

philippine studies

Ateneo de Manila University • Loyola Heights, Quezon City • 1108 Philippines

Rethinking Maria Cacao: Legend-making in the Visayan Context

Koki Seki

Philippine Studies vol. 49, no. 4 (2001): 560–583

Copyright © Ateneo de Manila University

Philippine Studies is published by the Ateneo de Manila University. Contents may not be copied or sent via email or other means to multiple sites and posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's written permission. Users may download and print articles for individual, noncommercial use only. However, unless prior permission has been obtained, you may not download an entire issue of a journal, or download multiple copies of articles.

Please contact the publisher for any further use of this work at philstudies@admu.edu.ph.

<http://www.philippinestudies.net>
Fri June 27 13:30:20 2008

Rethinking Maria Cacao: Legend-making in the Visayan Context

Koki Seki

The legend of Maria Cacao is quite popular among the people of contemporary central Visayas, particularly southern Cebu, of the Philippines. It represents the folk notion of the spirits (*engkanto*) or, more broadly speaking, the ambiguous existence of the unknown world (*dili ingon nato*, literally translated as “ones not like us”) and the people’s relationship to it. The legend also shows that these supernatural beings tend to take the form of a fertility goddess who inhabits mountains, rivers, and caves, and is regarded as a benevolent provider of the people’s daily necessities (Mojares 2000, 11–12). It further reflects the folk perception of the environment such as the cave, river, and mountain as ambivalent spaces between the mundane world of the mortals and the supernatural or sacred world of the spirits and goddess.

The legend published in the textbook of the Philippine Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports, which may be considered as “the official version,” reads:¹

On the highest mountain of Argao (Cebu), in the cave of Lantoy, there lived a very beautiful woman called Maria Cacao. According to the old folks, she was a fairy who would sometimes come down and show herself to the townspeople when the moon was full. She was called Maria Cacao after her huge cacao plantation on the mountain. In fact, she sometimes traveled to America to sell her cacao.

From her travels, Maria Cacao usually brought home new utensils, silverware, and chinaware. The townspeople used to borrow these items for weddings, baptisms, and other feasts. It is said that anyone who wishes to use Maria Cacao’s things simply asked for them at the mouth of the cave. Next day, without fail, these things would be delivered to his door.

For her trips, Maria Cacao used a huge golden ship. Because of its size, sometimes its mast would snag on the bridge of Argao and the

bridge would collapse. When the Americans were about to build a concrete bridge in Argao, the people said to one another: "The new bridge will have to be very high so that the golden ship of Maria Cacao cannot touch it."

One day, an engineer went to Maria Cacao's cave and begged her not to pass by the Argao river so the bridge would not be destroyed. Maria Cacao is said to have agreed. Hence, nothing has happened to the bridge of Argao since then.

However, the people cannot borrow utensils for their feasts anymore. Nor have they seen Maria Cacao again. It is said that Maria Cacao has learned a lesson. Some townspeople failed to return things borrowed from her; thus she no longer appeared to them.

Sometimes, when the townspeople hear that the bridge of Dalaguete, Manipis, or Mananga is destroyed, they say: "It may be due to the golden ship of Maria Cacao. She has probably moved to another place and had to pass by the river" (Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports 1986, 138).

The purpose of this article is to discuss the aspect of legend-making of the Maria Cacao tale in the Visayan context. As an introductory note, it is appropriate to briefly clarify here the definition of legend-making and what particular Visayan context this study will deal with.

"Legend-making" is a dialectic process of construction between a legend and a narrator's perception of reality. A legend undergoes modification through generations and certain motifs are added, or removed, depending on who tells the legend and on what occasion it is told. Through this process, a certain legend provides meaning to the narrators' experience and shapes their perception of reality. In other words, it enables the narrators to structure and imagine their reality in a particular way (Mojares 1988, 208). At the same time, the perception of reality, and its meaning, gives an alternate form and motif to the legend.

This article deals with this process of legend-making in the Visayan context. Particularly, it focuses on one characteristic aspect of this island society, that is the high mobility of the people, specifically, those who utilize and take advantage of the space created by the sea as a way to seek their markets, as a stock of resources, and as migration routes for their subsistence. Such people engage in various activities such as fishing, itinerant trade, and artisan industry.² Specifically, this article will focus on the group of fishermen and their families who are originally from some coastal barangays of Dalaguete, a southern municipality of Cebu. As will be described in detail later, these fisherfolk

from Dalaguete have been migrating to different parts of the Visayas, Mindanao, and even to Palawan, looking for the niches for their livelihood.

While some studies on this legend have already been carried out, the present article tries to shed light on an aspect which has not been discussed in the former studies. It also aims to show that the legend, when its context is taken into consideration, functions in a way other than as mentioned in those studies.

In the following section, some of the major versions of the Maria Cacao tale will be presented and the studies made on this legend will be reviewed. In the next section, two versions of the Maria Cacao tale told by the *Dalaguetnon* (the people from Dalaguete town) migrants will be presented. In the third section, to put the legend in context, the dominant mode of livelihood in Dalaguete, particularly the fishing and the migration pattern of the fisherfolk, will be described. It is then followed by the brief life histories of the Dalaguetnon migrants who have their own versions of the legend. The final section of the article will discuss, as a conclusion, the meanings and function of the telling of the legend. Specifically, it will delve into the legend and the migrants' construction of "reality," particularly their perception and image of the homeland.

