay may balak na noon na magtayo ng organisasyon na tatawagin nilang *Philippine Anthropological Association (PAA)* (Lerma de Lima-Yambot, personal na komunikasyon, Oktubre 16, 2008), pero noong tinanong namin si Prop. E. Arsenio Manuel, na siyang pinakamatanda sa aming mga elders, nagsabi siya na ipaubaya na lang sa mga kabataan ang pag-oorganisa (Bennagen 1978). Tinanggap namin ang hamon na iyon at inumpisahan na nga ng UP Departamento ng Antropolohiya ang seryosong pag-oorganisa.

## **Bakit nga ba UGAT?**

Hindi simpleng akronim lang ang UGAT. Noong pinag-uusapan ang pangalan ng organisasyon, maraming pangalan ang lumabas. Usong-uso noon ang mga akronim ng samahan na nakatatagwag pansin at, higit sa lahat, nagpapahiwatig ng diwa at layunin ng samahan. Pagkatapos ng ilang diskusyon, napagkasunduan ang UGAT: Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao. Sa aking ala-ala, ang akronim na UGAT ay galing kay Prop. Rosario del Rosario (noon ay Rosario de Santos Lorrin na nagtuturo sa UP Departamento ng Antropolohiya) ng UP College of Social Work and

Community Development. Sinegundahan ito ni Mariflor Parpan. Hindi ko tiyak kung sadya o nagkataon lang: silang dalawa ay parehong kagagaling lamang sa ibang bansa sa panahon na hindi pa uso ang pag-aabrod nang maramihan. Tila bagang nag-uugat silang muli: si Rosario, mula sa pag-aaral sa Pransya at si Mariflor, mula sa pag-aaral sa Estados Unidos - nagsisi-ugat sa lupang tinubuan (Lerma de Lima-Yambot, personal na komunikasyon, Oktubre 16, 2008).

Pero may dagdag si Prop. Manuel: ang UGAT ng punong-kahoy, lalo na ang balite, ay kayang dumurog ng matigas na bato. Hindi na namin tinanong ang ibig niyang sabihin dahil sa konteksto ng panahong iyon, tila nagkaintindihan ang mga nagsidalo sa pagpupulong kung ano ang nais ipahiwatig ni Prop. Manuel.

Ganunpaman, malinaw sa Konstitusyon ng UGAT ang mga layunin nito:

- 1) *promote, develop, and disseminate anthropological knowledge;*
- 2) *promote, deepen the knowledge, understanding and participation of and among different ethnolinguistic groups in working towards an integrated national consciousness and development;*
- 3) *promote and forge linkages among anthropologists and others doing related work within the country and other parts of the world;*
- 4) *uphold the professional ethics as stated in the Constitution.*

At sa mga gawaing ito, may gabay na nilalaman ang *Code of Ethics*:

- 1) *An anthropologist must be scientifically objective (truthful) and relevant to national and community goals; sincere to his host community and obliged to explain to them the objectives and implications of his research; to listen to criticism by his host community of the research he has conducted; and eventually to provide them a copy of his work, ideally in their language, for the host community would be the final arbiter of the validity of his research.*
- 2) *An anthropologist has the obligation to make available the results of his research data not only to the host community and to the scientific community, but also to the larger community.*

- 3) *An anthropologist has the right and the obligation to criticize unethical practices of fellow anthropologists and other individuals and institutions that affect the practice of anthropology.*

### **Bakit UGAT = ugat = daluyan ng buhay?**

Hindi pa man opisyal na narerehistro ang UGAT at hindi pa kasapi ng PSSC, nangahas na itong magkaroon ng pambansang kumperensya. Nangahas? Oo, kasi walang pondo ang UGAT. Hindi ito napagkalooban ng *conference grant* mula sa PSSC kasi hindi pa kasapi ang UGAT nito. At sa lakas-loob na isabuhay ang minanang kaalamang antropolohikal, partikular sa mobilisasyon ng ka-"sociality" at "culturality," nakahanap kami ng kakilala, kakosa, kamag-anak (ritual kin) sa katauhan ni Dr. Joseph C. Madamba, Direktor Heneral ng Philippine Council for Agriculture and Resources Research (PCARR) sa UP Los Baños. Malaking bagay ang pagtatagpo ng propesyunal na interes at ka-"sociality" lalong-lalo na sa kasong pangkagipitan. Nakapagbigay din ng tulong ang MSU, sa pamamagitan ni Prop. Nagasura Madale, na taga-MSU at Bise Presidente ng UGAT.

"Disciplinal stocktaking" ang Unang Kumperensya - sa unang opisyal na pagkakataon ng organisadong pagdaloy ng buhay ng antropolohiya, pinag-ugnay-ugnay ang mga kaalaman, indibidwal at ahensiya, at mga institusyon na may kinalaman sa antropolohiya. Naroon ang mga kinatawan ng apat na sangay-disiplina nito. May mga papel mula sa iba't-ibang sangay-disiplina maliban sa *physical anthropology*. Ang kawalan ng papel sa pisikal na antropolohiya ay marahil dahil lilan lang ang may ispesyalisasyon dito. Isa pa, nakagawa na ng "stocktaking" si Prop. Jerome Bailen na lumabas noong 1967 sa librong *Studies in Philippine Anthropology* na pinamatnugutan ni Dr. Zamora. Gayunman, malinaw ang pagtataguyod ng UGAT sa "four-field anthropology."

Kung ang Unang Kumperensya ay "stocktaking," na kung saan nakita ang mga dapat pang gawin sa pagtuturo, pananaliksik, at paglilingkod sa pamayanan/sambayanan, ang ikalawa naman ay tungkol sa praktikal na gamit ng antropolohiya sa tinatawag na "development," pampamayanan man o pambansa. Bago pa nito, ang ilang mag-aaral ng antropolohiya ay kasangkot na sa pagsuporta sa mga pamayanan na tumututol sa mga hindi kanaisnais at hindi katanggap-tanggap na proyekto na isinusulong ng gobyerno sa ngalan daw ng "national development." Pinakamainit sa mga ito ay ang panukalang Chico River

Basin Development Project sa Cordillera, Hilagang Luzon, na popondohan ng World Bank.

Sa Ikalawang Kumperensya nag-umpisa ang pag-imbiba hindi lamang sa mga antropolohista at iba pang mga siyentista kundi pati yaong galing sa pamahalaan at sa mga pamayanan na may kinalaman sa tema ng kumperensya. Sa kumperensyang ito rin nagkaroon ang UGAT ng dagdag na kahulugan bilang "daluyan ng buhay." Sa Pangunahing Talumpati ni Bishop Francisco Claver, S.J. (may Ph.D. sa antropolohiya na noon ay babad bilang obispo sa Bukidnon, Mindanao). Tinanong niya kung ang UGAT ba ay nangangahulugan na "root" o "vein." Ayon sa kanya, mas gusto niya ang "vein" na may kahulugang daluyan ng dugo. Sa tingin niya, mas angkop ito sa konteksto ng aktibong pagtutol sa mapanikil na diktadura ni Marcos. "Root" man o "vein," ang ugat ay daluyan ng buhay: ugat ng halaman, ugat ng hayop, ugat ng tao. Sa kanyang talumpati pinalalim niya ang kahulugan ng praktis ng antropolohiya: "When [anthropological] ideas are tested in action, they quickly assume a life of their own and evolve into variant versions of themselves, providing new insights, generating new dynamics, and there is no lack of fresh ideas" (Claver 1979:6).

Dagdag pa rito ang kahulugan ng ugat bilang "pinagmulan," "dahilan," gaya nga ng "Roots of the Nation" at "Roots of People's Power," o ang kasabihang "rooted in." Sa ganito pinangarap, ayon sa Konstitusyon ng UGAT at sa Unang Kumperensya, na ang UGAT ay magiging ugat na daluyan ng kaalamang sangkabuhayan, buhay-lipunan at buhay-kultura - kaalamang kinatas sa pag-aaral at sa pagkilos: katas mula sa buhay para sa buhay.

Sa ganitong pananaw, nau-ugat kung papaano lumalim at lumawak ang UGAT = ugat. Kaya lang, pabago-bago ang panahon at kondisyon: may ugat na nalilihis ang landas o tunguhin, may natutuyo, may nabubulok at naaagnas, may panandaliang nawawala at may tuluyang nawawala. Kung daluyan ng dugo, may ugat na naninigas, nagbabara, at pumuputok na maaaring humantong sa kamatayan o pagkabaldado. Naisin man natin o hindi, ganyan ang batas ng buhay. Bilang mag-aaral, importante lang na pag-aralan kung bakit ganyan upang makahanap ng lunas kahit pansamantala.

Sa iba't-ibang gawain ng UGAT = ugat, matingkad ang sari-saring malalawak at istratihikong tema ng mga kumperensya, gaya ng mga sumusunod:

- 1) ugnayang tao at kapaligiran sa "The Filipino and His Changing Environment," 1980;
- 2) ugnayang pangkapangyarihan o *power relations* sa "The Anthropology of Power," 1981;

- 3) ugnayang tao at teknolohiya sa "Anthropology and Technology," 1982;
- 4) kilusang pangmasa at panlipunang pagbabago sa "The Anthropology of Mass Movements," 1983;
- 5) ang "global village" at ang hinaharap sa "The Anthropology of the Future," 1984;
- 6) ugnayan ng edukasyon at pagbubuo ng bansa sa "Anthropology of Education," 1985; at
- 7) antropolohiya ng pag-unlad, sa iba't-ibang taon.

Mapapansin na hanggang ngayon mainit at napapanahon pa rin ang mga paksaang ito. Ang iba ay binabalikan at sinusuri ng UGAT sa iba-ibang panahon sa pamumuno nina Linda Burton, Imelda Villaluz, Lerma de Lima-Yambot, Felixberto Roquia, Jr., Eufacio C. Abaya, Angelo G. Bernardo, Leonardo R. Estacio, Jr., at Jose Eleazar R. Bersales. Pero may mga paksa na napabayaang. Halimbawa, bagaman may mga nagsagawa rin ng pag-aaral na maaaring tawaging "urban anthropology," hindi nakapag-ugat sa kalunsuran ang antropolohiya na gaya ng pagka-ugat nito sa kanayunan at kabundukan. Marahil, problema ito ng metodolohiya. O sadyang mapang-akit ang *fieldwork* sa mga katutubo bilang "preferred rite of passage" at mapagbigyan ang "othering impulse" na maaaring pinasidhi ng pagsasanay sa antropolohiya.

Dagdag sa mga taunang kumperensya, nagdaos din ang UGAT ng iba't-ibang gawain at pagkilos (tulad ng pag-oorganisa ng mga *symposium, networking, at community trainings.*) Sa UP Diliman, may panahon na magkatuwang ang UGAT at Departamento ng Antropolohiya sa pagdaraos ng mga *symposium* tungkol sa mga usaping panlipunan. Isa rito ang *International Conference on the Tasaday Controversy and other Current Anthropological Issues* noong 1986. Lumikha ito ng pandaigdigang propesyunal na interes, pati sa media, tungkol sa Tasaday. Dahil sa kawalan ng tiyak na kasagutan ng mga antropolohista sa tanong kung "hoax" o hindi ang mga Tasaday, sumulpot ang tanong na "how scientific is anthropology as a discipline?" Sa katanungang ito, naipakita ang kahinaan ng pagsasabuhay ng "holistic anthropology" - ginamit sana ng lubusan ang apat na sangay-disiplina. Bagaman kinilala ang pangangailangan sa mga ito, hindi ginamit sa lubusang paglilinaw ng "Tasaday Controversy."<sup>2</sup> Isang halimbawa na lamang ang kawalan ng

<sup>2</sup> Napakarami na ng mga sulatin tungkol sa Tasaday at hindi na ililista dito. Sa ngayon, may dalawang Tasaday na nasa kolehiyo sa Lake Sebu, South Cotabato. May panukala mula sa Sentro Para sa Ganap na Pamayanan (SENTRO), Inc., institusyunal na miyembro ng UGAT, na sulatin nila mismo ang kanilang etnograpiya, sa tulong ni Datu Bao Baay, isang T'boli sa Lake Sebu.

arkeolohikal na paghuhukay samantalang may mga arkeolohista naman sa mga grupong nagsagawa ng mga pag-aaral. Sa kasalukuyan, inangkin na ng mga Tasaday ang pangalang ito sa pag-angkin nila ng kanilang tirahan bilang lupaing ninuno sa ilalim ng Republic Act No. 8371 o "Indigenous Peoples Rights Act."

Sa loob pa rin ng UP Diliman, nagdaos din ng mga symposium ang UGAT at Departamento ng Antropolohiya kaugnay ng kalagayan ng mga maralitang taga-lunsod at ang noon ay tinatawag na "Moro Problem." Sa lahat ng mga gawaing ito ng UGAT = ugat, pinakamatingkad marahil ang tungkol sa karapatan ng mga katutubo. Nagkaroon ng *National Conference on Human Rights and Ancestral Lands* sa UP Diliman noong Disyembre 8-9, 1983. Una rito, noong Marso 11-14, 1983 nagkaroon din ng *First Cordillera Multi-sectoral Land Congress* sa Baguio, sa pamumuno ng Cordillera Consultative Committee at sa pakikipagtulungan ng ibang organisasyon kasama ang noon ay tinawag na UGAT-UP Baguio. Noong Marso 1987, idinaos ng UGAT ang *Second Ancestral Domain Congress* sa University of San Carlos sa Cebu.

Sa halos lahat ng mga pambansang kumperensya, may galing sa unibersidad, may galing sa gobyerno, at may galing sa mga pamayanan, lalong-lalo na yaong tumututol sa tinawag na "development aggression," mga proyektong pangkaunlaran na nakapipinsala sa mga tao at kapaligiran. Nilalayon ng ganitong pagsa-sama-sama ng iba't-ibang sektor o grupo sa isang forum upang makasali at makapagsalita ang mga kinaaukulan, lalo na ang mga sektor na walang pagkakataon na makapagsalita. Maaaring sabihin na sa ganitong paraan lalong nagiging demokratiko at buhay ang mga pag-uusap. Para sa mga antropolohista, nagkakaroon sila ng pagkakataon na gamitin at linawin ang resulta ng kanilang pananaliksik at ang kanilang itinuturo.

Mahalagang banggitin na sa mga pambansang kumperensya, laging katuwang ng UGAT ang "host school/university." Lubhang napakahalaga ng tulong ng mga ito sa pagsasabuhay ng UGAT ng kanyang akademikong layunin at sa pagpapalawak/pagpapalaganap ng kaalamang antropolohikal. Kabilang sa mga naging katuwang ng UGAT ay ang: UP Baguio, UP Los Baños, University of San Carlos (apat na beses), Silliman University (dalawang beses), Mindanao State University - Iligan at Gen. Santos, Xavier University, Dansalan College Foundation, Divine Word University, Central Luzon State University, Benguet State University, Bicol University, at Ateneo de Davao University. (Mapapansin na sa iba't-ibang lugar nagkukumperensya ang UGAT. Noong nag-uumpisa pa lamang ang UGAT, sinadyang iwasan ang pagdaraos ng mga kumperensya sa Metro Manila. Naging parang slogan noon ang: "Join UGAT and see the Philippines! Today, the Philippines; tomorrow, the world!")

Magastos din ang magpakumperensya at malaking dagdag na tulong ang *conference grants* na galing sa PCARR, PSSC, Ford Foundation, Research Foundation for Anthropology and Archaeology, Asia Foundation, Philippine Business for Social Progress, UNESCO, at Japan Foundation (paumanhin sa mga nakaligtaan). Dahil sa kanila, nagiging regular ang kumperensya at pati na rin ang paglabas ng *Aghamtao*, ang dyornal ng UGAT (hanggang sa ika-anim na tomo dahil, sa aking pagkakaalam, nagiging iregular ang paglabas nito dahil sa kakulangan ng pondo). At hanggang 1986, regular na nakadadalo sa mga *Board meetings* ang mga miyembro na galing pa sa Bagulo, Cebu, at Bongao, Tawi-Tawi.

Tila nga hindi nagiging problema ang pondo noon kaya nakapagdaos pa ng dalawang *inter-annual conferences*:

- 1) "Recent Theoretical Developments in Philippine Anthropology," Faculty Center, UP Diliman, 1984;
- 2) "Dynamics of Personality and Society," College of Education, UP Diliman, 1990.

Sa kabuuan, naging maayos ang daloy ng buhay-antropolohiya – kung ganito ang batayan ng tuloy-tuloy na pakikisangkot sa buhay-akademiko at buhay-pamayanan. Ngunit, sa buhay ng ugat, mayroon ding tag-tuyot, tag-ulan, panahon ng pagkahilo, pagkawala ng direksyon, at kung anu-ano pa.