Various Versions of the Maria Cacao Legend

There is a great number of variations of the Maria Cacao legend. Alburo's study, which is based on forty-four versions of this legend, suggests the possibility of more versions still unknown (Alburo 1984). Moreover, a common motif such as that of a benevolent goddess living in the cave or mountain can be seen in the legends of other places of the Philippines, such as Mariang Sinukuan of Mt. Arayat (Jocano 1971, 60–61) and Mariang Makiling of Mt. Makiling (Mojares 1988). Further, the motif of a golden boat ("*barko nga bulawan*") is quite prevalent in the folktales in Western Visayas (Magos 1996). This section will review some of the variations of the Maria Cacao legend and the interpretations of those made by former studies.

Basically, two motifs can be seen as basic elements of the legend. One motif can be called the boat motif, which is composed of such elements as Maria Cacao's golden boat, her cacao trade, and the destruction of the bridge. The other is the lending motif, which tells of Maria Cacao's lending of daily necessities to the people, the failure of

the people to return the borrowed items, and the termination of the lending act and disappearance of Maria Cacao. While some versions mention both motifs with emphasis on either of the two motifs, some versions mention merely one of these motifs. Each version will be reviewed here according to those motifs.

The Boat Motif

The published version written both in English and Cebuano by Amando Osorio, a famous writer from Dalaguete during the pre-World War II period, focuses on the boat motif.³ Specifically, its emphasis is on the bridge of Dalaguete and its repeated destruction by bombardment by the armed vessels ("*bapor de guerra*") owned by Maria Cacao. Maria Cacao, in this version, is described as a militant leader, whose abode, the cave near lake Dingayop of Dalaguete, is "a naval station of the enchanted fleet."

Further, Osorio explains that the stone bridge, which was constructed through forced labor (*pintakasi*) during the Spanish period, was "heavily fired at by the big guns of the enchanted warships" of Maria Cacao. He continues that during the American period, an American engineer tried to re-construct a new concrete bridge. He went to Maria Cacao's cave and threatened that the cave would be bombed by the American government in retaliation in case she would destroy the bridge again. In response to this, Maria Cacao made a request to the American engineer that the new bridge should be higher and narrower than the engineer's original plan. He accepted the request and they reached a mutual understanding ("*maghinabut lang kita pagayo*") on the structure of the new bridge.

As can be seen, an aspect of the people's resistance against or negotiation with the colonial power, symbolized by the forced labor, modern technology, and threat of military assault, is reflected in the Osorio version.

Coronel's collection of legends, another published version, recorded one Maria Cacao legend and its three versions (Coronel 1968, 116-124). The legend, which is narrated by Portia Kintanar, includes both the boat motif and the lending motif. It identifies Maria Cacao's abode to be "the mouth of a cave called Lantoy" in Argao. Then it stresses the beauty, "loveliness and graceful womanliness" of the "enchanted maiden" named Maria Cacao, and how it dazzled the eyes of people who happened to see her big ship passing on the river on moonlit

nights. While Kintanar's story also mentions the American engineer who came to rebuild the bridge destroyed by the ship of Maria Cacao, it explains that Maria Cacao was offered "a sizeable amount of money, lots of things," for her to give her consent not to destroy the bridge anymore—quite in contrast to the negotiation between both parties told in the Osorio version.

Another version in Coronel's collection, which is told in Talisay of Cebu, narrates only the boat motif. It makes mention of a party of beautiful men and women, suggested to be "*encantadas*," inside the boat of gold, who tremendously enjoy watching the bridge break into pieces whenever their boat passes under it. Maria Cacao was described as an owner of this golden boat and head of the *encantadas*, who is living in the mountain of Mantalongon, a barangay of Dalaguete. A new element in the identity of Maria Cacao is added in this version. It mentions that "Maria Cacao also kidnaps people and keeps them as her servants so that when the clock struck six, the mothers would immediately call their children home from fear of being taken by Maria Cacao."

Typescripts of various oral versions of the legend can be found in the Cebuano Studies Center of San Carlos University. One of these can be found in the paper entitled "A Study of Dalaguete" by Reynes. It suggests that Maria Cacao was once an ordinary mortal. Later, supernatural spirits of the mountains who were attracted to her beauty, kidnapped her and took her to a lonely cave near Dingayop lake of Dalaguete. After that incident, she acquired certain supernatural powers, such as the ability to make herself invisible. Reynes' version also mentions the stone bridge built by the Spaniards, and the cement and iron bridge built by the Americans, both of which were destroyed by Maria Cacao's golden boat which was used to sail down the river for selling the cacao.

An oral version of some length is told by Mr. Matarlo who was originally from Dalaguete but who later moved to Cebu City. The Matarlo version emphasizes the character of Maria Cacao as a businesswoman (Alburo 1984, 122–23). She is described as "the efficient trader who exports cacao in exchange for cars and manufactures plates also for export." Alburo considers this stress on modern articles and facilities such as imported cars and factories for plates to be a counter-discourse against the slur made by the city people on the backwardness of the southern towns of Cebu province (Alburo 1980, 53).

The Lending Motif

Coronel's collection also includes the version told in Naga of Cebu. This version does not mention the name of Maria Cacao, but it narrates about the cave in the mountain stands in the town of Naga. In that cave lived a couple who used to let the people borrow some utensils during marriage feasts. However, because the people, charmed by the beauty of the borrowed articles, deliberately did not return them, the couple closed the door of the cave forever.

Also from the Coronel's collection is the version from Bohol which refers to a girl who, enticed by the story about the *engkantos* living in the cave where the people used to borrow beautiful wedding gowns and gem-studded dishes, repeatedly visited the cave and was enchanted by the *engkanto* to marry.

Two oral versions can also be found in the typescripts in the Cebuano Studies Center, told by Mr. and Mrs. Piñez, most probably on the same occasion, these versions describe quite contrary characters of Maria Cacao. The first version portrays Maria Cacao as someone who loves the people because of her compassion ("*pagkamaloloy-on*") for the poor. The people used to ask for food during the lean season ("*panahon sa tinggutom*") and also borrowed some utensils during the fiesta or on occasion of marriage. The other version told by Mr. Piñez, on the contrary, recollects that the mothers living near the bridge of Alegria used to warn their children not to play along the river, particularly during the season of flood. They feared Maria Cacao might kidnap the children and take them away on her ship. This version explains this kidnapping act of Maria Cacao as her retaliation against the people who did not return the articles borrowed from her.

Another typescript version from Tabunok, Cebu, although it identifies the lady simply as Maria, also has the lending motif: Maria's kindhearted act of lending articles, including cash and gold, for weddings and fiestas and the people's abuse of trust or failure to return the borrowed items, and the disappearance of the merciful lender as punishment.

The various versions, oral and published, of the Maria Cacao legend were reviewed above according to the two main motifs, the boat motif and the lending motif. Still another motif which is frequently mentioned by the people of Dalaguete but cannot be found in the versions reviewed above is a story about the giant shrimp, which was kept by Maria Cacao as her pet. According to some old residents of the

poblacion of Dalaguete, Maria Cacao used to feed the giant shrimp in the spring of Dingayop in Barangay Obo, a mountainous village of Dalaguete. One day, when a strong flood came, the giant shrimp was carried away by the water. Maria Cacao, looking for her pet, went down to the poblacion of Dalaguete, the downstream of the river. She asked the townspeople if they had seen her giant shrimp. They said they did not. Maria Cacao told them that she wanted to recover even only the teeth of the shrimp. She was desperate to find her pet because her supernatural power (*gahum*) originated from it. Actually, the people were just pretending, and hiding the fact that they had roasted and eaten the giant shrimp. This incident, according to the present residents of the poblacion, happened sometime in the 1950s.

This additional motif in the Maria Cacao story suggests a fusion of the legend space, which is the enchanted cave and spring in the mountain, and the actual mundane space of the poblacion of Dalaguete. As a result, it gives an anchorage of a certain time and location in the real world for the legend to be remembered by the people. Furthermore, this giant-shrimp motif suggests the idea of the magical power (*gahum*) embodied in a certain object, in this case, the teeth of the shrimp. This idea of power can be considered quite common in Visayan folk belief, in which the magical power is usually attributed to a person who possesses such objects as a *librito* (a small book containing magical prayers), *lana* (concoction of oil and herbs), and various kinds of *ant-ing-anting* (amulet). The themes, such as the desperate search for the lost objects from which originate the owners magical power, and the eventual loss of their power and even their death, can also be found in the folktales of other parts of Cebu, such as Bantayan.⁴ Thus, it can be said that the giant-shrimp motif, and also the story of Maria Cacao's father, which will be presented in the next section, has relevance within the wider body of the Visayan folk belief.

The versions of the Maria Cacao story reviewed above suggest the flexible dynamism of the folk knowledge and notions rooted in the Visayan folk society. It also requires consideration of the treatment of the two main motifs, the boat motif and the lending motif. While the official version presented at the beginning of the paper gives an impression that the coherent legend consists of two motifs, the review of the versions indicates the possibility that the two motifs may be separate stories.

Albuero quotes one version from Argao, the adjacent municipality of Dalaguete, which speaks of Mangao, who is described as "the king of

the highest and steepest mountain in Argao, called Lantoy." Mangao's business is to sell cacao in the city of Cebu, and Maria Cacao is mentioned as wife of Mangao and the caretaker of his cacao. Albuero suggests an interesting possibility that the story of Mangao as a benevolent cave-dweller, a common motif of the stories told by the people of Argao, and the story of Maria Cacao and her golden boat, mainly told by the people of Dalaguete, were originally separate stories. Later, the two stories gradually combined in several ways, which are represented in the marriage of Mangao and Maria, and also in the co-existence of the lending motif and the boat motif in one story, which finally came to be known as the legend of Maria Cacao (Albuero 1984, 121–22).

Furthermore, it should be taken into consideration that, while the idea of a benevolent goddess or spirit living in the cave represented in the lending motif has its root in pre-colonial indigenous belief and cosmology, the theme of Maria Cacao and its boat motif, may have been an addition in the later period when cacao was introduced during the Spanish regime. This process also suggests a certain dynamism of the folktale, in which the ubiquitous theme such as the benevolent lender tends to carry the specific name of a legendary person or culture hero of each place, for instance, Maria Cacao as such a character.⁵

The major studies on the legend have been done by Albuero (1980, 1984).⁶ The study, based on the premise that the folktale presents a "poetic vision of man and his relationship to the world," argues that the benevolent lender and her disappearance symbolize "an original harmonious relationship with nature . . . that is destroyed by man himself" (Albuero 1980, 48). It is at the same time "the painful and gradual change from peasant to industrialized society, from subsistence to cash-crop economy, from ritual exchange to business contracts" (Albuero 1984, 115). Her study further discusses the legend as reflecting not only the change of people's relationship with nature, but also the deterioration in rural class relations. The termination of the lending act by the formerly kindhearted cave-dweller signifies the changing character of the rural patrons, particularly the diminishing support and protection which used to be taken for granted by the people. Further, the people's deliberate non-return of the borrowed items, or "the gesture of delaying, keeping back or returning with damage may reflect a growing loss of legitimacy of traditional patron-client relationship in rural society," and the people's protest against it (Albuero 1980, 127–28). The study concludes that the legend in general expresses the people's nostalgia for nature, and the past social and moral order.