Gaya ng istorya ni Nestor Castro (1996) at report ni Carol Arguillas (2002) at sa mga di-nakatalang kuwento, may panahon ng pagtatanong kung tama ba ang gamit ng antropolohiya ayon sa *Code of Ethics*. Ito ay hindi pa lubusang nasasagot ng UGAT bagaman may pagsusumikap tungo rito. Isa na itong *UGAT Board Resolution* noong Disyembre 19, 2006 na lumikha ng "Ethics Board and Procedures for Processing Complaints Against Practitioners of Anthropology in the Philippines."

Kinakailangang buhayin ang nasabing usapin lalong-lalo na sa panahon na mas nagiging mulat ang mga tao sa kanilang karapatan (at sana tungkulin din) at ang mga pamayanan, partikular sa mga katutubo, ay mulat na sa "free and prior informed consent" o "FPIC."

Tungkol sa kung papaano matutulungan ang mga katutubo na pag-aralan ang kanilang sariling pamayanan at kung papaano sila pinapag-aralan, mayroon nang ilang inisyatiba dito, gaya ng isinagawang pagtulong ng Sentro Para sa Ganap na Pamayanan (SENTRO)-UGAT sa paggawa ng *Ancestral Domain Management Plan* ng tatlong katutubong grupo (sa tulong ng Ford Foundation) at sa pananaliksik ng mga Agta sa Quezon (sa tulong ng UN 1% for

Development Fund at Volunteer Service Organization). Sa mga grupong ito, sila mismo ang may-akda ng resulta ng pananaliksik. Hindi namin alam kung may iba pang indibidwal o grupo na kasapi ng UGAT na nagsasagawa ng kagaya nito. (Ito ay personal na pag-amin na may panahon na humina ang aking pakiki-UGAT.) Hindi rin natin matiyak kung tunay na matagumpay ang ganitong gawain. Alam lang namin na kinikilalang nakatutulong hanggang sa ngayon ang kanilang naisulat dahil sinasabi nila kapag nagkikita kami. Kung minsan itiniteks din nila sa amin na nagagamit nila ang kanilang isinulat sa negosasyon nila sa pamahalaan. Sa ngayon, kinakailangang pag-ibayuhin pa ang etikal na pagsasabuhay ng antropolohiya sa susunod at iba pang pagkakataon.

### **Muli, eh, ano ngayon?**

Ngayong tatlumpong taon na ang UGAT, palagay ko naman, ayon sa aking personal na balik-tanaw, sa pangkalahatan, naging makabuluhan din ang nakaraang tatlumpong taon sa mga naki-UGAT at sa mga nagka-ugat dahil sa patuloy nilang pakiki-UGAT. Paminsan-minsan, sa aking paglalakbay, lalo na sa Mindanao, may mga nangungumusta sa UGAT at nagsasabi na kailangan pa rin nila ang forum gaya ng UGAT para mapag-usapan ang kanilang mga suliraning panlipunan. At huwag kalimutan na may ugat din ang UGAT na buhay sa Konstitusyon ng Pilipinas (1987) at, harinawa/hinaut unta, sa pamayanan mismo ng mga katutubo. Tinutukoy dito ang tungkol sa "ancestral domain" o "lupaing ninuno," na malimit pag-usapan sa mga talakayan at lathalain ng UGAT. Katunayan, nabanggit sa akin ni Prop. Rudy Rodil, dating miyembro ng Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) panel sa negosasyon nito sa Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), na sa mga kumperensya ng UGAT niya unang narinig ang terminong "ancestral domain." Sa kasamaang palad, ang termino mismo ay nakadagdag sa pambansang ligalig at debateng legal dahil sa paggamit nito sa *Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain* (MOA-AD) ng GRP at MILF sa kanilang usapang pangkapayapaan. Magandang magkaroon muli ang UGAT ng pambansang kumperensya tungkol sa ancestral domain at baka sakaling makatulong ito sa pagsusulong ng prosesong pangkapayapaan sa Mindanao. Mahalagang suriin muli ang konsepto ng ancestral domain hindi lamang sa legal na pakahulugan, gaano mang kahalaga ito. Sa tingin ko, makapagbibigay-liwanag sa isyu ang historikal at antropolohikal na pagsusuri, lalong-lalo na kung i-uugnay ang ganitong pagsusuri sa pambansa at pangdaigdigang ekonomyang politikal, sosyalidad, at kulturidad.

Tanong: sa ganitong tunguhin ng pagsusuri, antropolohiya pa ba ito? Eh, bakit naman hindi?

Malalim na ang pagkaka-ugat ng antropolohiya sa pagsusumikap na ugatin ang pinagmulan ng sangkatauhan at ang pagkakaiba-iba at tunguhin ng pagbabago o ebolusyon ng sangkatauhan. Sa ganitong antropolohiya, kinakailangang makipag-ugnayan sa pag-aaral ng sangkabuhayan (lahat ng nabubuhay/biolohiya). At kung sasagarin pa, hanggang sa pag-unawa ng ugnayang sangkabuhayan at sangkabagayan (mga di-buhay), pati na pisika, kimika, matematika, at huwag kalimutan, ang pilosopiya. Tungo sa pagsasabuhay ng ganitong aghamtao, mahalaga ang pagsusumikap ni Myfel Paluga (2008) ng Departamento ng Agham Panlipunan ng UP Mindanao na "kumakagat" at "nakikingatngat" sa mga "sari-saring nga-nga" (mga konseptong galing hindi lamang sa antropolohiya kundi sa iba pang mga disiplina ng agham panlipunan, agham pangkalikasan, at humanidades) mula sa iba't-ibang lugar. Kailangang mangahas sa ganitong pakikingatngat at pakikinguya tungo sa totohanang buong aghamtao. Hindi man ito makamit sa puntong walang tiyak na hantungan ang pagbubuo at walang takdang panahon, ang partisipasyon sa pagbubuo ay, sa tingin ko, makapagbibigay-pakinabang sa ating pang-araw-araw na buhay at sa pagbibigay direksyon o tunguhin sa pagbabago at ebolusyon. (Paalala: ang dahon ng ikmo (Piper betle) na siyang pinakamahalagang sangkap ng nga-nga (betel quid) ay may taglay na *arakene*, isang alkaloid na may pagka-cocaine (Tan 1980). Sa kangunguya, naghahalo ang mga sangkap, at sa hindi sanay, nakahihilo ito. Ngunit nakatutulong din sa kalusugan ng ngipin, bagaman namumula o nangingitim, at samakatuwid, nakatutulong sa pakikingatngat at pagnguya.)

### Maambisyo?

Sa Pilipinas, namulat ang mga mag-aaral sa apatang-larangan na antropolohiya, na namana natin sa antropolohiya ng Estados Unidos. Para sa isang totohanang malawak at malalim na antropolohiya, ang mga ito ay kinakailangan. Kaya lang, hindi ito kakayanin ng isang indibidwal o kahit isang departamento o kahit isang unibersidad, lalo pa at isang mahirap na bansa ang Pilipinas. Samakatuwid, kinakailangang makipag-ugnayan sa iba't-ibang mga disiplina, eksperto, at organisasyon. Kinakailangang maging tunay na transdisiplinaryo ang ganitong konsepto ng antropolohiya. Kinakailangan ang pandaigdigang ugnayang pang-aghamtao at ang isang aghamtao na pangsangkatauhan, magmula man ito sa Pilipinas o sa iba pang lugar. Dati, nakikipag-ugnayan ang UGAT sa International Union of Anthropological and

Ethnological Sciences (IUAES), pero natigil yata ito. Sa websayt ng IUAES, hindi nabago ang mga miyembro ng Permanent Council mula sa Pilipinas na ipinadala noong tinanggap na miyembro ang UGAT.<sup>3</sup> Kailangang buhayin ang pagiging kasapi ng UGAT, hindi lamang sa IUAES, kundi sa iba pang kinakailangang organisasyon. Sa tingin ko, ang mga nakiki-UGAT na nasa mga unibersidad ang may kakayahan na magsagawa nito – ang pagbubuo at pakikisangkot sa isang buhay na “virtual global community” ng mga antropolohista. Pinangarap ito ng mga naunang kumperensya ng UGAT na tila ngayon pa lang maaaring magkatotoo (o baka naman meron nang ganito at napag-iwanan lang ako).

### Isang Karanasan

Mula nang umalis ako sa UP noong 1989, nag-umpisa akong kumilos sa mga pamayanan. Ipinakilala ko ang sarili ko na retiradong guro na nagnanais maging “community worker” – “naghahanap-buhay” sa mga pamayanan, at hindi na bilang etnografo. Kung mausisa ang mga tao, o kaya ay may kasama ako na nakakikilala sa akin, hindi naiiwasang banggitin na ako ay “anthropologist.” Bagama’t iginigiit ko na hindi na ako “anthropologist,” sinasabi ko rin na may kasanayan ako sa antropolohiya at kung may pagkakataon, patuloy na nag-aaral nito. Kaya minabuti ko na rin na ipaliwanag kung ano ang antropolohiya (pati na rin ang biolohiya at iba pang paksa na dapat pag-aralan kung magtatanong ang mga tao mismo): isang paraan ng pag-aaral ng tao/sangkatauhan, paano naging tao ang tao, bakit iba-iba at bakit nagbabago ang kanilang sosyalidad at kulturidad.

Humantong ang pakikihanap-buhay ko sa mga pamayanan hanggang sa kinakailangan nang tutukan ang mga pandaigdigang problemang pangkalikasan lalong-lalo na ang “biodiversity loss” at “global warming.” May mga pamayanan pa na direktang nakasalalay ang pang-araw-araw na buhay sa yaman ng kanilang kapaligiran: *biodiversity is a way of life*. At sa ngayon, tumitindi ang mga pagbabago ng panahon at masamang epekto nito kaugnay ng global warming. Dumating sa punto na kinakailangan nang pag-usapan at harapin ang

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.glocol.osaka-u.ac.jp/iuaes/council.html>. Inakses Nobyembre 28, 2008. Ang nakalista pa ring “Delegates to the IUAES Permanent Council 2008” ay sina Prof. Jerome B. Bailen (Biological Anthropology), Dr. Rose Tenazas (Pre-History), Dr. E. Arsenio Manuel (Ethnology), Dr. Realidad S. Rolda (Social Anthropology), at Prof. Ponciano L. Bennagen (Social Anthropology).

mga problemang dulot nito. Kinakailangan nang pag-usapan ang iba pang bahagi ng kanilang sangkabuhayan at sanlibutan. Dito sumulpot ang pangangailangan ng muling pagsasabuhay sa mga "katutubong kaalaman at kakayahan" at ang pagkatuto at pagsasabuhay ng "dagdag kaalaman at kakayahan." Kinakailangang ugatin ang kasalukuyang kalagayan (masalimuot ang paksang ito na nangangailangan ng hiwalay na sulatin). Sapat nang sabihin na kinakailangan nating makipag-ugnayan sa mga iba pang may kaalaman at gumamit ng iba't-ibang paraan para maipaunawa ang ugat ng "climate change" at ang nararanasan nilang pagbabago ng kanilang paligid na may epekto na sa kanilang pang-araw-araw na buhay – ang kanilang sosyalidad at kulturidad sa panahon ng napakabilis na globalisasyon. Kaugnay nito, naipalabas na namin ang "An Inconvenient Truth" (ang dokumentaryo ni Al Gore tungkol sa global warming) sa ilang pamayanan sa Mindanao.

Sa ganitong kalagayan, isinasabuhay sa kasalukuyang henerasyon, at sa loob ng maikling panahon, ang mga karanasan sa *variability* at *adaptability* ng sangkatauhan sa nangagdaang mga milyong taon. At hindi lamang mga katutubo – sila na paboritong pag-aralan ng mga antropolohista – ang maaapektuhan. Apektado tayong lahat. Gaya ng nabanggit ko sa itaas, makatutulong sa pagharap sa ganitong sitwasyon ang ugnayang pang-aghamtao at aghamtao para sa tao.

Sa ugnayang ito, may malaking hamon sa UGAT na isabuhay ang kanyang minana sa iba't-ibang kaalaman, indibidwal, grupo, at institusyon. Nangangailangan din ng pananatiling bukas sa mga dagdag kaalaman at kakayahan para sa ibayong pag-ugat.

### **Pasasalamat, pagpupugay, at pag-aalay**

Ang anomang halaga ng sulating ito ay alay ko:

- sa mga lumang ugat na nanatiling sariwa: Jaja, Malu, Bambot, Ramon, Lerma, at Boi;
- sa mga bagong ugat na masiglang nakiki-ugat: Maria M., Myfel, Eizel, Monica; at syempre pa, kay Butch na di yata naka-lintindi ng "hindi" kapag galing sa matandang ugat. Makulit na UGAT=ugat si Butch at sa pangungulit niya, napilitan akong tapusin ito. Sana manatiling sariwa ang mga bagong ugat at darami pa sila;
- sa lahat ng mga taga-Cordillera na tumutol sa Chico River Basin Development Project. Sila ang naging inspirasyon ng Pangalawang Kumperensya ng UGAT at

nagbunsod sa tuloy-tuloy na pakikisangkot ng UGAT sa usapin ng karapatan ng mga katutubo sa sariling pagpapasya;

- sa mga nagturo sa akin ng katutubong kaalaman bilang dagdag kaalaman: ang matandang Rigo, Ka Isiong, Timuay Labi Alim, Timuay Rendao, Timuay Elencio, Timuay Bongalos, Ludz, Lando, Naldo, Maida, Roger, Bogod, Lito, Vergie, Jemma, Badong, Ben, Mulong, Ka Andres, Ka Alfonso, Ka Basyong, Ka Ikoy, Sedo, Letty, Bacni, Nida, Datu Tony, Rose, Datu Mandimati, Datu Cesar, Allan, Lito G., Lito O., Anggam Luis, Jimid, Edtami, Datu Dia-on, Datu Man-ukil, Fulong Pete, at Gospel;
- kay Emma B., sa walang sawa niyang suporta sa mga gawaing pangkatutubo;
- kay Eugene, Pia, Laya, at Trisha sa pagiging matatag at mapagparayang kasama sa aking pakiki-UGAT=ugat.

Taos-pusong pasasalamat sa inyong lahat at sa marami pang iba na kung aking ililista ay mas mahaba pa kaysa sa sulatin mismo. Paumanhin.

### Mga Sanggunian

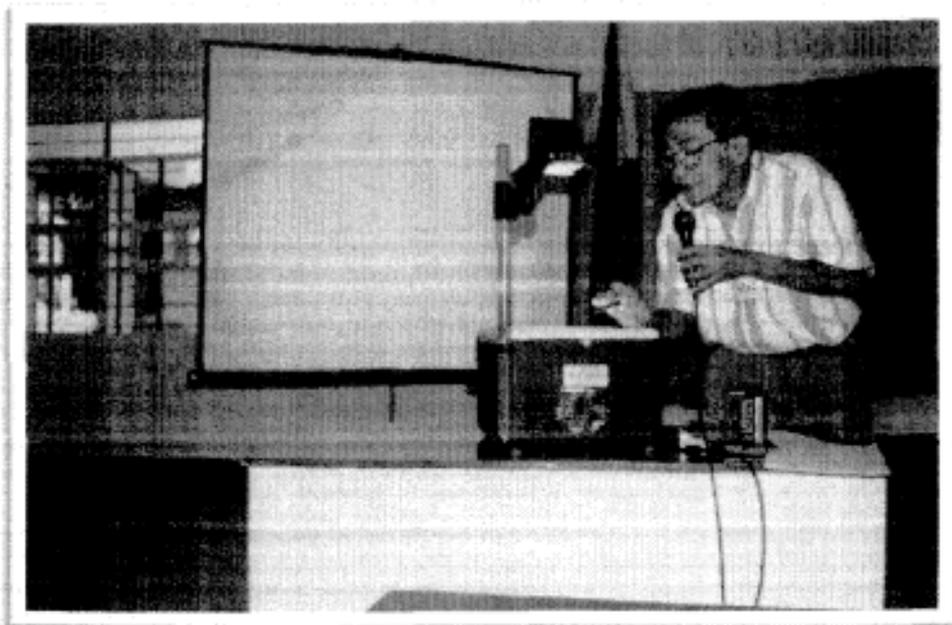
- Alcasid, Godofredo. 1974. "Opening Remarks." Sa *Proceedings of the First Regional Seminar on Southeast Asian Prehistory and Archaeology, June 26-July 4, 1972*, National Museum. Manila: National Museum of the Philippines.
- Arguillas, Carolyn. 2002. "Anthropologists Apologize to Lumads." *Mindanews*, April 10.
- Bennagen, Ponciano L. 1977. "Mirror, mirror on the wall, are we human after all?" Sa *The Social Responsibilities of the Social Scientist as an Intellectual*, pinamatnugutan ni A.G. Carlos at A.R. Magno, 42-50. Quezon City: University of the Philippines.
- Bennagen, Ponciano L. 1978. "Opening Remarks [First National Convention of UGAT, UP Los Baños, April 14-16, 1978]." *Aghamtao* 1:1-2.

- Bennagen, Ponciano L. 2004. *Capability Building for Sustainability: A Handbook*. Metro Manila: UNDP-Global Environment Facility/The Royal Netherlands Embassy, Small grants Programme.
- Carlos, A.G. at A.R. Magno, mga pat. 1977. *The Social Responsibilities of the Social Scientist as an Intellectual*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines.
- Casiño, Eric. 1974. "Introduction to the Seminar." Sa *Proceedings of the First Regional Seminar on Southeast Asian Prehistory and Archaeology, June 26-July 4, 1972*, National Museum. Manila: National Museum of the Philippines.
- Castor, Nestor T. 1996. "Ethnography as Espionage: The Problem of Ethics in Philippine Anthropology." *Aghamtao* 8:120-129.
- Clavel, Leothiny S. 1969. *They are also Filipinos: Ten Years with the Cultural Minorities*. Manila: Bureau of Printing.
- Claver, Francisco, S.J. 1979. "Keynote Address [Second National Convention of UGAT, UP Baguio, April 22-24, 1979]." *Aghamtao* 2:5-13.
- Cordillera Consultative Committee. 1984. *Dakami Ya Nan Dagami*. Papers and Proceedings of the First Cordillera Multi-sectoral Land Congress, Baguio City, March 11-14, 1983.
- Corpuz, Onofre D. 1989. *The Roots of the Filipino Nation*. Quezon City: Aklahi Foundation.
- Javate-de Dios, Aurora, Petronilo Bn. Daroy at Lorna Kalaw-Tirol, mga pat. 1988. *Dictatorship and Revolution: Roots of People's Power*. Manila: Conspectus Foundation.
- Madale, Nagasura T. 1978. "Closing Remarks [First National Convention of UGAT, UP Los Baños, April 14-16, 1978]." *Aghamtao* 1:125-126.
- National Museum. 1974. *Proceedings of the First Regional Seminar on Southeast Asian Prehistory and Archaeology, June 26-July 4, 1972*. Manila: National Museum of the Philippines.

- Paluga, Myfel Joseph. 2008. "Mga Tala at Tanong sa (Di-buong) Pag-aaghamtao." Papel na iprinisinta sa Libot-Panayam ng Bagong Kasaysayan (BAKAS), Archaeological Studies Program Conference Room, Unibersidad ng Pilipinas, Diliman, Quezon City, Abril 22.
- Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC). 1978. *PSSC Social Science Information* 5(4), January-March.
- Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC). 1981. *PSSC Social Science Information* 9(3), October-December.
- Salamanca, Bonifacio. 2006. *The Philippine Social Science Council: The First 25 Years*. PSSC Social Science Information, Special Issue. Quezon City: PSSC.
- Tan, Michael L. 1980. *Philippine Medicinal Plants: Their Phytochemistry and Pharmacology*. Quezon City: AKAP.
- Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao (UGAT). 1983. *Human Rights and Ancestral Lands. A Sourcebook*. Quezon City: UGAT.
- Zamora, Mario D. pat. 1967. *Studies in Philippine Anthropology (in honor of H. Otley Beyer)*. Quezon City: Alemar Phoenix.
- Zamora, Mario D. at Zeus A. Salazar, mga pat. 1969. *Anthropology: Range and Relevance*. Quezon City: Kayumanggi Publishers.



Pagbisita ni Israel Cabanilla (pangalawa mula sa kaliwa) at Ponciano Bennagen (wala sa litrao) sa Tasaday. Abril 2003. Talang sulat-kamay sa litrato: '6:00 p.m. 4 April 03. Lower "cave." IBC [Israel B. Cabanilla] explaining purpose of visit and what archaeology is all about.'



Israel Cabanilla. Ika-17ng Pambansang Kumperensya ng UGAT. 1995. Nueva Ecija.

# Archaeology and the Public

Israel B. Cabanilla

This is a personal account of what 40 years of archaeology has contributed to my view of life. It is an account of my experience as a student of anthropological archaeology as it was practiced in the 1960s and through the 1990s. It is an interpretation of the context of being an archaeologist from the 1960s to the present.

It is personal because archaeologists are usually very reticent about their role in the process of doing archaeology: the context in which the research is done, the ethics involved, and in the information provided to the public and its relevance to their individual lives, to the community, and to their country. I also feel that people should know that archaeologists are just like anyone else, affected by similar personal, social, economic, and philosophical problems.

I do not know why I became an archaeologist, but I can tell you how I became one. Being a shy person, I did not want to become a social anthropologist because it would have involved dealing with a lot of people. When I was taking up anthropology, I thought then that archaeology would be a lot easier to do because it deals with the dead. However, I found out later that as I practiced field archaeology, I had to deal more and more with the living rather than the dead.

I never had the chance to get a special training in the more archaeologically advanced countries. I have not discovered any site that can be considered spectacular, nor have I found any archaeological treasure with commercial value. The story that I offer is a tale of a locally-formed archaeologist who has trained with world-class archaeologists.

## Interest in Anthropology

At the University of the Philippines Preparatory High School where I studied, there was a program that encouraged students to visit various parts of the country, like Baguio City, the Bicol Region, Cebu, and Zamboanga in order to know it better. Perhaps it was this program

that sowed in me the seeds of curiosity and love of country that pushed me into anthropology.

One of the best teachers I had in college was Dr. Mario D. Zamora, the Chairman of the Department of Anthropology in the 1960s. He convinced me to take up anthropology. One of the innovations that he made to the teaching of anthropology was the creation of the Summer Field School. Before this, the only field school that had been conducted was the one organized by the National Museum (NM) in cooperation with the Ateneo de Manila University (ADMU) in Calatagan, Batangas. That was one of the efforts that was not institutionalized.

The primary purpose of the field school was to give students a first hand experience in how fieldwork is done in the subdisciplines of anthropology: archaeology, physical or biological anthropology, social and cultural anthropology, and linguistics. We were also taught how to gather folklore.

I am proud to say that I attended the first two field schools held by UP, first in Bolinao, Pangasinan and next in Quezon, Palawan. But I gained very little experience in exploration from these two field schools. This is perhaps due to the fact that exploration is time-consuming and physically stressful and, therefore, should be conducted by professionals rather than undergraduate students.

I felt then that the field school was primarily a way for the prospective anthropologist to determine whether he could stand up to the rigors of fieldwork or he was more inclined to confine his research and work in the library and laboratory. More than just another course to pass, therefore, for me the field school was a test of one's determination to do fieldwork. At the same time, there was increasing pressure for anthropologists to do fieldwork because more and more archaeological sites were being plundered or threatened by earthworks, construction, and development.

I saw some of my classmates break down, unable to take the rigors of doing research in the field. There were those who could not stand the same boring diet for long periods of time. One complained of the loneliness of doing research alone while another found digging a boring task.

One of the challenges in doing fieldwork and leaving the comfort of a familiar surrounding has to do with food and toilet retraining. I remember one my friends, David Viola, complained that the most irritating thing about the field school in Quezon, Palawan was the unchanging diet of rice, fish, canned sardines and mackerel. However, it was occasionally broken when one of the students, Rufino Tima, would bring home an imperial pigeon or two. He was brave enough to go into the jungle at dusk to await the migratory birds that would roost near

the base camp. A shot from an old .22 caliber rifle, followed by the thud of a fallen fowl would signal that we would have fowl and fish for dinner. I also recall a time when we had wild pig meat, but that happened only once.

Once, when we were really pining for some meat, some wise guy killed a monkey and turned it into *arroz con caldo a la macaque*. I did not mind eating the poor thing as long as nothing reminded me of what it once was. However, the cook would have none of our squeamishness and left the extremities intact. I tried it anyway and found the meat too tough because it had not been cooked long enough. Others completely refused to eat finding the whole thing too macabre what with the macaque's head bobbing in the white serving bowl. I may have felt like a cannibal but wound up enjoying the dish.

The general sentiment that I got from my classmates was that extended periods in the field relating to a few people and being away from friends, familiar places, and the other amenities of ordinary life tended to spawn personality conflicts. For them, this made fieldwork unbearable and not worth spending their lives on. It was clear that they could never be fieldworkers. They could be great anthropologists but the kind that stayed in the library, the laboratory, or probably in an urban setting where they could easily run back to their homes for their psychological and physical comforts.

I did not begrudge my classmates for finding fieldwork unpalatable. They could go on doing other things in archaeology after all, teaching or analyzing finds in the laboratory, or theorizing in the library.

The number of students attending the field school has swelled from less than 10 in the beginning to over 20 in later years, especially during the 1990s. For a time, the field school was no longer held during the summer but was conducted for a whole semester so that students learned not just archaeology but all the field methods in physical anthropology and social anthropology, as well as folklore and linguistics.

In other words, the field school has been transformed into a real field school in anthropology in contrast to teaching anthropology in the classroom only. I feel that this growth in the teaching of anthropology can be very good for the training of students who will have a chance to determine whether they are inclined to do serious work inside the confines of the classroom or the laboratory, or out in the field.

My teachers were very passive about archaeology. They did not try to interest the students to take it up for there was no money in it. Much of the avenue for the would-be archaeologist lay in either teaching or working at the National Museum. The situation is very much

discouraging for someone looking for a decent job of being a professional archaeologist.

### **Training in Archaeology**

One of the best ways to learn archaeology is by going to the field and being part of an archaeological team. I took the opportunity to volunteer my services to any of my professors who was doing fieldwork. My primary concern was to get as much experience as possible from my professors. The only problem was that my professors could not have the time to be in the field full time. What they did was to send us students out on our own while they followed later. It was difficult for us to be as productive in the field without them.

In my student days, I did some exploration for archaeological sites in Ternate, Cavite; in the Bondoc Peninsula in Quezon; and in Bolinao, Pangasinan. But these amateur explorations were brief, lasting only a day or two. I lacked equipment, including maps and compasses, and had no clear theoretical understanding of what I was supposed to do.

Except for Bolinao, all the exploratory work I did was unsupervised by my teachers. These outings ended up as recreational excursions rather than serious archaeological work. From these experiences, I learned that one must be guided by persons experienced in exploration or else the effort ends up as a useless exercise.

### ***Bolinao Experience***

In Balingasay, Bolinao, Pangasinan I became a student assistant-cum-laborer to Mr. Avelino Legaspi of the NM. I was recommended to the team by Dr. Juan Francisco, a historian who was equally interested in archaeology.

The excavation site was located some four or five kilometers from the town proper. It had a very strategic location because it was below a very low-lying hill and nearby river that emptied into the South China Sea. It was an ideal place for habitation and settlement because of the meeting of three ecological niches: something hilly to the east, a source of freshwater to the south, and marine resources to the west and north. The sea and river could be exploited with the crudest tools for food. The low-lying hills of the east and south could be a sort of land-based food resource.

It was single component site, that is, there was only one layer where artifacts were found. It was as if a group of people stayed there

for a couple of years and then moved elsewhere. The site was a cemetery because more than 69 graves had been excavated. What was fascinating about it was the fact that the remains indicated the presence of individuals that had their teeth decorated with gold in various patterns.

Since it was my first time to join an archaeological exploration and excavation, I was allowed at first only to observe the dig and do menial tasks. Mr. Legaspi assigned me to carry the back dirt from the grave that was being dug to where it could be sieved so that any small artifact that was missed by the gravedigger would be retrieved by the screener.

For a couple of days, I transported dirt to the screener. Then I started to help the screener. There was a strong probability that the diggers could have missed something and the task given to me was to put in a plastic bag anything that I suspect to be man-made or man-discarded. Even then I was closely supervised. It was in this situation that I began to think that excavation as something that was really boring and at the same time also potentially earth-shaking!

Since I did not know what to look for, I had to be trained to look for items that the archaeologist thought was of value. Thus, the first thing that I learned was that archaeology is not just plain digging but also knowing what to look for.

Later, I was allowed to dig but only with the close supervision of one of the trained gravediggers, with Mr. Legaspi patiently guiding me most of the time. I was taught to separate the sand from the skeletal remains without moving the remains from their precarious positions. The cemetery was in an area of shifting sand and it was very difficult to keep the walls of the dig from caving in because the sand would simply collapse after being dug a few feet. Maintaining a grid system would not work in such a sandy site, so Mr. Legaspi had the workers dig two to three graves at a time while making sure that these were spaced far enough apart and that they will not affect each other.

The first time I encountered gold was in this site. I was sent to the most sterile portion of the site yet it was there that I unearthed one of the most important finds in the area. I could still savor even today the satisfaction of unearthing a pair of golden earrings. It must be the sense of seeing something glistening on the organic and blackened soil that made it so easy for me to spot the earrings.

After a month of closely supervised work, I started to get the feel of doing archaeology. Over the years, I have found out that there are many types of digging and this could depend upon the geographic conditions of the site: terrestrial, marine, or somewhere in between.

I learned a lot from Mr. Legaspi: mapping, excavating, and labeling and packaging of finds. But I also learned to do "anthropology of archaeology." He constantly reminded me that burial sites gave a lot of information: the sex and age of person buried; the sort of diet he ate as revealed by the condition of their teeth, whether or not they chewed betel nut; the possible causes of death, whether it was natural or cultural, and diseases they may have suffered, like arthritis or syphilis, which were imprinted on their bones.

## **Work Experience**

### ***PANAMIN - An Ethnographic Interlude***

After graduation in 1968, I first worked for the Presidential Adviser on National Minorities (PANAMIN) to do research among the Negritos of the Philippines. Dr. Robert B. Fox, then chief anthropologist of the NM and also a PANAMIN consultant, organized a research team. Ponciano Bennagen, Angelo Bernardo, Amelia Rogel, Juliet Fernandez, and I formed the team.

This was an opportunity to experience some cultural exposure with the Agta of Palanan, Isabela for three months. The team was tasked to learn as many things as possible about the Negritos. The main theoretical problem was to find out what makes these people semi-hunters and gatherers. They moved around a lot but I could not exactly tell the pattern of their movement and what made them move. If we were enlightened more about these issues, then the project would have accomplished something.

Moreover, Dr. Fox and his fellow American anthropologist, Fr. Frank Lynch, were interested in the role that the Agta played in the development of Filipino ethnic groups. The Negritos are a racial and cultural enigma. Dr. Fox was fascinated by them as subject of an anthropological study. I cannot forget the many times he would tell our team how lucky he was to have been able to get five graduate students from the UP to work under him.

Each member of the team was given the task of looking for an Agta community to study. We would have to locate and integrate with the community by living with the people long enough to gather as much ethnographic data as we could. I lucked out when I could not locate an Agta community to work with.

The research team was based in Dimolit, a coastal settlement about six kilometers from Palanan town proper. We stayed in a rented *nipa* house owned by the Gonzales family. The place was strategic

because there were *pisan* areas (cluster of Agta lean-to shelters) along the beach and in the jungle. A *pisan* would be occupied one day and abandoned the next for reasons we did not know.

The five of us would fan out from Dimolit to identify our respective *pisan* for study. Initially, however, I could not find a group of my own. My luck seemed to change when I got news that Ellis, an Agta, and his brother were hired by a Christian family to ferry their sick father from Palanan to San Mariano. The trek would take a couple of days to cross the western side of the Sierra Madre.

For a city slicker like myself, the ordeal looked like a picnic and it was indeed a picnic for the first two days. I joined the group so that I could experience how to live with the Agta even for just a couple of days. I was hoping that getting friendly with Ellis and his brother would open the door for joining their *pisan* upon our return from San Mariano.

I caught up with the Ellis party at the foothills of the Sierra Madre and I was allowed to join the trek. Another reason for my wanting to come along was that at this time, our PANAMIN team was running out of money and supplies and we had to inform the headquarters of our plight. Since I was the one without a Negrito settlement to study, it was up to me to get help.

There are no roads crossing the Sierra Madre range along Cagayan Valley because there is no good reason to build them. The eastern flank of the mountain range is relatively isolated from the rest of northeastern Luzon. The only way to get to Palanan was by light plane, by boat, or by hiking. The cost of a plane ride is formidable even though the flight took no more than 30 minutes. The boat ride was relatively cheaper but there were very few boats going to and from Palanan. For the poor folks of Palanan, walking was the only feasible way in and out.

I learned a lot from Ellis and his brother on this trek. Our party of five (Ellis and his brother, two lowland Christians, and myself) took our time crossing the mountain because Ellis and his brother had to carry the sick old man on their backs. In fact, the prospect of a slow trek was what made me decide to join their party. I was confident I would survive the trip and nothing harmful would come my way. And the first lesson that they taught me was that I should respect nature and not harm it in any way except when one has to kill in order to eat.