The points raised by Albuero are quite interesting in the sense that these discuss the impact of social change, particularly brought about by capitalism, which is reflected in the legend. The point of view taken by Albuero, that is, the interrelationship between the legend and the socio-economic change of the folk society, clearly has relevance to the present study. It is the intention of this paper, however, to discuss the legend by paying more attention to the narrator of the legend and in what context it is told.

The Legend Told by the Dalaguettan Migrants

The two versions of the Maria Cacao legend told in Barangay Coro of Dalaguete,⁷ have as narrators Mr. Roque Entia and Mrs. Columba Fajardo, whose lives are framed by various experiences of migration as will be explained in detail in the next section. While the Entia version presented in this section focuses on the boat motif, the Fajardo version focuses mainly on the lending motif. As can be seen below, the connection of the two motifs in each version is quite tenuous, and they can even be considered as separate stories.

The interesting motif added in the Entia version, which cannot be found in the other versions in the previous section, is a story about the father of Maria Cacao, which inevitably adds new color to the character of Maria Cacao herself. Mr. Entia explains the father of Maria Cacao thus:⁸

Maria Cacao was a daughter of Tata Cero, who is the father of my great-grand father (*apohan sa akong apohan*).⁹ He got an *engkantada*, who used to live near the cave of Dingayop, pregnant (*gipa-angkan ni Tata Cero*). He could have a relationship with a supernatural being (*dili ingon nato*), because he possessed supernatural power (*maayong laki*). His power (*kalaki*) enabled him to be invisible, walk on water, jump to the top of a coconut tree, and he was also able to dwarf himself and stand on a cogon leaf.

During the time of Tata Cero, there were many savage people (*lo-og*) just wearing the G-strings (*ikugan*) in the cave of Dingayop. Those uncivilized people, who have not been baptized (*tawo nga walang bunyag*), were quite abusive (*abusadu*) and often hurt the people. One day, the people living in the vicinity of the cave asked Tata Cero to protect them from those pagan people. Tata Cero admonished those *lo-og* not to harm the people (*ayaw'g hilab-ti*), and further eliminated them (*nakapuo sa mga tawong lo-og*). When Tata Cero became so old that he needed two canes to walk, he was killed by the lunatic giant (*higanteng buang*), who used

to sit on a huge rock (*dakong bato*) at Barangay Coro, and smoke a big tobacco (*inunay*). At that time, Tata Cero was on the way home from Church, and he was without the amulet (*anting-anting*) which he left at home.

Maria Cacao, the daughter of Tata Cero, lived near the cave of Dingayop. In the mountain of Dingayop, there is a spring (*tubud*) from which the water for the people of whole Dalaguete originated. In the past, especially when the rain was very strong, people sometimes heard at midnight a roaring sound (*daguuk*) from the river of Dingayop. In those occasions, the people used to say "Maria Cacao's boat is passing." Then the people saw the glaring light from the direction of the river, which was emanating from the golden boat (*barko nga bulawan*) of Maria Cacao. The people even heard the whistle (*pito*) of the ship. The boat was huge, and, every time it passed, the river became flooded and the color of water became turbid like *tuba* (fermented toddy from coconut palms).

The boat of Maria Cacao carried cacao, which she used to sell in Manila and even in other countries. The people in Manila, who saw the golden boat which carries the name of "Dalaguete, Cebu," thought among themselves that the people of Dalaguete must be very rich. Every time the boat went out to the sea, the bridge at the mouth of the river in the poblacion was destroyed. This was because the mast of the boat hit the bridge.

One day, an American car dealer came to Dalaguete, and asked the people "Where is the house of Maria Cacao, the very rich woman (*dakong datu*) of Dalaguete, Cebu?" That American came to Dalaguete to collect the payment for two dozens of car which Maria Cacao had bought in America by credit.

There is a huge rock called *dakong bato* in Barangay Coro. Long before, when it rained strong, the people saw that the surrounding of *dakong bato* became so bright. This is because Maria Cacao's golden ship used to dock at this place. The cave of *dakong bato* was, and still is, an abode of so many *engkanto*. It is the "Malacañang Palace" of *engkanto*. In the past, the people used to borrow kitchen utensils from the *engkanto* in the *dakong bato*. At fiesta time, the people brought their containers in front of the cave, and they came back the next morning. They could find complete utensils inside the container.

Nowadays, the people do not borrow the utensils anymore from *dakong bato*. It has also been a long time since Maria Cacao has died.