The first two days of the trip were relatively easy for me because the trails were not steep and there were huts and shelters where we could rest for the night. We were also entertained by friends of our Agta companions. They gave us food to eat, betel nut to chew, and some cigarettes to smoke. But as we ascended the steeper part of the mountain, my body started to complain. My legs and thighs, unused to

such physical exertion and discomfort for very long periods, started to ache.

One day after negotiating a climb up a mountain trail for an hour or two, we stopped to rest. I was so tired and exhausted that all I wanted to do was to lie down and take a nap. My colleagues know that I can fall asleep as soon as my butt hits solid ground and better still if I could lie on my back.

As I was about to do just that, Ellis told me not lie down because my blood was still "boiling." Instead, he said that I should rest by sitting down and resting my back against a tree. I got up and sat at the nearest tree only to find a huge snake next to me. I had no idea what to do but Ellis told me to leave it alone as it was not doing anything. The physical discomfort I felt was overwhelmed by the thought that the snake might suddenly decide to bite me.

On the third day of the trek, we passed through some thick foliage and I noticed that one side of the trail was teeming with leeches. I was fascinated upon observing that they all moved together towards the direction of a human body passing them, as if drawn by some irresistible force. Delighted by this discovery, I reached my hand out over them and started to wave it back and forth, causing the leeches to move one way and then the other, following the heat from my hand. I enjoyed my apparent power in directing them. All the while, there was this ticking sound coming from above my head. I learned later that the ticking was made by leeches coming from the foliage just above my head as they tried to dive down towards me. I also found out later that my *Converse* canvas shoes, given to me by Fr. Elias Lopez, O.C.M., the parish priest of Palanan, had been assaulted by leeches on the ground.

It was also on the third day of our trek when our party ran out of food. We had been subsisting on the candies that I brought along as a source of quick energy. Luckily, on the trail Ellis found deer tracks near the stream that we were following. He examined them and declared that we have a meal. After that, Ellis and his brother prepared their bows and arrows and swiftly left the group. I wanted to watch how they were going to hunt down the deer, but as I walked after them, Ellis shouted back at me not to follow because I was too slow and that the deer would be able to smell me. I never found out whether Ellis was joking or not.

### ***Working with Warren Peterson***

After three months with the PANAMIN research team, Dr. Fox pulled me out to help Warren Peterson with the survey and excavation of certain sites in the Cagayan Valley. Peterson was a graduate student

from the University of Hawaii who was here from the late 1960s up to the early 1970s to gather data for his doctoral dissertation in archaeology. He came with his wife, Jean Peterson, a cultural anthropologist who was conducting a study on the Agta of Quirino and Isabela. The Petersons were students of Dr. Wilhelm G. Solheim II, an archaeologist who was, and still is, very interested in the development of archaeology in the Philippines.

I was recommended by Dr. Fox because he felt that my association with Peterson would be mutually beneficial. I anticipated learning the latest methods and techniques of doing field archaeological research from an American. It was then that I experienced my first serious venture into the world of archaeological exploration. In fact, it was one of my most fruitful experiences. I learned a lot from him, particularly about exploration, excavation, and analysis and interpretation of finds. I spent nine months doing exploration and excavation work with him.

On the other hand, I was an Ilocano who spoke the *lingua franca* of Peterson's study area, Iloko. I also had a lot of friends and relatives there, a fact that would be of great help in our exploration of archaeological sites and the identification of distribution sites of the Agta in Northern Luzon.

Before I started to work in the Cagayan Valley, as an apprentice and research assistant to Peterson, I was of the impression that it was the Ilocanos who had migrated to the Cordilleras to look for greener pastures. I found out that in Isabela and Quirino, there were lots of settlers coming from Ifugao and other Igorot groups. The area was ethnically dynamic with Ilocanos, Ifugaos, Negritos, and Bugkalots. The Negrito group was the last group I came in contact with when I helped Jean Peterson look for some Negrito settlements. I was able to locate them but they were practically on the western side of the Sierra Madre, a day's hike from where we were doing exploration and excavation.

I spent about six months in the foothills of the Sierra Madre. I went ahead of Peterson to make a quick archaeological survey of the area. I did a lot of work in the morning and afternoon trying to pinpoint areas of interest: open air sites, rock shelter, and caves.

In Maddela, a frontier area inhabited by a mixture of different ethnic groups, I stayed with an Ilocano family that lived along the headwaters of the Cagayan River. I explored the whole day after which I returned to my base camp and there I lived as part of the family. The conversation before the meal would often be about the lack of food. In fact, it was a concern expressed by the whole barrio. My host family appreciated the fact that I shared the food that I brought with me and whatever else I could purchase locally. Once, some policemen exploded

dynamites in the Cagayan River and the whole barangay for a while feasted on the unexpected bounty.

After two months, I discovered two promising sites near an Ifugao settlement in Maddela along the Ngilinan River. At the lower end of the river was located a rock shelter. About a kilometer up from there was a cave. We first excavated the cave but later gave up due to many technical problems. Peterson decided to dig the Pintu rock shelter which proved to be correct because the site was very productive.

The Pintu rock shelter was about 10 meters above the present level (at the time) of the Ngilinan River and about 40 meters away. It was seven to ten feet high. The area from the back of the rock shelter to the drip line was just three to four meters. Above the rock shelter were some secondary forest trees and some *dipterocarp* cover.

We started to excavate from the back of the rock shelter and worked our way across the drip line and beyond the river. The squares that we dug went as deep as three to four meters, requiring the use of bamboo ladders in order to get in and out of them. Many of the tree branches atop the rock shelter gave shaded squares and made excavation a bit more comfortable.

One day, Peterson was checking the stratification to make sure that the soil profile sketches were accurate. It is the primary job of the chief archaeologist to draw and determine the stratification of the site prior to a proper stratigraphic study and interpretation. Peterson was inside a deep square when a sudden gust of wind shook the trees, dislodging a snake into the very square he was working on. He usually wore sneakers while working but at that time, he was in his bare feet. The landing in the square took both man and reptile by surprise, but it was the snake that reacted first and bit Peterson on the foot before he could climb up the ladder or pummel it with a shovel.

Peterson told me that the bite caused what felt like painful electric shocks to travel from his foot up to his thigh. Thinking that death was imminent, he was confronted with a dilemma: either to write a quick letter to his wife who was way across the Sierra Madre range or he would smoke a cigarette. To my amusement, he chose the latter.

Peterson had a fever for a couple of days and all archaeological work stopped. Our Ifugao workers feared that he was going to die and also that the incident of a snake falling into the work area would recur. They decided to perform some rituals and butchered a dozen ducks and chickens as offerings so the spirits would keep us safe. No further incidents occurred and Peterson got better. Throughout our remaining stay, I would often see snakes slithering in and out of bushes but they never ventured into the squares again.

### ***Working in the National Museum***

In 1969, it was Dr. Fox again who recommended me to Gemma Cruz Araneta, the National Museum director, as a museum researcher at the Division of Anthropology. The division then was in need of researchers because many researchers, junior and senior, were out of the country pursuing higher degrees in anthropology. The NM had only 64 employees at that time. It was really a small bureau then relative to its enormous responsibility of preserving the natural and cultural resources of the country. I was assigned to head its Archaeology Section.

A lot of people would come to the museum to have natural, historical, and archaeological specimens identified and, if possible, dated, too. Many of those who came were ordinary people who accidentally uncovered artifacts while digging or simply found them unearthed. I tried to help them but I could not identify accurately what was presented to me.

I had a wonderful time working with the NM because there were botanists, zoologists, artists, and historians with whom I could discuss archaeology. There was friendly, if sometimes, hostile competition among the departments. I learned a lot from them and I hope that they were able to learn from me as well.

I learned a lot of basic geology from the people of the Division of Geology, especially the division head, the late Mr. Inocentes Paniza and his assistant, Mr. Silvio Lopez. My learning from Mr. Lopez continued even after he left the NM.

I also learned a lot of botany from Mr. Hermes Gutierrez and his colleagues in the Division of Botany. From the late Mr. Ernesto Cabrera I learned marine zoology. He identified most of the shells that I excavated in Sta. Ana, Manila; in Lallo, Cagayan; and in Bongao, Tawi-Tawi. Dr. Fox and Prof. Alfredo Evangelista showed me the importance of marine zoology and its contributions to archaeological research.

It was Dr. Fox who insisted that I should know more about the sea. On my first day of work at the NM, he even accompanied me to a sporting goods store in Avenida Rizal to buy the best snorkeling equipment. It was a loan to be paid with my first paycheck. I still have my Vimrod flippers but my snorkel and goggles are long gone.

Whoever planned the NM should be credited for setting up an organization where the social, physical, and biological sciences are all housed in one institution. Speaking from my own experience, it is very difficult to do archaeological research without the help of the other sciences.

One of the difficulties that I encountered in writing the reports stemmed from my poor background in geology, which would be crucial

in identifying the shells collected. I had difficulty reconstructing the environment of the site. The technical aspect of describing the artifacts, stone tools, shell tools, and the presence of pottery and foreign-made ceramics was easy to do. However, if one does not get the other sciences to help reconstruct the environment, one is left with an incomplete picture.

Burial sites and graves attract a lot of attention from archaeologists and pothunters because they may contain artifacts of commercial value. My first fieldwork for the NM was precipitated by a frantic appeal from the then governor of Southern Leyte, Salvacion Opus Yñiquez. She wrote an urgent letter to the NM asking for people to come to the town of Maasin because a lot of prehistoric imported Chinese trade wares were being hunted in its surrounding hills.

I was sent to the site by Dr. Fox but arrived too late. I found the hills to be covered with pothunters' holes and littered with millions of broken shards of imported ceramics and locally-made earthenware vessels. There were broken bones everywhere, a scene that reminded me of the human devastation in documentary films about the First World War.

There were people digging all over the lowly hills. The view from the top of one of the hills was very pretty. It must have been a lot prettier during prehistoric times. One could see the tranquil sea and tiny boats sailing, swayed by the gentle breeze or powered by human paddles. But now it was more like something out of Dante's *Inferno*. These once sacred places had been desecrated. I could not help wondering what the dead might have been feeling as their burial grounds were being turned upside down.

When a cemetery is dug for no purpose at all but to satisfy greed, there is something wrong. For me, an archaeological site is a library. It is a source of information and materials that are preserved not only for the use of the present people but for all time.

At the NM, I re-excavated three sites: the Sta. Ana Church in Manila; another site in Sanga-Sanga, Tawi-Tawi; and the shell midden in Lallo and Gattaran, Cagayan. All the sites were excavated in the late sixties and early seventies.

I was also involved in a project with a goal of looking for the relatives of the Java Man and Peking Man. Dr. Fox believed that if there is *Homo erectus* in Beijing, China, there was a very high probability that it could also be found in the Philippines because of the land bridges that connected the Philippines to the rest of Southeast Asia in the past. The presence of very old tools and the discovery of the extinct mega fauna such as the rhinoceros and the *stegodon* in Luzon and Visayas have bolstered the belief that there could be ancient people, too. This is the

reason why I was sent to Cagayan in the late 1960s and early 1970s. As far as I know, we have not found any fossilized bones of *Homo erectus*. But I have not given up hope that one of these days, with proper funding and more time, I will find the Philippine *Homo erectus*.

I have also concentrated on excavating garbage because most of my colleagues in the NM have been concentrating on digging burial grounds. I felt and still feel that there is something remiss and almost negligent in not looking at prehistoric garbage as this affords a more representative perspective about how our prehistoric ancestors lived along with how they buried their dead. The overemphasis on the dead leads to missing a very significant picture: how the living treated the dead. In order to get a fuller picture of man and his culture, it is necessary to know something of their sacred and profane patterns of living, which the grave and garbage could provide.

### ***Working in the Cagayan Museum and Research Center***

I remember the first time I went to Cagayan Valley to work as a museum researcher in the early 1970s. There was no museum in the area then and I was there to help Governor Teresa Dupaya set up one.

People have invariably mistaken me to be a treasure hunter. I tell them that I am interested as much in garbage as in gold. However, the job is more than collecting prehistoric garbage and gold. It is to get to the grey matter of prehistoric men and women, to find out how they manufactured gold, and how they deposited their garbage. Many times, garbage deposits are more valuable than gold because garbage is co-terminus with the birth of man while gold, a metal, is a very recent valuable discovery of man. Not only is garbage older but it yields more information about how man adapts to a given and dynamic environment, an ever-changing natural world where he has to get his food, shelter, and clothing.

In 1973, I was able to locate a site in Alimanao, Peñablanca, Cagayan where there were so many foreign-made ceramics. I went there alone because the Cagayan Museum and Research Center could not afford to give me even a small research grant for exploration.

Much of the explorations that I did all over Cagayan Province were personal undertakings, financed through my meager salary and whatever money I was able to get from my parents who were both in the United States. Since I loved the discipline and I wanted to move to Cagayan, I had to explore whenever I could and spent my own money to do so. Anyway, it was best to explore alone as I did not need anybody to introduce me to the area. The people of Tuguegarao knew about the

museum and I had an identification card and introductory letter from Governor Dupaya.

A lot of people in the governor's office thought I was bit crazy to do research without any funding. They were mostly bureaucrats who thought that research must be done in the library. They could not fully appreciate the nature of archaeological work.

People think that doing fieldwork is another form of milking the government by collecting per diem, transportation money, and professional fees all to be pocketed by the researcher. And this could be the reason why, when I was lucky enough to wangle a research grant – yes, for a three-day research – most people in the Office of the Governor, and those that had something to do with release of the money, thought that getting a research grant was a clever and innovative way of stealing from the government.

This was probably why they wanted to share in the booty. A man from the accounting department asked for a 10 percent share as a condition for the release of the check. The grant amounted only to a thousand pesos and he was asking for a hundred pesos to facilitate the release of the check! I did not give him any and opted to wait instead. When the check was released, it was just half an hour before the bank closed so the cashier said she could have it encashed for me if I gave her 50 pesos. I did not give in either but had to postpone my departure for the field for a couple more days.

### ***Teaching Anthropology***

I never thought that I would teach anthropology in UP. I think of myself as being a very shy person on top of which, I do not have an advanced degree. What I do have is a lot of fieldwork experience and I have done a lot of private reading and research. And I am not intimidated by people who have advanced degrees; instead, I try to learn from them as much as I can. I am willing to learn from anybody.

Talking about teaching anthropology takes me back to my teachers, both in the classroom and in the field. There are very good teachers as well as very bad teachers. The good teachers are the ones who encourage you to study and do research, to read and learn from books and from experience. Teachers influence you on what sort of anthropologist you should be and how you are to pursue that goal.

I was very fortunate to have had good teachers in field archaeology. I learned a lot of the anthropology of archaeology from Mr. Avelino Legaspi and prehistoric archaeology from Dr. Fox. I was also fortunate enough to have learned a lot of social anthropology while I

was in the field with Dr. Fox. His love of archaeology did not prevent him from sharing his insights on Filipino psychology and social anthropology.

Dr. Fox used to tell us in many of our informal meetings that anthropology must first be good in literature before it becomes anthropology. He related that he had to rewrite his doctoral dissertation five times before Dr. Fred Eggan, the Chairman of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago, would allow him to pass.

Among my mentors in UP, the best writers are Dr. E. Arsenio Manuel, Dr. Fox, and Prof. Alfredo Evangelista. I did not always agree with what they wrote but I always found them a pleasure to read. I never was a student of Dr. H. Otley Beyer, but I certainly enjoyed reading his works as well. His speculations about Philippine archaeology still stir my interest because they were accurate representations of the state of knowledge at the time they were written, although the present crop of archaeologists must find out where the inaccuracies lie.

It was with Warren Peterson that I learned the latest techniques in field archaeology. He told me that he got his archaeological skills, techniques, and theories from Dr. Solheim, his professor in the University of Hawaii. Doctors Fox and Peterson tend to make their students soporific, probably because their lectures were held usually after lunch and during the summer. They were great fieldworkers nevertheless.

Not very many among the present crop of UP students are aware that I have taught archaeological methods for over 10 years. One of the best ways to teach students is to show them a lot of artifacts that are most commonly found in the Philippines. On top of this, I also try to show them different types of maps that are used in the field.

Everybody is interested about the past, especially the prehistoric past. Man is a root-seeking animal. Everyone is interested in origins. Whenever I tell somebody that I am looking for the ancestors of the Filipino people, they begin to be interested and fascinated. When I relate to them that I am trying to find who the first Filipinos were and why there are so many ethnolinguistic groups found in the country, they become even more fascinated about the issue.

When talking to people from the Cordilleras, I discuss with them about the Kankanaey, Ifugao, Kalinga, Apayao, and Isnag. I would relate to them that the Ilocanos are very much related to them as well as to the people of the Cagayan Valley such as the Ibanag, Itawes, Gaddang, and the racially different Agta and Dumagat. They become interested in the method of how to explore and know the origins and development of

these groups, at what point in time that they were one, and when they started to diverge and seek separate ethnic identities.

In addition, they begin to see the differences as well as the similarities or commonalities and they start to appreciate what anthropological archaeology can do in order for them to know more about themselves and their relationship with other ethnic groups. People, especially adults, are interested in pedigrees, whether at the personal level or at the ethnic group level. People would like to relate to the past as much as they would like to relate to the future. Indeed, as I pointed out in a paper I presented during the first UGAT (Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao) conference 30 years ago, man is root-seeking; he wants to know where he came from (Cabanilla 1978:27). And archaeology can help them have a glimpse of the past that is understandable.

In the many public lectures that I have given outside of the groves of academe, what always attract the most attention are the skulls of gorilla, baboon, *Homo erectus*, Neanderthal man, and *Homo sapiens* that I bring. People become excited when they are able to handle the object themselves and they begin to see some of the characteristics that separate man from his nearest biological cousins in the evolutionary ladder.

Maps also seem to pique people's interest. I will spread a map before my prospective informants and talk about the nature and uses of maps in understanding the geographical and ethnographic information that I am looking for. I then begin to elicit what they know about the history of a place and the probable archaeological sites in the area. I show them samples of artifacts and other items that may be recovered in the area.

In my archaeology class, I am perennially asked how archaeological sites can be located. It depends on the kind of site I am interested in. Inherent in a purposive behavior are certain things that guide the archaeologist. If I am going to look for Noah's ark, I know that it cannot be found in the Philippines, but somewhere in the Middle East. The treasure of Yamashita cannot be found in America but in the Philippines. By a series of deduction, we can determine the site where Yamashita and his retreating Japanese Imperial Army stayed in the last few months of the Second World War.

When I taught a course in field archaeology during the Summer Field School in Anthropology, the most difficult question that I raised concerned why the archaeological site lay where we were excavating and not elsewhere. This sort of archaeology has something to do with explanation in archaeology. Whenever a site is excavated, there must be a reason for doing it: for salvage purposes because the site is due for

disturbance so all information must be gathered before the site is destroyed; or, because the site was accidentally discovered and there was danger that it may be looted by pothunters.

### **Anthropological Fieldwork**

Fragile is the life of the fieldworker. This could be the reason why only a few of us could practice as field archaeologists. The pay is small but the physical danger and psychological stress are quite real. One of the reasons why I love to go to the field is to experience the rewards of such an endeavor. The greatest reward is the satisfaction of getting the answers to the questions that motivated the fieldwork.

Finding out the answers to nagging scientific questions is a source of great satisfaction and fulfillment. Furthermore, I would like to believe that I go to the field because of the discipline I learned in the practice of archaeology. It is also a means of determining the archaeological significance, or absence thereof, of an area - an activity that contributes to the mapping of archaeological potentials of a place.

Another reason that keeps me going to the field is the anticipation of discovering something archaeologically significant. What sustains me, too, is the ability to have fun in the field, make new friends, and talk about archaeology to anybody who cares to listen. I enjoy explaining to people how so much can be learned from what I do. I get very happy whenever I am able to convince people that archaeology is not only about treasure hunting but about looking for material things that tell us something about ourselves. I want everybody to know that archaeology will make us appreciate the need to preserve our natural and cultural resources.

Going to the field is very different from going to a tourist site. A fieldworker goes to a site to do research. The tourist stays only for a brief period of time in a place which has all the amenities of his own culture. He stays in a cocoon of comfort. Contrast this to the case of a fieldworker who is doing research where the facilities are primitive and the surrounding unfamiliar. He has to stay there for a long time, as long as one calendar year or one agricultural cycle, whichever is required by his research.

There is so much to do in the field and there is very little time. I heard my former mentor, Dr. Fox, tell me that he was very vulnerable and that the time for doing archaeological work is very little. Now I feel and think the same way about being an archaeologist in a Third World setting.

### ***First Fieldwork in the Bondoc Peninsula***

I never realized how poor the rural population was until I did my fieldwork in Bondoc Peninsula, Quezon Province in the early sixties. We went to the field as part of our course work under Dr. E. Arsenio Manuel. I no longer recall the course title but I remember that there were only four students in the class: Corazon Manuel, Angelo Bernardo, Jose Romero, Jr., and myself.

Dr. Manuel was not very particular where we went for fieldwork as what was important was the experience and to test whether we could survive the ordeal and still get some anthropological data. Bondoc Peninsula was chosen because Jose Romero, Jr. wanted to visit a small isolated group of Negritos somewhere in the hinterlands of the area. Another reason was the fact that he had some relatives who were willing to aid and comfort us.

We were a group of anthropology students out on an adventure, doing our first fieldwork without our professor's active participation. We had to shoulder all our own expenses. Formal field training with trained supervisors was still seven years or so down the road.

My first encounter with rural poverty shocked me. While we were in Catanauan, Quezon, the three of us decided to separately look for the settlement of the Negritos, who were pejoratively called *katabangan* – meaning “less salted,” “not so original,” “not so civilized” – by the Tagalog-speaking population settled near the coastal area or in the municipal centers. Each had a guide who would also introduce us to whomever we encountered in the field – that we were students from UP who went there to get some basic training on how to do fieldwork and to gather data about the Negritos of the Bondoc Peninsula. Assigned to me was a teenager, no more than 14 years old. He told me that we could get some information on where to look for a Negrito settlement if we went to a certain barrio within the municipality.

We started our trek after breakfast, walking mostly through beautiful hills all covered with well-spaced coconut trees. After an exhausting two hours of walking, we reached our destination. I noticed that the barrio had a road and that there were jeepneys that obviously came from the town center. I asked my guide why we had to walk for two hours when we could have taken the jeepney and saved time and energy. He replied: “*Mahal po ang pamasahe. Magbabayad tayo ng bente singko bawat isa.*” (“Jeepney fare is very expensive. We would have paid 25 centavos each for the ride.”)

I was plenty mad but restrained my urge to berate my guide considering that I was only a visitor. I was not used to walking long distances with a heavy backpack across unfamiliar terrain. However, I

soon realized how valuable 50 centavos was to this country boy. I could not tell him then that I had a hundred pesos in my pocket and that I could have very well afforded the jeepney fare.

### ***Looking for Magellan's Remains***

In 1993, I was involved in a project aimed at locating the material remains of the Battle of Mactan. The project objective consisted of looking for the site and locating the material remains of the battle, including the remains of Magellan. The only problem with the exploration is there are two Mactans in Cebu: one near Cebu City and the other in Poro Island, one of the Camotes Group of Islands some 70 kilometers from Cebu City.

A lot of people are pleasantly surprised when I tell them that I went to Cebu to look for the bones of Magellan and the group headed by Lapu-Lapu. They wonder how I can tell the bones of Magellan from other bones that may be dug up. I tell them that Magellan was club-footed. What I needed to do in Mactan was to look for an archaeological site that corresponded with the date of Magellan's attempt to conquer Cebu. At least I know what I am looking for and I know where to look for it - that is what exploration is about.

I was also guided by the fact that there was a historical account by Pigafetta about the battle. In Cebu City, I asked members of the city council if they could tell me where the Battle of Mactan took place, but nobody could. It was like facing a blank wall. The only thing I had was an account of an event that was supposed to have actually taken place.

I have not given up hope on my project even though it is like looking for a needle in a haystack. I have a needle, the club-footed skeletal remains of a man, and a haystack, Mactan. Actually, there are two haystacks. A local historian from the municipality of Poro that I spoke to claimed that the exact site of the battle was in Barangay Mactan in Poro, not Mactan, Cebu.

I checked out this claim by going to Poro with a group of anthropologists who attended the annual UGAT conference in 1993. We surveyed the area and found a lot of artifacts to prove that the site was contemporary with the times of the battle. There were a lot of trade wares belonging to the Ming dynasty, foreign trade ceramics which could be dated the first quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. We also found certain items such as small gold crosses that could have been part of the adornment of Magellan's soldiers. I was convinced that the place could have been the original battle site.

Now this is nothing but speculation on my part. What is important is that I have an archaeological problem. I want to see if I can get the physical evidence of the Battle of Mactan and recover, if possible, the bones of Magellan and those of Lapu-Lapu.

Although the result of the survey was very encouraging, I had to discontinue the work because the area that I wanted to excavate involved a five-hectare farmland. I was also faced with the problem of funding and securing a permit to excavate from the farm owners. Since I did not have the financial resources, I saw it best to stop the project.

### ***Tawi-Tawi Fieldwork***

Thanks to a UP-CIDS grant, I was able to travel to the southernmost part of the country in Tawi-Tawi sometime in 1999, to map out the archaeological potential of the area and gather as much archaeological materials as I could. Another purpose of my trip was to look for a site that would be similar to the Bolobok Rockshelter in Sanga-Sanga, Sulu, which pushed the historic date of the area to about 4,000 B.C.

I went directly to see Chancellor Edi Allih of the Mindanao State University (MSU) Bongao. The amiable chancellor told me jokingly that I must be looking for gold, supposedly part of the fabled treasure collected by General Yamashita of the Japanese Imperial Army. I replied that I was looking not for gold but for garbage. I told him that if I did find anything of commercial value, I would leave the loot with the lot owner, whether it is an institution or an individual.

Not that gold did not interest me, I told Chancellor Allih, but that I was actually looking for the garbage, graves, and gray matter of the prehistoric and historic peoples of Tawi-Tawi. That made the chancellor laugh, along with members of his staff who were within hearing distance. I explained why such things were very valuable even as though they did not have any commercial value.

My budget was small and my schedule was tight. I only had a month to explore as many islands (Bongao, Sanga-Sanga, Pababag, Simunul, Manuk Mankaw, Sibutu, Sitangkai, Secubin, Dungon) as the budget allowed. I was able to contact certain persons to act as guides. The problem was that they were culture-bound, just like anyone else.

This meant that there were certain areas that would be difficult to explore, not for any technical or geographic accessibility reason but because my contacts/informants forbade me from doing so for cultural or other reasons: purported presence of enemies in the area; the existence of spirits that will surely lead to the death of a visitor, a price

too expensive to pay; or restraint from military authorities because of family feuds and political hostilities. Disregarding such concerns and insisting on proceeding to those places would have been very risky. Besides, I did not have the luxury of time.

I was anxious to get to the research site but my informant held me back, insisting that I get the permission from the site owner first even if I had already genuflected before the local government officials. The thing was, even after I had secured that permission, I was only to proceed to the site after visiting the owner's ancestral shrine and asking permission from departed ancestors. Religion gets into the way of research at one level but, at another level, it can help in gathering more materials for one's research. Thus, good field archaeologists must also be good diplomats. Diplomacy is the ability to get what you need without offending the living and the dead.

### **Dangers of Fieldwork**

One of the reasons why it is safe to stay in one's own community is the fact that one knows the place, the physical setting, the people, and the culture. This is not the case when one goes to the field where the physical setting and culture are very different from one's own.

When taking the leap into an area where everything is strange and the surroundings very different, the archaeologist is confronted by many kinds of danger. Just the thought of getting out of one's community and culture and venturing into an alien surrounding and culture is psychologically stressful.

The fieldworker is exposed to dangers to his possessions, dignity, and self-esteem. How would you feel, for example, when you cross a raging river or a footbridge that would pitch and sway as you move along with it? It would be easy enough to lose your balance and fall, and that will be the end of yourself. That would not be so bad if you were alone.

And how would you feel when the natives, who cross the same river day in and day out, and at night when most likely inebriated, are watching you? You most probably would hesitate to cross the bridge and will ask your guide/informant for a safer and easier crossing. When he says there is none, you just have to swallow your pride and tell him that you are scared. So you cross the bridge anyway based on your guide's reassurance that no one has fallen off the bridge since it was built decades ago. The steel cables, although a bit rusted, he says, will safely hold up the bridge for decades to come. The danger, therefore,

appears to be purely psychological. The enemy is not the steel bridge, the enemy is within yourself.

I have felt that way many times while doing fieldwork in the Cordilleras. I remember one day when we had to cross the headwaters of the Agno River on our way to Benguet. The river marked the provincial boundary between Pangasinan and Benguet. Our team was done with the exploration of the Pangasinan side and it was time for us to take a look at the Benguet side.

To do that, we had to cross the raging Agno River that had swelled from a deluge of rainwater further upstream due to an incoming typhoon. In fact, the previous night had been wet and wild as the winds had started to build up, rudely interrupting my well-deserved sleep - I was dead tired from hiking the whole day up and down the hilly and mountainous saddles of Pangasinan.

The crossing did not have the footbridge that we expected. We had crossed a number of them in different states of deterioration through our stay in the area and had gotten used to them. This time only a steel cable was suspended over the river. We were going to be strapped on a pulley attached to the cable. To go from one bank of the river to the other, you had to pull yourself towards the other side, praying that the pulleys will not disengage from the steel nor the cable snap before we get across. It was going to be, to say the least, a unique experience.

On the morning that we were to cross the river, in order to allay the fears of the rest of the team, I volunteered to be the first to cross, saying that I wanted to take pictures from the other side. I examined the cable and made sure that the strap on which I would hang with my guide would support our combined weight. Since we were inexperienced in using the contraption, each of the team members would be accompanied by someone who could operate it properly.

When we started to cross the river, my heart was pounding. My knees were shaking but no one noticed since the strong wind caused us to pitch and roll as we slowly inched our way over the raging river. The fear of death overwhelmed me!

But there was no turning back. If we did not go over the river, we would have to retrace the steps that took us five days to get where we were. This was supposed to be the end of the trip but it looked more like the end of my life.

My psychological state was shot as well. I felt like I was reliving my battle with cancer when I lost about 50 kilos and had palpitations, which made me very agitated, caused me to sweat profusely, and left my feet and hands feeling cold. Then, I tried to counter these by physical and mental work. I would sweep the floor of the whole house, which

lasted 10 to 15 minutes but seemed like eternity. Only then would my heart rate return to normal as, exhausted and hungry, I became very sleepy.

Trying to get a hold of myself, all I could easily do was to try and change my psychological state. I accepted the fact that I could do nothing and that death was just a slip away. I then calmed down, my heart stopped its violent pounding and my hands and knees stopped shaking. It got so that I actually enjoyed the ride and wished that it would last a little longer.

The risky river crossing thereby became a reward, a psychological triumph mustered over fear by reinterpreting the event. Within a short time, hell was turned to heaven. Strength, resilience, and stamina are not only physical but also psychological. What I anticipated with fear and trembling turned out well.

### Rewards of Fieldwork

While there are risks in fieldwork, there are rewards as well. I think I have overemphasized the damage that it has done to me physically and psychologically. Every time I take a bath, I see my fungus-infested toenails and the scar on my lower right arm. I experience intermittent chills in the early morning, and recurring thoughts of myself falling from cliffs and ravines, of drowning while crossing raging rivers, of running away from pursuing *putakti* (wasps), of looking into the eyes of snakes disturbed from their morning slumber under blazing sun after a sleepless night of rain, of running through a coconut plantation in a storm while carrying a small *papag* (bamboo bed) as a shield from falling nuts, and of nearly getting hit by lightning.

It is nice to know that I have survived to be able to talk, laugh, and write about my experiences. These were just the physical dangers. I also carry psychological scars from the field belying the contention of people that fieldwork is just a junket as when some social scientists visit libraries and archives. Yet the risks are balanced out by the rewards.

I enjoy the field because I am someone who loves to gamble. When I go to the general area of the site, my instincts about the place, my hunches of where exactly to go, operate just like when I gamble. It appears that I can tell where a site is located not only because I have envisioned it based on the review of the background literature and on looking at the topographical and other maps available.

Once I have chosen the general area and made initial guesses, I go to the site to find out whether my guesses are correct. I feel like a

detective chasing a criminal or looking for clues and find this very exciting.

The satisfaction of finding a scientific answer to a nagging question, or even a partial answer but one that could lead further exploration is a great motivator of doing fieldwork. It can be more fulfilling than finding fame and fortune, which, I admit, can be part of the package. But it is the science that makes it all worth the while.

There are other benefits and rewards, of course, some of which may not be part of the main goal of fieldwork. The American anthropologist, Jean T. Peterson, used to say, the reason why so many overweight anthropologists take to the field is to lose weight, as well as to gain some academic stature. Others look at fieldwork as business and pleasure rolled into one. Still others look at it as a form of adventure, to take themselves out of their usual comfort zone and to endure some pain. I would argue that all of them are basically driven by scientific concerns.

I take two types of personal rewards from doing fieldwork. The first consist of what I call immediate rewards. These come from the surroundings – physical, cultural, and psychological – that I found myself in that all affect my thinking, feeling, and behavior. All my senses are affected in a very physical way – seeing, hearing, touching, smelling, and tasting. These tend to be fleeting and, therefore, difficult to record.