As an interesting element of the Entia version presented above, the role and identity of Maria Cacao's father, Tata Cero, are worth mentioning. Tata Cero is projected as a sort of protector of the village people. He is said to have supernatural power (*maayong laki*). This

gives him an identity which is intermediate between ordinary mortals (*ingon nato*) and supernatural beings (*dili ingon nato*). This ambivalent character of Tata Cero is also indicated in the story that he was stronger than *lo-og*, but weaker than, and killed by, *higanteng buang*. *Lo-og* are ordinary mortals (*isigka tawo, parehas namo*), but as they are not baptized people, they are somehow different from the local Christians. On the other hand, *higante*, which is quite common in the folklore in the Philippines, is a supernatural being (*dili ingon nato*).

Consequently, the ambivalent character can also be attributed to Maria Cacao. Maria Cacao is, on one hand, seen as a sort of fertility goddess, who manages a lucrative cacao trade, owns a golden boat, and is associated with lending various necessities to the people. However, she also has an aspect which is quite dangerous to the people. This is not only reflected in the story of the flood or the destruction of the bridge caused by her ship, but in the character of her golden boat itself. The motif of the golden boat is not peculiar to the Maria Cacao legend, but is a common motif particularly in Visayan folktales. The study made by Magos, for example, collected fourteen cases of golden boat stories from Panay Island (Magos 1996). It discusses that, while the gold symbolizes beauty, wealth, and power, the golden boat owned by an *engkanto* has also been associated with the ship of the dead. It suggests that, in most of the stories, a person who is invited to go on the ship with the *engkanto* dies or disappears, because he or she is brought to the *engkanto* world. This ambivalence, fertility and danger, can also be considered as a character of Maria Cacao as told in the *Entia* version.

Another version narrated by Columba Fajardo, who is also a migrant from Dalaguete emphasizes the lending motif. Particularly, the focus of her story is *dakong bato* (huge rock), which actually exists to this day in Barangay Coro of Dalaguete.

In the past, particularly during fiesta time, the people of Coro, including my mother and grandmother, went to *dakong bato* and borrowed many things such as plates and spoon. Although there was no one who appeared in *dakong bato*, the people said that the owner (*tag-iya*) of it was Maria Cacao.¹⁰ In my generation (*kaliwat*), this transaction has disappeared. The gown for the wedding (*bisti sa kasal*), suits (*amerikana*), plates, cooking pot (*kaldiru*), those were the things which the people at that time used to borrow from *dakong bato*. No cash was involved.

The house of my parents, where I was born, was just in front of dakong bato. I still remember that the people used to tell me that there were many blunt-ended snakes (*pungdul nga halas*), and also a lot of cats. They said that those animals were actually supernatural beings (*engkantohanon*). I myself never saw those snakes and cats. What I saw was a giant man (*higante*) who sat on the dakong bato with his foot crossed, and smoking a huge tobacco (*inunay*).

My parents knew that our neighbors are unknown beings (*hindi parehas namo*). Every time my mother went out for defecating, she used to talk to the *dalakit* tree (*ficus forsteri*) in a loud voice, "Brothers and sisters (*Mga igso-on*)! Since I cannot see you, don't harm my children (*ayaw'g hilab-ti ang akong mga anak*).\" The village people used to ask my parents if we were not afraid of living in such an enchanted place (*lugar nga naay daghan katingalahan*).

Also, at the time of Christmas and New year, the people of Coro gathered around the dakong bato, and put their ears on its surface, to listen to the sonata played by the engkanto inside the dakong bato. Since there was no radio yet at that time, the sonata from dakong bato was the only amusement (*kalingawan*) which the village people enjoyed.

While the people's transactions with the engkanto had stopped, the dakong bato still exists today along the national road passing through Barangay Coro. The residents still regard the place as enchanted. They often alert the people that the cars passing by the *dakong bato* should blow the horn as a notice for the engkanto; otherwise they would meet accidents.

As has been mentioned, the purpose of this paper is to discuss the legend in the context of the experiences of the narrators, particularly their migration. The stories of Maria Cacao presented in this section have been brought together by the narrators as they migrated to new places, and have grown into the present form in the process of their migration. The next section will give an overview of the Dalaguetnon's migration process and the narrators' migration experiences.

The Context of the Legend: Maritime Migration of the Dalaguetnon and Life Histories of the Migrants

This section will deal with the context in which the legend is re-told and nurtured through generations. Particularly, it will delineate the historical development of the livelihood pattern in some coastal barangays of Dalaguete.¹¹ The focus will be on the maritime migration

process, as a characteristic mode of their livelihood, carried out by the fishermen and their families from this town. It will be followed by the brief life histories of the migrants, Roque Entia and Columba Fajardo, who told their own versions of the legend.

The historical flow of the Dalagueteño's livelihood pattern will be delineated by tentatively dividing it into four periods. The first period, roughly from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, indicates the time when the people used to live on a combination of subsistent corn cultivation and fishing. Some old informants in Barangay Coro of Dalaguete still remember that the people were predominantly engaged in the corn cultivation for their home consumption until the turn of this century. Historically, the early population growth and establishment of the permanent settlement in the southeast coast of Cebu, where Dalaguete belongs, owes much to the introduction of corn cultivation as early as the seventeenth century, which has been a staple food of the region until today. Fishing in Dalaguete at that time seemed only complementary to the cultivation of corn, which used to be the main mode of livelihood during the late nineteenth century until the early twentieth century.