There was a time in Victoria, Oriental Mindoro when, one evening, a tree was surrounded by a halo of fireflies, seemingly millions of them forming a galaxy of stars flickering in the dark. Even if I wanted to photograph the scene, I would not have the technical know-how or the gear to capture it accurately. A similar scene unfolded while I was taking a cold bath in Calanasan, Apayao when a nearby tree came alight with flickering fireflies.

On a rainy night in Aggugaddan, Peñablanca, Cagayan, I heard a very loud and strange sound, something I thought could have come from an ocean-going ship. It turned out, as an informant told me later, that it was a call from a roaring frog.

A scene I could not forget also happened in Aggugaddan. I was staying in a resort compound in front of the Callao caves. I was tired from exploring the area and I wanted to rest but before sundown, I went out to take a bath. While bathing, I was startled by something like a booming sound of a jet plane. When I looked, it was nothing but a mass of small bats. Later on, millions of bats were up on the sky, forming two columns and giving the impression that they were a pair of dragons snaking away in pursuit of the setting sun.

Once, we were winding up our field school in Mankayan, Benguet. The archaeological part of the course was over and I had some free time

to explore the other side of the river from our site. I wanted to check the other side of the river for archaeological sites, taking along with me one student volunteer, Zain Majul. The river was awash in mine tallings and our Kankanaey informant warned us not to wade across the river because we would develop rashes from the toxic waste, which presumably had killed all river wild life. We decided to cross the river via a bridge downstream, near the boundary between Mankayan and Cervantes, Ilocos Sur.

To escape the heat of the day, we decided to explore at around three in the afternoon. Zain Majul and I got engrossed looking for sites along the road that led from the bridge up to the mountain that we arrived at the mountain top quite late in the afternoon. At this point, a thunderstorm suddenly came down on us and we ran to the nearest barangay, seeking shelter in one of the ubiquitous *sari-sari* stores.

Fortunately for us, the store owner was very hospitable and welcomed us into his home. As the storm raged, we sat over bottles of beer and some canned sardines and corned beef, supplies that the owner had only replenished the previous day from Mankayan. The drinks were not cold nor the food hot but they were served with human warmth and against a spectacular lightning show in the background.

Visiting places and enjoying sights largely inaccessible to tourists are other incentives in doing fieldwork. These are unintended perks of doing field archaeology.

When one enters a tropical rainforest, one is struck by the contrast of temperature, humidity, and silence compared to a savannah or cogonal area. In Apayao, where there are vast areas of denuded hills and mountains, entering a virgin forest after negotiating the savannah and climbing grass-covered mountains was a very different and refreshing experience. The temperature turns down and the sound of the river muffled. It was the coolness of the place and silence that were so welcoming after a tiring and trying day of walking on cogon land.

Birds and insects could be heard while we negotiated the vast rainforest, but otherwise, there was general silence all around. In the season of leeches, one can hear them giving out strange sounds. The margins between the grass area and the forest are where the sounds of birds are more prominent. Bird calls are heard in the early morning and evening.

For somebody who spent most of his life in the concrete jungle of the city, where all sorts of sounds made by machines and by man are heard, the silence of the rainforest is a welcome change, a real reward. This sort of silence seems to frighten a lot of people when they enter a vast forest for the first time. This I observed in two of my own children when we once found ourselves inside a rainforest.

In terms of smell, there is nothing memorably olfactory about the forest. In a grassland, a common scent is guava when they abound. The more memorable smells that I have experienced in the field are more cultural than natural. When I think about it now and I remember the sites that I have visited, much of the sense of smell and taste come from the natural world.

Another thing that keeps me going to the field, one that sustains my health and equanimity, is the ability to have fun in the field, to make new friends, and talk about my discipline to anybody who cares to listen. I enjoy explaining what can be learned from archaeology. Archaeology can enlighten us about the relationship between the material world and its transformation from something natural to something artificial and about how these material things change our perspectives about ourselves.

I get very happy whenever I am able to convince people that archaeology is not only about treasure hunting but also about looking for material things that tell us something about human beings. In other words, archaeology enables us to gain the sensibility to look at material things and not become materialistic. I want everybody to know that a deep archaeological understanding will make us appreciate the need to preserve our natural and cultural resources.

I do not find rescue or salvage archeological work very exciting except for the fact that one gets higher remuneration doing it. It is less exciting because there is no problem solving involved, the singular objective being the recovery of artifacts as fast as possible in a scientifically sound way before earth moving destroys the site. This type of work is initiated by some institution whose interest is not anthropological but infrastructure construction. In fact, if there were no government regulations about saving archaeological sites from destruction, there would be no rescue work done at all. What worries me though is that this injection of money will motivate people who have no work experience to enter into archaeology not for scientific reasons but only for monetary ones.

### **Essentials of Archaeology**

I would like to change the stereotype that archaeology is concerned only with the exploration and excavation of very rich and commercially valuable sites. A good archaeologist must be able to appreciate where and when an excavation is made and how the objects can be interpreted in a particular or universal manner.

I consider archaeology to be part and parcel of the discipline of anthropology, a subdiscipline of that social science. Thus, archaeology is not merely a matter of exploration, excavation, and extraction of data for the sake of advancing knowledge, or of enhancing the career of the archaeologist. The results of archaeological research should also benefit the community and the discipline itself.

It is the archaeologist in all of us that incites our curiosity and makes us want to study and speculate about people and their artifacts. We turn this into a scientific endeavor when we systematically recover artifacts and examine their context in a good excavation. This is what makes archaeology a scientific discipline: the systematic recovery of artifacts and their context.

For me, there are four elements in the archaeological enterprise. Excavation is the most highly technical part. The three other elements – exploration, explanation, and ethics – require a very different set of treatment.

A lot of practitioners feel that they know how to excavate scientifically, having gained the skills on how to map a site, dig by natural and arbitrary layers, draw sections of a square or a trench, label and bag artifacts, keep all set of records as the layers are slowly excavated, and other technical skills – and could rightly call themselves archaeologists. Archaeology is more than technical rigor, however. A good field archaeologist must be able to perform all these procedures in the field.

I consider excavation, which is a substantial aspect of the archaeological enterprise, to be the easiest activity because it is something technical and very easy to learn. The goal of a good excavator is to recover as much data and artifacts as he can so that these can be preserved, studied, and displayed.

Excavation is the phase in the archeological enterprise that links the speculation of the archaeologist and the substantive recovery of the artifacts by the fieldworker. The result of the excavation and the documentation of the conditions in which artifacts are found form the link that connects exploration to explanation.

### ***Skills of an Archaeologist***

There are two skills that a good archeologist must learn and master, skills that are very much related to each other. The first is the technical ability of exploration and excavation. In addition, one also needs some diplomatic skills, that is, the ability to get your data without antagonizing anybody, dead or alive.

The people who live in or around the research area constitute the most delicate, intricate, and unpredictable factor in any field research, including the archaeological enterprise. One has to deal first and foremost with the living before one can deal with the dead and their relics. This is the reason I do social and cultural anthropology before I do any archaeology. These people are the researcher's informants but initial encounters with them are usually guarded. They are hesitant to reveal what they know. In addition, the researcher must find the informant who will be of greatest help. For this, what I would do is to talk to anybody I meet in the field: the tricycle or jeepney drivers, helpers, storeowners, waiters/waitresses, local officials, co-passengers - just anybody I encounter in the area.

The second skill is what I now call the anthropology of archaeology. It involves the ability to be open to the significance of the physical, biological and social sciences, and the humanities so that an archaeologist can better interpret the results of the exploration and excavation.

When I was still an undergraduate student, I realized that the physical and biological sciences should be studied seriously. I was in the tail end of my undergraduate year and I regretted the fact that I was not very serious in my studying of chemistry, botany, and zoology. After graduation, I started to be really serious about my discipline and realized the need for the archaeologist to know something about the other sciences and how such knowledge can contribute to a better archaeology. But like all other things in life, one realizes the value of something only after it has been ignored and bypassed.

I observe that many of those who teach the other sciences teach it without showing the relevance of their discipline to the other disciplines and without concern for students who will not become physical or biological scientists just like them. There is a need for such sciences, including the social sciences, to show its relevance to the common man. This is what education is all about. We pursue a scientific career or profession not only to earn a living but also to open a vast new world where various seemingly unrelated disciplines are all related to all other disciplines.

Most of the lay people, even people in the academe, imagine an archaeologist to be an explorer and excavator. Even archaeology teachers are guilty of such a lapse. Students are made to believe that once the skills for technical archaeology are mastered, one can become an archaeologist.

This is a gross mistake. To be an archaeologist requires skills of the first and second type mentioned above. In fact, if I were to choose between a technically competent archaeologist and one who knows the

sciences, the humanities, and the social sciences, I would choose the latter.

Archaeologists also have to know some of the basic concepts of ecology because they have to deal with man as contextualized in a particular place and time. They will need to discover the relationship of the people they are studying and their natural setting. The environment is not something that is static but is subject to change, which may be gradual or catastrophic. I took courses in geology and geography because these subjects are valuable for a better understanding of an archaeological site. One of the most difficult tasks of an archaeologist is to explain how and why the archaeological remains are there and not elsewhere.

In the exploration process, the archaeologist must know what he is looking for and for what reasons. There are two needs that ought to determine what the archaeologist should explore. One stems from the discipline itself. There are basic questions that have to be clarified at some level of theory, method, and data. For example, in the Philippines, we are interested in finding artifacts or non-artifactual evidence that will give us the earliest evidence of the peopling of these islands.

The Paleolithic archaeologist would like to see a site where the fossil and stone tools are in the same archaeological layers. Personally, I have spent four to six years in the Cagayan Valley and elsewhere trying to find a site where the elephant bones and the stone tools are in the same cultural level. So far, I have not succeeded in finding any.

As a professional archaeologist, I am also interested in the Neolithic period. This is the stage when man was supposed to have moved into a different technological stage where food is more or less produced by domesticating plants and animals. On the other hand, the Paleolithic period is the time when man got their food by hunting and gathering or foraging. The distinguishing archaeological marker for the Neolithic is the polished stone tool.

I am interested in getting a site where the stone tools are associated with pottery as well as evidence of domesticated plants and animals. Furthermore, I would like to find a site where the earliest Neolithic tools are not easily recognizable by a neophyte because these are "edge ground." These tools are the size of pebbles with very little alteration.

My archaeological experiences all involved terrestrial archaeology. I am not trained to go underwater. Even if I was given the option to have the equipment and resources to be involved in underwater archaeology, I will not do so because the archaeological finds that I will encounter will most probably belong to very recent periods, no more than a thousand years old.

## **Ethics**

One of the essentials of archaeology concerns ethics. Even before you take the first step to go where to explore, shovel the first spade of back dirt, or write why the artifacts are where they are and not somewhere else, you must first consider the role ethics play in the various levels and phases of your work. Ethics is concerned with what is and ought to be.

It must be my Methodist upbringing that has made me very aware that ethics is a very important ingredient of life if it is to be useful and meaningful. I was trained early that honesty is the best policy that one should follow. Do not steal is another dictum I learned early. I was also taught that one should respect people and their property and that people have a right to certain types of privacy.

As I grew older, I found out that ethics is also necessary even at the theoretical level, the level of doing science. That is why I would be uneasy whenever my professors in the early 1960s talked of science as if it was not influenced by some values, that science is ethics-free and value-free, and that our job as anthropologists was mainly to get data and publish them.

I have talked to a lot of archaeological practitioners, mostly NM people, about the importance of ethics in the practice of archaeology. These people would always relate the issue to the commercial trading of antiquities and other specimens that should otherwise be in the museum. During the *First Regional Seminar on Southeast Asian Prehistory and Archaeology* which was organized by the National Museum and held June 26 to July 4, 1972, the participants saw "the need to examine the problem of professional ethics in relation to illicit trade in cultural properties" (National Museum 1974:187). While they discussed it correctly, they limited it to a very small area of concern.

To me, the question of ethics encompasses a broader concern. Ethics is the engine of the archaeological enterprise because it begins with the priorities of the archaeologist himself and the questions and problems that will preoccupy him as a scientist.

In all my years as a field archaeologist, I have not taken out of the area that I explored and excavated anything of commercial value. I never take out anything from my field researches except photographs, color slides, and whatever I can remember about the places I have visited. I do not have any collection of my own, whether archaeological or ethnographic. I could have started a collection but this would have gone against the interests of the institutions where I worked.

## Vision

There are very few of us in the discipline and there is a dearth of funds. If archaeologists are generous with one another in terms of information exchange, the cost-saving that it would provide will be a tremendous service. A lot of foreign archaeologists would have ended spending a lot more money and time had I not helped them by sharing the results of my past exploration activities.

I sometimes regret, though, that I ever helped them because they have failed to acknowledge me, choosing to forget my role in helping them pinpoint the archaeological site where they made their major excavation. For this reason, I have stopped giving a hand to foreign archaeologists unless I am allowed to share all information retrieved and I can publish them myself.

What worries me, though, more than anything else, is that as more money is poured into archaeology, people would tend to go into it for economic rather than scientific reasons, many of them without fieldwork experience. However, there is no denying the importance of financial incentives for making archaeology more popular.

During the early years when I became interested in archaeology, there was so much emphasis on mapping, excavation, labeling, and packing of artifacts for further study. There was so much emphasis on the exploration and excavation of graves and on the collection of whatever goods that were associated with graves. I got the impression that my archaeology teachers were competing with the pothunters and treasure hunters and the rich and greedy antiquarians. There was very little theoretical orientation on how to interpret the finds. It would be a good training for future archaeologists to be serious about the other subdisciplines of anthropology. Coupled with this should be sound grounding in the allied sciences – geology, zoology, and botany, plus the humanities and philosophy.

Many present-day archaeologists, especially in the Philippines, rely too much on techniques and data, thinking perhaps that the data will speak for themselves. There is very little time for reflection and they even let foreign archaeologists dictate their theoretical orientation and direction. This further delays the development of a nationalist-oriented archaeology that would ensure that Filipinos have a deep and broader understanding of the nature of their society.

I believe that archaeology, as a scientific discipline, must be practiced with a sense of social responsibility, as a profession that is larger than one's job or career. Advocacy is just an effort to make one's discipline relevant and hopefully, useful in changing someone's life for the better. Our agenda should be nationalistic and that should mean

meeting the requirements of understanding our culture history. In the same seminar mentioned earlier, Dr. Eric Casiño, the Curator of the Anthropology Division of the National Museum, cited nationalism as one of the reasons and motives behind the preoccupation with the past (National Museum 1974). Archaeology must be nationalistic in the sense that any kind of program of research must be realigned with preserving our archaeological sites from being pothunted by Filipinos and foreigners. If a project has nothing to do with a master archaeological program, that project should not be allowed.

### **Archaeological Advocacy**

I went to see Dr. Michael Tan, Chairman of the UP Department of Anthropology, sometime ago and we talked about what I can contribute to the good of our discipline. I suggested that the Department of Anthropology should have its own archaeological program with the end in view of helping our anthropology majors and any other sector that would be interested in the discipline. The master plan would involve the public and the academe. The best way to do that would be to set up community museums that would help people understand their natural and cultural heritage, which is nothing more but knowing their anthropology and their archaeology in the Philippine setting.

Advocacy is another form of teaching. But this is a bit more like missionary work and is certainly more rewarding. One tries to change the world into something that is better than that which confronts him. Everyone is trying to advocate something simply because we all live in an interactive world where our actions for or against something is also a vote for or against something. It is at this level that an advocacy is very much similar to an economic activity where a purchaser's buying or not buying a commodity is a vote for a commodity bought and a non-vote for the commodity not bought. We always put our money where our mouth is and that is whether we like it or not. It is such a situation where it is better to know what we are doing and to know the consequences of our act. It is at this level where ignorance is bliss because if we examine and evaluate all our acts, we can be paralyzed into inaction. But then even that inaction is a form of advocacy.

Life is one small or big, conscious or unconscious advocacy of something. We are what we do and that there is no escaping such a situation and that is probably the condition that is universal, something simply because we are human. Human life is always a choice and that choice, whether made consciously or not, is always a form of advocacy.

### ***Passive and Active Type of Advocacy***

Norman Maller, the novelist, wrote a book entitled "Advertisements for Myself." He got a lot of flak for that book because he was shown to be someone full of egotism. But he was fundamentally correct because indeed we are all advertising ourselves, passively or actively. We are all a sort of walking advertisement. Human life is an advertisement. While we are alive, we advocate for or against something. Thus, we should be more aware and conscious of our actions for these are all kinds of advertisement and advocacy. This should be more readily recognized by those in the academe because if we in the university cease to be academic, we become nothing but a diploma mill giving our laurels to paper chase. And that holds true to being an archaeologist.

Archaeologists must try to reach as many people as they can since they have the archaeological perspective of looking at life in all its philosophical complexities and practical implications. They should voice their opinions on the various issues that have confronted men from the Paleolithic period up to the present time.