The second period, from the early twentieth century until the 1940s, saw the decline of the corn cultivation and the onset of the seasonal migration by the people of the coastal villages of Dalaguete for their fishing operations. The repeated corn cultivation on steep slopes of limestone soil had caused a serious soil erosion in this part of Cebu by the beginning of the twentieth century. In addition, the decrease of the scale of land holdings in the process of land inheritance through several generations made the possession of the corn field almost meaningless by the early twentieth century. In this process, the landlords, who used to manage a substantial scale of farming lots, and also their support for the tenants, gradually became restricted. Those changes resulted in a diminution of the natural and social resources of the farming communities of Dalaguete. Under these circumstances the people's livelihood in Coro and other coastal villages of Dalaguete gradually shifted into fishing.

Further, during this period, faced with the depletion of the marine resources within the municipal waters of Dalaguete, started a seasonal migration to the nearby islands, such as Bohol, for the fishing operation. During the 1920s, there were seven fishing groups in Coro and the adjacent villages, each of which was composed of around thirty

persons and eight to ten units of sail boats. In those days, each fishing group had its own site for its seasonal operation. The places where the Dalaguetnon fisherfolk had seasonal operations during this period were some towns of Bohol province, such as Lila, Jagna, and Valencia. This seasonal operation in Bohol continued until the late 1920s. In the 1930s, the destination of their seasonal migration became more distant places like Maasin of Southern Leyte, and, in the 1940s, some coastal towns of northern Mindanao such as Oroquieta, Plaridel, and Jimenez.

In the third period, from the 1950s to the present, the fisherfolk from Dalaguete started to form permanent settlements in several places in Visayas, Mindanao, and Palawan. The most important development during this period was the introduction of the engine for the fishing boat. The motorized pumpboats enabled the fishermen to migrate and form settlements in places more distant than before. During the 1950s, the settlements were formed in Paco and Nacoco, both under the municipality of Maasin of Southern Leyte, Initao and Libertad of Misamis Oriental, and Looc of Giliga-on, Negros Oriental.

By the late 1960s, two fishing settlements, Culipapa and Baybay-Dalaguete, had been newly created in the municipality of Hinuba-an, Negros Occidental as a result of the continuous migration of the Dalaguetnon. Both settlements accepted the first group of Dalaguetnon in 1968 from Initao. Thereafter, new settlers came not only from Initao, but also from Looc, and even directly from Dalaguete. Baybay-Dalaguete was named after the origin of migrants when the population of the migrants had reached a substantial number. Although the population of both settlements grew through the 1970s, many of the migrants eventually left Negros in the early 1980s and formed new settlements, particularly in Antique Province.

Since the late 1970s, the Dalaguetnon fisherfolk in the above-mentioned places of Negros and Mindanao have been moving further west and settling in two barangays of Antique, namely Maybato Norte, barangay of San Jose, capital town of the province, and Talisayan of Aniniy, southernmost tip of the province. The first settlers arrived in Maybato Norte in 1978, and in Talisayan in 1981. The majority of the Dalaguetnon fisherfolk in Maybato Norte came from the settlements in Negros, specifically Culipapa and Baybay-Dalaguete, while those in Talisayan came from Initao.

The quest of the Dalaguetnon fisherfolk for greener pastures continues to this day. Some Dalaguetnon fisherfolk have started to move

further west since the early 1990s. Their direction now is toward Palawan, which has one of the richest fishing grounds in the Philippines. The settlement of the Dalaguetnon in Palawan is in Barangay Liberty, Puerto Princesa, capital town of the province.

The migration process described above indicates that the Dalaguetnon fisherfolk could no longer sustain their lives on the fishing operation merely in the fishing grounds which are geographically and culturally close to them. They left the fishing ground of Camotes Sea or Bohol Sea, where the overexploitation of the sea resources had long been realized, and moved to the more productive but geographically and culturally distant fishing grounds of Sulu Sea.

The fourth period indicates the contemporary time, and partly overlaps with the third period, during which the fisherfolk established the inter-island networks among the settlements mentioned above, and began to engage actively in the seasonal migration utilizing those networks. This seasonal migration generally follows the direction of monsoon winds. Two monsoon winds greatly affect the direction and period of the fishermen's seasonal migration: *amihan* which is the northeasterly wind in late October to April; and *habagat* which is the southwesterly wind in May to early October. During *amihan* season, the fisherfolk in Dalaguete, Southern Leyte (Nacoco), and northern Mindanao (Libertad and Initao) are affected by the winds from northeast and it becomes quite difficult for them to reach the fishing grounds. Therefore, they migrate to the settlements in the southern part of Negros island, such as Bay-bay Dalaguete or Culipapa. When the season of *amihan* ends in April and *habagat* starts to blow, the fishing operation in southern Negros becomes difficult to carry out because of the strong winds from southwest. Thus, during *habagat* season, the Dalaguetnon fisherfolk go back to their settlements in Dalaguete, Southern Leyte, and northern Mindanao. Some fisherfolk of Negros Occidental (Culipapa and Bay-bay Dalaguete) migrate to the settlements of Antique (Maybato Norte and Talisayan) during the season of *habagat*. Also during this season, some of the fishers in Antique migrate to Palawan, which is less affected by the *habagat*.

As can be seen, the fishermen and their families from Dalaguete have formed several settlements in different parts of the islands, and established the networks among those settlements. The fisherfolk would fail to exploit their sea resources fully should they stay in only one community. The data show how the fisherfolk succeeded in distributing the risks and reducing the uncertainties of the operation at

sea by forming several settlements in a broad area and sharing resources by establishing the networks of the seasonal migration among these settlements. This pattern is also clearly reflected in the following life histories related by the migrants themselves.