### ***Advocacy and Archaeology***

One of the reasons why archaeology has been in the doldrums for the past three decades is the fact that much time has been spent for career building that nothing is left for expanding the number of archaeologists in the Philippines. Many of my colleagues I could charge of being more interested in making money and making their careers prosper while letting archaeology go down the drain. Many of my teachers were not generous enough to help others become good or true archaeologists. I think that they were aware that a lot needs to be done about the discipline and that we know so little about the archaeology of our country, particularly about our prehistoric past.

My teachers were passive about archaeology. They did not try to interest students to take it up for there was no money in it, as if all that matters in one's life is pursuing a lucrative profession such as business or commerce, accounting, law, or medicine. Much of the avenue for the would-be archaeologist lay in either teaching or working in the National Museum. The situation was very much discouraging for someone looking for a decent job.

I have seen so many archaeologists who feel that their job is to be scientific. But on the contrary, many times they advocate something that

they know deep in their hearts are dubious and empirically indefensible. A lot of anthropologists have been part of the Tasaday hoax, the Tau't Batu, and a host of other discoveries where the facts were fudged or faked.

Advocacy is something that should be enjoyed as it spreads the benefits of whatever that advocacy is all about.

## Prehistory and the Public

Archaeology is much more popular than anthropology. The media has made it so. And many archaeologists have made it that way too. Indiana Jones, the cinematic character created and popularized by Steven Spielberg, is just one of the many examples that could be cited for the popularity of archaeology. But this is just very recent history.

Prior to that, a lot of popular magazines, movies, and other mass media had a tremendous influence on making the public aware of the use and abuse of archaeology as a discipline. The *National Geographic*, *Reader's Digest*, and magazines with international circulation are some of the popularizers of the discipline.

I have gone all over the country and talked to a lot of people from all walks of life. They have an inkling of what archaeology is but they do not seem to know what anthropology is. Many of the ordinary folks assume that archaeology has something to do with geology, fossil hunting, treasure hunting, and all sorts of adventure. It is believed that many of the places where these treasures are buried are normally to be found in the tropics where the thick jungles are inhabited by wild beasts and primitive men. Or the place could be some artifact complexes cursed and booby-trapped so that nobody could get the treasure and live to enjoy it.

Treasure hunting is not something alien to the Philippines. One of the most popular myths circulating among the public and treasure hunters is about a Chinese marine marauder named Limahong. He was believed to have come to the country and sailed between Manila Bay and Lingayen Gulf. Limahong and his group were believed to have hidden something very valuable somewhere in between these two areas. But over the years, the myth about his treasure eventually waned.

As this myth was dying, another was being created by the ever hopeful treasure hunters, who now shifted their attention to the search for the treasure of the Japanese general named Yamashita. The myth claimed that the general collected a lot of jewelry, mostly made of gold, from all the conquered places where he had an effective control. These alleged accumulated wealth, that were part of the spoils of war, were

ordered shipped back to Japan to help finance the war economy. The treasure was on its way to Japan but had to pass through the Philippines and never reached its final destination.

The public must be taught the uses of archaeology. Unless they understood the scientific concerns of archaeology, archaeological sites all over the country will be vulnerable to pillage because the state cannot guard all these cultural resources. These will be appropriated by the pothunters for their own aggrandizement. The public's cooperation can only be secured if the clarion call to preserve is made. The public must be reminded that archaeological sites are like libraries and that every site destroyed is tantamount to burning a library's whole collection.

Thus, there is a very urgent need to inform the public that the responsibility for preserving archaeological sites lies not only with the archaeologists and the government. The task requires the active participation of the public. But such cooperation can only come if they realize that they have a stake in preserving such sites. They must see that saving such sites will redound to their benefit and that of their children.

The government should mount a massive campaign to inform the public about archaeology. The public school system must be utilized by teaching social science teachers about archaeology. Making the teachers some sort of amateur archaeologists will enable them to be sensitive to archaeological finds, so that when they encounter signs, signals, or strange-looking things that they could not recognize, they should preserve these and get someone from the NM or any other institution which can determine the value of the find.

Ecological concerns should be coupled with efforts at preserving archaeological sites. It is quite sad that many of those in the ecological movement are themselves very ignorant of archaeology. How can they talk about sustainable development when they have no idea about archaeology? How long is "sustainable?" They should learn from how the Paleolithic and Neolithic peoples sustained their environments.

The study of Paleolithic and Neolithic man has been the preoccupation of many cultural reconstructionists, of prehistoric archaeologists. It is a pity that many of them have been diffident to assert that ecologists must have some basic knowledge of archaeology and what it can do for ecological advocacy.

## Training the Future Archaeologist

The Philippines is a Third World country, an archipelagic tropical country. To the north is Asia, the largest continent of the world and home to the oldest existing continuing civilization; to the west is mainland Southeast Asia, a geographical area very similar to the Philippines; to the south of Southeast Asia is one of the largest continent island, Australia; and to the east lies the largest body of water that covers a third of the world's surface, the Pacific Ocean.

A good archaeologist training must not be confined into knowing how to map, excavate, document the artifacts as these are unearthed, how to label and put the artifacts and finds in a plastic bag, and how to preserve the finds so that these do not get destroyed during excavation and while these are being packed and transported to the museum. The future archaeologist must know how to analyze his finds and must be able to interpret them in their local, provincial, national, regional, and world setting. I am tired and flabbergasted by reports of a certain archaeologist whose interpretation of any finds is almost inevitably attributed to or as result of "trading." It is like reading a report where the standard interpretation for artifacts that cannot be properly interpreted is simply as "objects for ritual purposes."

Over the years, I have found out that we have been blessed because we are indigenous to an area where knowledge of the anthropology of our own and other ethnic groups is a very interesting factor in the interpretation of the artifacts that we are likely to find. It would be a good training for the future archaeologist to be serious about the other subdisciplines of anthropology such as linguistics, physical or biological anthropology, and social or cultural anthropology.

Coupled with the good understanding of anthropology, it would be very helpful for the future archaeologist to have some grounding in the allied sciences: geology, botany, and zoology. On top of this, he must also know his humanities and philosophy so that he will be more or less rounded when he encounters man-made things. He will need all the help he can from other disciplines.

Translating and interpreting an archaeological site is as difficult, if not more difficult, than interpreting the works of Vivaldi, Mozart, Bach, Beethoven, Wagner or Weber, or our very own composers like Jose Maceda. Musical scores have formulas and hits which the composer leaves for the interpreter to follow in substance and spirit. But when one interprets an archaeological site, especially a multi-layered one or a multi-component site, everything is non-linear in its interpretation. The only thing that is linear is the fact that one layer comes after another and one is not even sure if the layers were composed by one group of

people or whether each layer was made by only one group of people and that the succeeding layers were made by one or more people. This is assuming that the site had not been disturbed.

### **The Philippine Archaeological Agenda**

I am trying to do one aspect of popularizing so that a greater audience will be able to appreciate the discipline. I would be able to reach as many people as I can by writing in a non-technical way. And I hope that my colleagues in the discipline will forgive me if I am not and will not try to be pedantic. I am not writing for a select audience.

I suggest that those who cannot do experimental or laboratory work should go into popularizing archaeology by publishing instructional materials for teaching archaeology. There is a very great need for such materials and there are a lot of sources for such writers. This is assuming that the popularizer is well-versed in archaeology and can see the prospects and problems that the discipline is confronted with.

If I had the time and money, it would be nice to go into video production dealing with some selected archaeological topics of interest to the public, like the peopling of the Philippines, the controversial Tasaday issue, and the issue on the authenticity of the Angono Petroglyphs. There are a lot of topics that deal with archaeological, historical, and linguistic issues that are in need of popularization. The only problem is lack of manpower and resources. On the potential of video materials in popularizing archaeology, particularly the processes of exploration and excavation, efforts have yet to be done along this line. There must be a consistent program to reach the public.

One must also look at the problem that confronts the professional archaeologist and what is demanded of him by the general public. One problem is the fact that there are very few people who are interested in going to the discipline because there is not enough money to support a family. But this is not something new to Filipino archaeologists.

This is also the case of the Leakeys of Africa and of Schliemann and Dubois. This was and is still the case with Doctors H. Otley Beyer, Robert B. Fox, and Wilhelm G. Solheim II. This is a perennial problem that has to be addressed. Anybody who goes into serious, scholarly archaeology must be prepared to lead a spartan life unless one is independently wealthy.

There is no money in archaeology and one should not go into it and make both ends meet by going into the trading of artifacts or by pretending to be doing archaeology but in reality only serving as fronts

for local and foreign archaeological treasure hunters. Some archaeologists legitimize pothunters by joining projects which have very little impact in bringing a better picture about the prehistory of our country and confining themselves to the study of foreign-made ceramics. Certainly, there should be more dignity to archaeology than becoming minions to foreign archaeologists or fronting for pothunters in the guise of doing archaeological research.

Improving the discipline must involve an agenda that elicits the participation of the public and the teachers, and includes as well the training of future archaeologists who should target the general public and the anthropology students who have not yet chosen what to specialize in. The best way to make the discipline advance is to bring together the public at large and the students of anthropology so that they can help one another.

Since the best and qualified institution that has to take care of the agenda of Philippine archaeology is the National Museum, it would be very good if it had a definite program that will constitute the vision and mission for a short- or medium- or long-term agenda.

It is my observation that the National Museum does not seem to have a definite program to pursue. They are more or less dictated upon by the needs and requirements of foreigners. I cannot see why the NM cannot pursue its own program and then ask the foreigners to come to our aid. The foreigners seem to have an undue influence on where the NM should do the digging and why they should dig there and not elsewhere. I suggest that we make our own program and then let them come in and assist us with their expertise in that area.

I still insist that our agenda should be nationalistic and that should mean meeting the requirements of understanding our culture history. Such studies must be done first and foremost by Filipino archaeologists with help from anybody that is willing to help us. It must be nationalistic in the sense that any kind of program of research in the country must be in line with preserving our archaeological sites from being pothunted by Filipinos or foreigners. There should be a strict enforcement of cultural laws so that archaeological resources are not disturbed needlessly by public and private infrastructure projects.

We have very limited archaeological resources and we should have a program that is strictly implemented. If a project has nothing to do with a master archaeological program, the project should not be allowed, especially if it does not help at all in the understanding of our culture history but is only good at recovering treasures (such as ceramics) which are coveted by private collectors, local or foreign.

## **A Proposed Master Plan/Medium-term Program for Philippine Archaeology**

### ***Massive Educational Campaign for Archaeology***

Having underscored the importance of popularizing archaeology and the need to reach out to the wider public, I propose a massive educational campaign with the following major components:

- A. Teacher training program for those who teach social sciences and history courses in the elementary, high school and college, which should include a one- or two-day seminar with all the necessary teaching aids (e.g., maps showing distribution of archaeological sites in the country, replicas of actual archaeological specimens representing all the technological stages of the country from the Paleolithic period to the present, skulls of great apes (chimps, gorillas, baboons) and those of *Homo habilis*, *Homo erectus*, Neanderthal man, and *Homo sapiens*).
- B. Production of textbooks for elementary, high school, and college students.
- C. Production of documentary films and videos on the various issues in archaeology; films/videos on how to conduct archaeological exploration, excavation, and laboratory analysis and interpretation.

All the textbooks and teaching aid materials to be produced must be made cheaply and readily available. I feel that there is a very good market for such a package. It can be called a cultural kit which can be prepared commercially for public consumption. I think that such a massive educational program should target the teachers, who in turn teach their pupils and students.

I do not know which organization should take care of the massive educational campaign. But I feel that this project is too big for an individual to undertake. It will require a lot of manpower and a lot of financing to make the project a success. But there must be a start somewhere. What I suggest here are UGAT, Katipunan Arkeologist ng Pilipinas, Inc. (KAPI), the National Museum, and the National Commission on Culture and Arts (NCCA). But if the administration of the program would be difficult, it is best that only a single agency should do that and that is the National Museum.

### ***Master Plan for an Archaeological Research Program: Focus on a River Drainage System***

There appears to be no master plan for an archaeological research program for the Philippines. Our NM archaeologists go where they are wanted to go by highly-financed archaeological programs which are initiated by foreigners and not internally generated by NM. They go underwater if there is a treasure hunter who is willing to look for some ship that has sunk with reportedly very precious cargo that came from China during the 14<sup>th</sup> century or later. They go to some other places at the request of some people with some accidental finds.

The NM also trains students where there is an ongoing project they are involved in. They go to Batanes, Bicol, Palawan, Tawi-Tawi, and Sulu. I do not see where their priority lies. They excavate Roman Catholic churches made with materials and labor supplied by Filipinos and this is passed off as some form of historical archaeology. They re-excavate various sites in the Cagayan Valley and the Bolobok rock shelter in Sanga-Sanga, Tawi-Tawi. These are all legitimate archaeological projects.

However, it is about time to shift in site selection. More attention should be paid to non-burial sites. Like prehistoric garbage sites which have been neglected among others, perhaps because garbage has no intrinsic monetary value. But imagine the wealth of information that we could learn about the exploitation and adaptation techniques of man in a given context.

Exploration must be geographically focused and based on national interest rather than treasure hunting purposes. Many of the ongoing archaeological explorations and excavations, though they contribute something to Philippine archaeology, are not of basic interest to Philippine archaeology. Much of our exploration efforts is not purposive but accidental, a hit or miss thing. Our excavation is not something to cavil with.

But what is the master plan for the whole Philippines? What are the questions that they are trying to ask and what sort of steps are they taking so that these questions can be answered?

Over 50 years ago, Beyer wrote a book about the archaeology of the Philippines, by island and by province (Beyer 1947). He has given us a sketchy chronology of the entire country and this needs some updating. It is over half a century and nobody has been able to match the work of Beyer. It is a crying shame that with all the people in the NM, Beyer's work has not been matched.

I am sorry to say that Beyer's book has not been surpassed up to the present despite the fact that the number of archaeologists has

increased and there is now a Division of Archaeology at the NM. There is no book made in the manner of Beyer as he tried to show us a summary of the archaeological finds by province. His book had breadth in it if it lacked depth.

On the other hand, the work of Dr. Fox had the depth if it lacked breadth. Dr. Fox's archaeology has not been surpassed for its depth. Dr. Fox was a social anthropologist par excellence but he shifted into archaeology and his *magnum opus*, which is a book, has not been surpassed. The books of Beyer and Fox have faults but their contributions to Philippine archaeology cannot be denied.

If we want an example for a master plan for breadth, then let us follow the steps of Beyer. If we want a master plan for depth, let us follow the footsteps of Fox, who almost single-handedly and continuously stayed in Palawan to give us a very good chronology of the Province of Palawan. If one wanted to do an archaeological survey of the country, one must get hold of Beyer's book. If one wants to compare the materials that one excavates in any part of the country, one will have to go back and see how it compares with Fox and what he did in Palawan. I can only blame the NM for such neglect, for lack of dedication, direction, and seriousness of purpose.

Another advantage of this study is the fact that there will be a lot of benefits for students who will join the project. There will be some sort of continuity with their training in the field, learning the basics of doing fieldwork in all the four subdisciplines of anthropology. They will also have a lot to train from the results of the cooperative work of the botanists and zoologists on how they do their work and how this is going to be relevant in looking at the role of man in a well-defined cultural geographical unit.

There will also be some sort of continuity in the research, a kind of tradition, so that the field school will be the center for initiating a standard research program. I hate to say this, but the field training of the students of the UP over the years has always been dependent upon the interest of the professors who were doing field research. Nothing has unified the researches over the years. The type of research should be made more rational.

Let us put depth into our research instead of going north, south, and then central Luzon. Let us put a stop to this quilt-making. I strongly suggest that we concentrate on one river drainage system and then squeeze it of all the data that it can yield and use the body of data for theorizing about the prehistory and history of the peoples of the Philippines. I think that would be a major and substantive archaeological information and methodological experimentation. With our knowledge of the major river drainage system, we could move from

induction about the place and then try our hand at deduction using the rest of the river system of the country.

Another advantage of such an approach, that is, the archaeology of one river drainage system, is that there will be a place where non-archaeologists could join the research in all its faces and phases. While the dig would be going on, a lot of exploration will still be needed because the research undertaking covers a very big area. Survey from the coastal area to the top of the mountain or the saddles that separate one drainage system from another could be undertaken.

All facets of doing archaeology could be undertaken. All these could be experienced by those who are really interested in the discipline. This will also be one way of attracting students who have not yet made a choice as to what kind of anthropologist they would like to be. They can experience the whole gamut of research approach that his approach can possibly give.

If the project becomes successful in the sense that we can get the proper data (inducting at first), and if the project proceeds in such a way that we begin to see which one drainage system was exploited over the ages, then we can conduct a more scientifically and specifically directed inquiry and do research in other river drainage systems.

All those who are interested in archaeology will be able to join the research so that they can get hands-on experience in all the phases of archaeological work. There are an enormous number of people who are interested in archaeology and an ongoing dig or partial dig will be able to accommodate them.

### ***Problems with the Master Plan and its Implementation***

The major obstacles that I see in the implementation of this master plan are the lack of financing resources and personnel. Much diplomatic effort will be needed to get people from the different disciplines to come to work together.

Since the work is very ambitious, it will cover a very large area. A call for scientists from different disciplines to come together to study one area, a lot of supplies and equipment will be needed. And because there are a lot of people who will stay in the area, it would be very difficult or unethical not to include the participation of the people in the affected area. Thus, a lot of money will be needed. Those who will run the project must have the wisdom of Solomon, the missionary zeal of Saint Paul, and the management skill of Bill Gates.

**References Cited**

- Beyer, H. Otley. 1947. "Outline review of Philippine archaeology by islands and provinces." *The Philippine Journal of Sciences* 77(3-4).
- Cabanilla, Israel B. 1978. "Philippine prehistoric research: An appraisal." *Aghamtao* 1:21-29.
- National Museum. 1974. *Proceedings of the First Regional Seminar on Southeast Asian Prehistory and Archaeology, June 26-July 4, 1972*. Manila: National Museum of the Philippines.

# Mga piling larawan ng mga nakalipas na kumperensya ng UGAT\*

Ika-5<sup>th</sup> Kumperensya (1982)

*"Anthropology and Technology: Third World Perspectives"*  
Iligan City



\* Lahat ng mga litrato sa apendikseng ito ay mula sa foto-artsibo ng UGAT. Pinasasalamatang lahat ng nag-ambag sa pagbubuo at pagpapayaman ng koleksiyon.

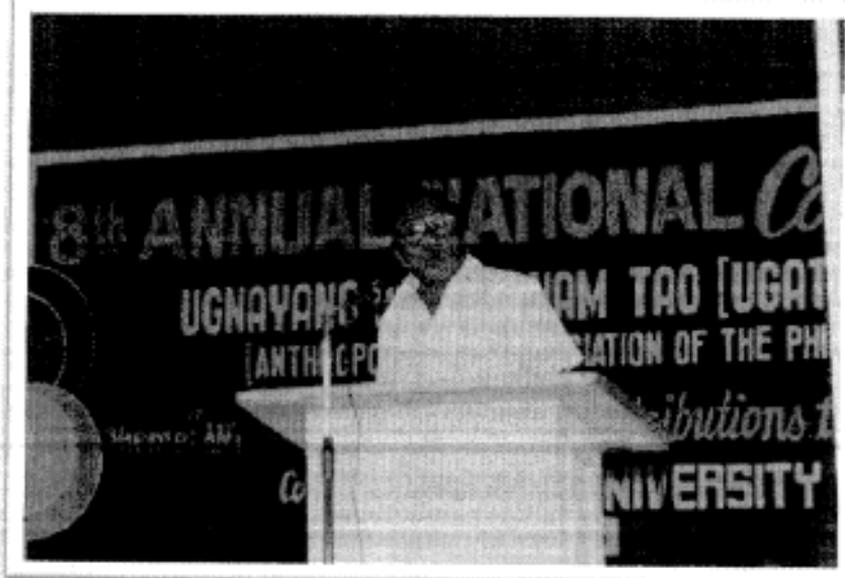




**Ika-8<sup>th</sup> Kumperensya (1985)**

*"Anthropology of Education: Contribution to Nationhood"*  
Legaspi City



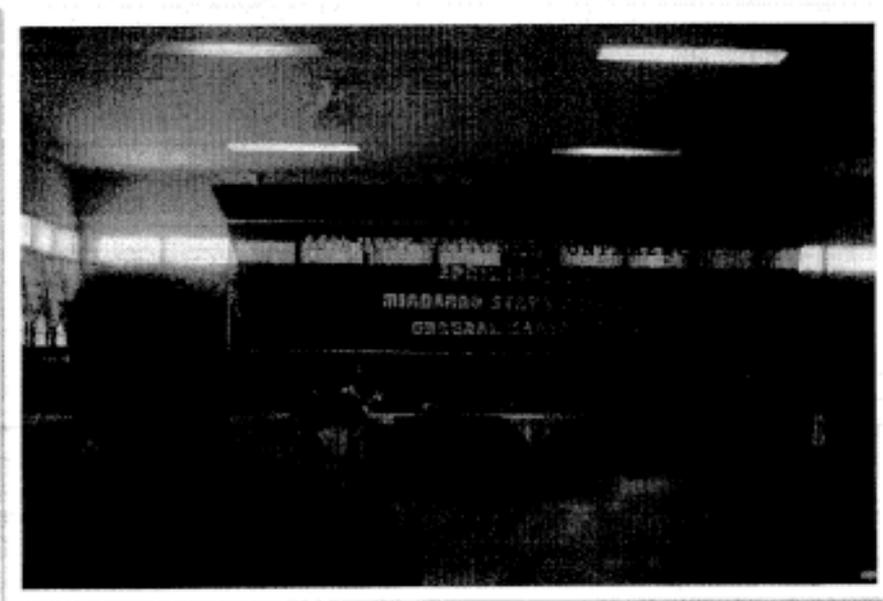




**Ika-12<sup>na</sup> Kumperensya (1990)**  
*"Philippine Ethnography:  
 Issues in Cultural Pluralism and Nationhood"*  
 Manila



**Ika-16 na Kumperensya (1994)**  
*"The Anthropology of Transformation"*  
Gen. Santos City





**Ika-17<sup>ng</sup> Kumperensya (1995)**  
*"Anthropology of Disaster"*  
Nueva Ecija



**Ika-19<sup>ng</sup> Kumperensya (1997)**  
*"Territoriality, Histories and Identities"*  
 Palawan





**Ika-20<sup>ng</sup> Kumperensya (1998)**  
*"Philippine Anthropology in the 21st Century"*  
Quezon City

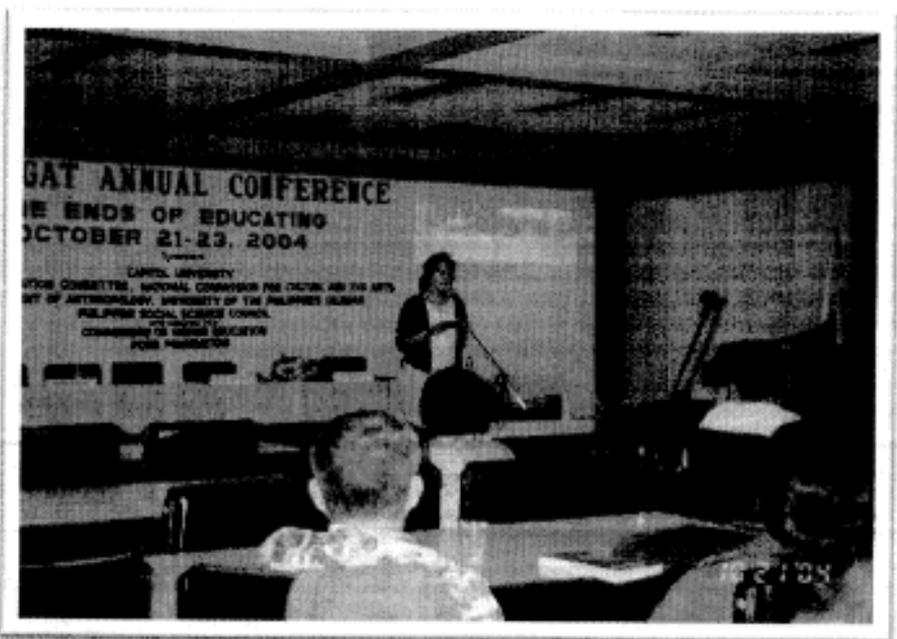
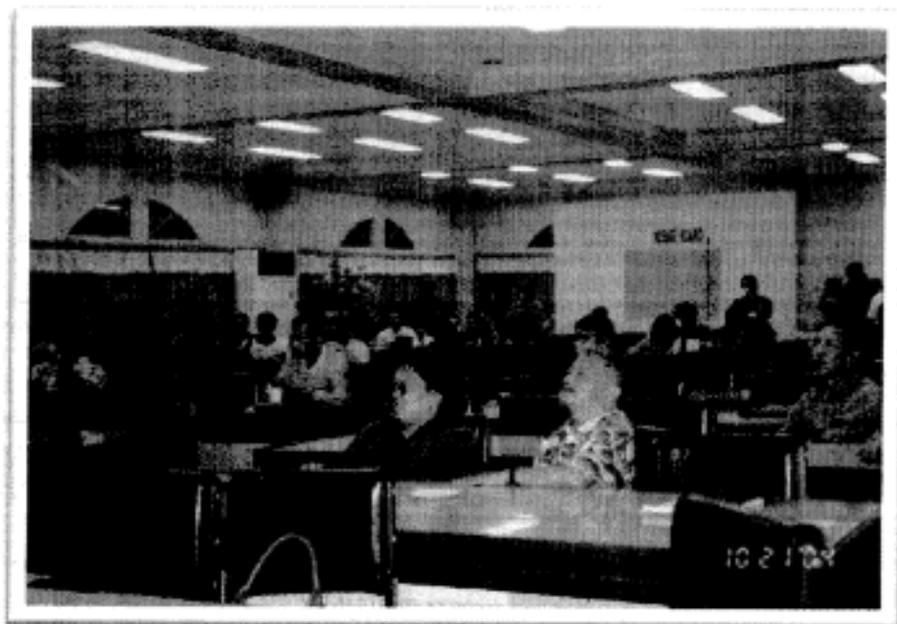


**Ika-21<sup>na</sup> Kumperensya (1999)**

*"The Use and Abuse of Anthropology in the Philippines"*  
*Albay*



**Ika-26<sup>ng</sup> Kumperensya (2004)**  
*"The Ends of Educating"*  
*Cagayan de Oro*



**Ika-27<sup>ng</sup> Kumperensya (2005)**  
*"The Anthropology of Crisis"*  
*Miagao*



**Ika-30<sup>ng</sup> Kumperensya (2008)**  
*"Performing Heritage"*  
*San Fernando, Pampanga*







*Hinango mula sa kauna-unahang isyu ng **Aghamtao** (1978), mga pahina 127-128.*

**FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION OF UGAT**

**University of the Philippines - Los Baños, 14-16 April 1978**

**List of Participants**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Institution</b>
Intuas Abdullah	Mindanao State University
Arline Albano	Philippine Center for Advanced Studies
James Anderson**	U.P., Los Baños
Cella Antonio*	U.P., Diliman
Jerome Bailen*	U.P., Diliman
Calixto Barrato	Philippine Center for Advanced Studies
Thelma Beltran	Philippine Center for Advanced Studies
Marvyn Benaning	Philippine Center for Advanced Studies
Ponciano Bennagen***	U.P., Diliman
June Prill-Brett*	U.P., Baguio
Maria Teresa Buencamino	U.P., Manila
Daylinda Cabanilla	U.P., Los Baños
Israel Cabanilla*	U.P., Diliman
Rosalina Calairo	U.P., Los Baños
Adela Caño	Philippine Center for Advanced Studies
Nestor Castro**	Anthro. Society of U.P.
Edna Co**	De La Salle University
Aurora Corpuz	U.P., Los Baños
Prospero Covar*	U.P., Diliman
Josephine Cruz	U.P., Diliman
Sr. Felicidad Dacayanan, MIC	U.P., Diliman
Francisco Datar*	U.P., Diliman
Francisco Demetrio, S.J.*	Xavier University
Carol Brady-de Raedt	U.P., Baguio
Jules de Raedt*	U.P., Baguio
Potre Dirampatan	Mindanao State University
Geronimo Dozina, Jr.	International Rice Research Institute
Milagros Dumlao	Philippine Center for Advanced Studies
Arnora Edrozo	Philippine Center for Advanced Studies
Pacifico Espanto**	U.P., Los Baños
George Fabros	U.P., Diliman
Mercy Fabros	U.P., Diliman
Ramon Fernan	Asian Institute of Management
Carlos Fernandez*	Development Academy of the Philippines
Joseph Fortin	Philippine Center for Advanced Studies
Juan Francisco*	Philippine-American Educational Foundation
Dominic Gaoloni***	U.P., Diliman

Fernando Gatan, Jr.	Philippine Center for Advanced Studies
Grade Goodell	International Rice Research Institute
Gil Gotiangco**	U.P., Diliman
Jose Cunanan**	P.E.O.P.L.E., Inc.
Regalado Jose, Jr.	U.P., Diliman
Louis Kikuchi	National Museum
Yasushi Kikuchi	National Museum
Maria Luisa Lucas	U.P., Diliman
Frank Lynch, S.J.	Ateneo de Manila University
Nagasura Madale**	Mindanao State University
Jonathan Malicsi*	U.P., Diliman
E. Arsenio Manuel*	U.P., Diliman
Suan Montepio	U.P., Diliman
Josefina Nazarea	U.P., Los Baños
Natividad Noriega	U.P., Diliman
Angelita Obordo	U.P., Los Baños
Harold Olafson**	Forest Research Institute
Aziz Pabane	LCDA
Jose Sabino Padilla	U.P., Diliman
Mariflor Parpan-Pagusara*	Institute of Philippine Culture
Rowena Partisala	Philippine Center for Advanced Studies
Ma. Enedina Paulate	U.P., Diliman
Leonisa Ramas***	University of San Carlos
Ma. Elena Regpala	Ayala Museum
Realidad Rolda**	U.P., Diliman
Rodrigo Rolda	Ateneo de Manila University
Ruby Roldan	Philippine Center for Advanced Studies
Romana de los Reyes	Ateneo de Manila University
Gerard Rixhon**	The Ford Foundation
Jose Sabarbaro	Philippine Center for Advanced Studies
Virginia Samonte	U.P., Los Baños
Bien Saniano	U.P., Los Baños
John Sherman	U.P., Diliman
Carolyn Sobritchea	Philippine Center for Advanced Studies
Jesucita Sodusta*	U.P., Diliman
Rosa Tenazas**	University of San Carlos
Ma. Luisa Umaly	U.P., Diliman
Carmen Unabia**	Philippine Center for Advanced Studies
Zenaida Uy	University of San Carlos
Portia de la Luna-Vergara	Philippine Center for Advanced Studies
Ma. Teresa Vitug	Philippine Center for Advanced Studies
Lerma de Lima-Yambot	U.P., Diliman

\* Paper Reader

\*\* Discussant

\*\*\* Session Moderator/Chairman

Organized in early 1977, the *Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao, Inc. (UGAT)* is the national organization of anthropologists in the Philippines, drawing most of its members from anthropology researchers, teachers, graduate students, and other individuals interested in the discipline.

The objectives of UGAT are: to promote, develop, and disseminate anthropological knowledge; to deepen the knowledge, understanding, and participation of and among different ethnolinguistic groups in working towards an integrated national consciousness and development; to forge linkages among anthropologists and others doing related work within and outside the country; and to uphold professional ethics.

UGAT is a member of the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC) and the World Council of Anthropological Associations (WCAA).

### CODE OF ETHICS

An anthropologist must be scientifically objective (truthful) and relevant to national and community goals; sincere to his host community and obliged to explain to them the objectives and implications of his research; to listen to criticism by his host community of the research he has conducted; and eventually to provide them a copy of his work, ideally in their language, for the host community is the final arbiter of the validity of his work.

An anthropologist doing research has the obligation to make available the results of host research data not only to the host community, but also to the larger community.

The anthropologist has the right and the obligation to criticize unethical practices of fellow anthropologists and other individuals and institutions that affect the practice of anthropology.

*Article II, Section 2 of UGAT Constitution and By-Laws, 1978*

#### Tala ukol sa pabalat

Ang tatlong pangunahing imahen ay batay sa prinosesong litrato: nina Ponciano Bennagen (a) at Israel Cabanilla (b) (kuha mula sa kanilang pagbisita sa *Tasaday*, Abril 2003); at ni Lobo (c), isang *Tasaday* (kuha ni John Nance, mula sa *Philippine Sociological Review* 20(3): 279-330, 1972). Ang likhang-sining sa harap at likod ay ipininta ni Rozanno Rufino. Ipinahihiwatig ng pabalat ang pagkakaugnay - na maaring makita, halimbawa, sa makasaysayang isyu ng *Tasaday* - ng "etnohenesis" ng mga napagbabalingan ng antropolohikal na pagtitig (sa malaking bahagi ng kasaysayan, ang mga katutubong pamayanan) at ng mga "tumititig" (ang pamayanan ng mga antropolohista, kasama na ang UGAT) sa pandayan ng paglikha ng kaalamang antropolohikal.





*ugat*

**Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao, Inc.**

Anthropological Association of the Philippines

Philippine Social Science Center, Commonwealth Avenue

Diliman, Quezon City 1101 Philippines