Life History of Roque Entia

Roque Entia was born in 1907 in Barangay Coro. His father was a fisherman and also a carpenter for fishing boats. His mother used to help her husband by sewing and mending the fishing nets. It was in 1923 that Roque, at the age of sixteen, first joined the seasonal fishing operation in Valencia, Bohol. Roque joined the fishing group owned by his uncle. The group used to leave Coro in September, after having celebrated their village fiesta on August 24 and 25. Then they stayed in Valencia until the end of January before they came back to Dalaguete to celebrate their town fiesta on February 9 and 10. Roque's income from this four-month operation in Bohol was a contribution not considered small by his parents.

He continued to join this seasonal operation in Bohol until 1927. After his marriage in 1929, together with the other fisherfolk from Dalaguete, he continued to look for good fishing grounds. Those places where Roque and others sojourned seasonally before the Second World War included Surigao del Norte, Pagadian, and even far places such as Dagupan. After the Second World War, he became an *arayis* (master fisherman) of the fishing group owned by his uncle. His *sakop* (crew fishermen) consisted of as many as seventy people. In the 1940s and the early 1950s, Roque led this group of fishermen to the seasonal operations in some towns of northern Mindanao, such as Oroquieta, Plaridel, and Jimenez. During such operations, he used to visit the local municipal hall to register his fishing group, and ask permission from the town mayor for its operation.

In 1955, at the age of forty-eight, Roque and his family migrated to Initao, which used to be one of the Dalaguete non's seasonal camps in northern Mindanao for the fishing operations mentioned above. Even after the age of fifty, Roque was still eagerly involved in fishing and, when he heard of the new fishing grounds and settlements formed by his town mates, he also migrated there. In this way, he transferred to Looc in 1960, and later to Baybay Dalaguete in 1970. By this time, Roque's grown up children, twelve in all, were staying in the different settlements with their own households. In 1975, Roque, sixty-eight years old, transferred to Culipapa in 1975, where he stayed in his son's

house. In 1978, at the age of seventy-one, Roque finally retired from fishing and went back to Initao, where his daughters were managing fishing operations. After having stayed in Initao for twenty years, Roque decided to go back to his original village, Coro, of Dalaguete in 1998.

Life History of Columba Fajardo

Columba Fajardo was born in Coro in 1942. She remembers that, in her childhood, she used to accompany her father who stayed seasonally in some places of Misamis Occidental, such as Oroquieta, Plaridel, and Jimenez. In a small sailboat, it used to take three days for father and daughter to reach the coast of those places in Mindanao. Columba, while sailing at sea, was in charge of boiling the corn grit and cooking simple dishes with the fish caught by her father. They used to stay in Mindanao three months of the year, before returning to Dalaguete.

Columba stayed in Dalaguete until her marriage to Anastacio in 1961. Her family stayed in the settlements of Southern Leyte and northern Mindanao for a few years, before they settled in Baybay Dalaguete, which is under the municipality of Hinuba-an, Negros Occidental, in 1971, where they had stayed for twenty-one years.

While staying in Baybay Dalaguete, Columba used to complement her husband's fishing income by engaging in merchandising of dried fish. She bought dried fish not only from the fishermen in Baybay Dalaguete, but also, especially when she failed to secure enough fish to sell, from her relatives and friends in the same southern coastal settlements of Negros, such as Culipapa and Looc. Then she sold the goods in the market of Dalaguete town proper, or Mantalungon (a mountain village of this town), and also in Pasil market of Cebu City. When she could not sell her dried fish in Cebu, she would take it to Cagayan de Oro and sell it in the market with the help of her friends in Initao.

In the late 1980s, several factors, such as a decreasing market demand for the fish, encroachment of commercial fishing, and also militarization against the NPA, pressed Columba and her husband, Anastacio, to think of leaving Negros and looking for another place to migrate to. In 1987, Anastacio, together with Columba's brother, made a survey trip to Palawan. They stayed for four months in a fishing village in the municipality of Narra, and checked the conditions of the fishing grounds. Realizing that the Palawan fishing ground was still untapped and rich in marine resources, Anastacio and his family de-

cided to leave Baybay Dalaguete for Puerto Princesa City, the capital of Palawan.

In May 1991, Anastacio and his two sons left Baybay Dalaguete for Palawan, leaving the female members of the family, including Columba, in Baybay Dalaguete, promising to return later and take them to Palawan. A whole year passed after Anastacio and his sons left Baybay Dalaguete, before they were able to prepare for life in a new place in Palawan and invite the rest of the family from Negros. At midnight of 17 June 1992, the family of Columba finally left Baybay Dalaguete, where they had spent twenty-one years. There were fifteen persons in all: Anastacio, Columba, their ten children, and some of their relatives in one pumpboat. They also loaded some furniture, house utensils, and even their pet dog. The trip to cross the vast Sulu Sea was full of danger. Columba recalls that they held rosaries in their hands and prayed during their trip. The wooden image of San Roque, the patron saint of their village in Dalaguete, was placed at the bow of the pumpboat for their protection. It took three nights before they finally arrived at Puerto Princesa City.

The place where Columba and the family settled, Barangay Liberty of Puerto Princesa City, is composed of migrant fisherfolk from various places. The majority of residents are Boholanos. Since the family of Columba settled in Liberty, the population of Dalaguete non migrants started to increase. Particularly during the season of habagat, Columba offers her house as a shelter for the seasonal migrants mainly from Maybato of Antique, where the fishing operation in this period is quite difficult because of the strong wind.

Discussion

In conclusion, this final section will deal with the meaning of the Maria Cacao legend, particularly its two versions from Dalaguete, in the light of the migration experiences of the narrators. For the discussion, it should be noted that the two versions of the Maria Cacao legend presented in this study are told during the narrators' recounting of their life histories. In the case of Roque Entia, the story was told when he was recollecting the lives of his dead relatives. The version of Columba Fajardo was narrated during the account of the environments of her parents' home and her childhood days in Barangay Coro. Therefore, it can be said that the legend is located in the sequence of the narration of life histories and the telling of their versions is inevitably embedded in remembering their past.

Further, it should be noticed that the life histories recounted by the narrators consisted of two elements: one is the account of their migration process, which is presented in the previous section; the other is the discourse of "homeland," of their village and town of origin in Cebu. Roque Entia, for instance, recollects that in the 20 years that he stayed in Initao, from 1978 to 1998, he sometimes dreamt of his original village of Coro, Dalaguete. He further says that, even though he was in Mindanao, Negros, or any other place, he went back to Coro almost every year for its annual fiesta on August 24 and 25. According to him, "*sa July pa, ang akong hunahuna, pauli gyud. Akong dughan, magbutukbutuk. Ang akong kasing-kasing kusog motukar* (When the annual fiesta of Coro was near, my mind was usually set for going back to Coro even as early as July. My breast was like bubbling. My heart throbbed so strongly)." As for his reason for leaving Initao for good in 1998, Roque said "*Tapos na ang akong guguma sa pagkapuyo sa Initao* (My love for living in Initao had ended)." In other words, it was his *gugma* (love) for the homeland that made him decide to go back to Coro.

Futhermore, he emphasizes his strong emotional ties with his homeland by saying "*Dinhi maula ang akong dugo* (My blood was shed here)." This expression indicates the folk practice of the region, in which the people used to bury the placentas of newly born babies in front of their houses. People's explanation for this custom is that, by doing that, the child's mind is tied to the family of origin and, even after he has grown up and migrated to distant places, he would always come back to his homeland. In the same way, Roque's placenta was also buried in Coro.

On the other hand, in the case of Columba Fajardo, her strong ties to her homeland are reflected in her devotion to San Roque, the village patron saint of Coro.¹² One of the striking practices among the Dalaguetnon migrants' settlements mentioned in the previous section is the endurance of the devotion to the patron saints of their original villages. This usually takes the form of a fiesta celebration. In the settlements, the migrants build new chapels for the patron saints of their villages in Dalaguete and start their own fiesta celebrations.

According to Columba, it was her mother who, in the 1950s, started a devotion to San Roque in Initao and a new fiesta celebration in August. Columba herself started the devotion and fiesta of San Roque in Baybay, Dalaguete in the early 1970s. She remembers that in those days, there were many fishermen and their families in Baybay Dalaguete who wanted to go back to Dalaguete for the fiesta celebra-

tion but were not able to do so mainly because of financial problems. The devotion in the settlement was started partly as a solution to this problem. Also, Columba still keeps on her family altar the image of San Roque which was handed down by her late mother, and, as told in her life history, she takes it with her wherever she migrates.

The discourse and practice mentioned above not only indicate the strong attachment of the migrants to their village of origin, but also construct and activate the migrants' image of homeland and constantly instill meaning and reality into it. The point that should be raised here is that the legend of Maria Cacao, and the telling of the legend can also be considered as one instance of such a discourse and practice of the migrants. Viewed from this perspective, the insertion of a specific genealogy and place into the legend, found in the two versions presented in this paper, requires special attention.

In the Entia version, the father of Maria Cacao is identified as "*apohan sa akong apohan*." This expression does not suggest an indefinite cluster of ancestors who possibly existed at some time in the past. On the contrary, the narrator is still able to recall the names and, in some cases, the year of death of his forefathers reaching to "Tata Cero." In the Fajardo version, the legend is inevitably connected to the *dakong bato*, which used to be just in front of her parents' house, where she spent her childhood and adolescent days until her first out-migration. At this place of *dakong bato*, her mother and grandmother talked to the *engkanto*, and borrowed clothes and kitchenware. While it is true that the other versions of the Maria Cacao legend reviewed in the second section mention certain places such as the cave of Obo, or Lantoy, those can be considered vague images which indicate the place, or space, which people cannot reach so easily and which the narrators themselves have probably never visited. The place in the Fajardo version, on the other hand, is a unique and specific place to the narrator. As such, it can be discussed that the telling of the legend in this study is connected, in the Entia version, to the ancestors who were buried in the homeland and the identification of the narrator with those dead relatives. In the Fajardo version, on the other hand, it is linked to the place which embodies the memory of the narrator's mother, grandmother, and her childhood days.

It can further be said that the legend facilitates the migrants' construction of the image of homeland by providing them not only with various visual elements such as a cave, river, and a beautiful lady, but also with the idea of the past. This past is imagined by the migrants

as a time when Maria Cacao was still alive and the people were still maintaining the symbiotic relationship with *engkanto* through freely borrowing various daily necessities. Although this past does not have a specific year and date, it is understood by the people as a time which certainly existed before. This idea of the past provided by the legend becomes, as a collective memory of the migrants from Dalaguete, an integral part of the construction of the migrants' image of homeland.

Finally, the maritime migration of the fishermen and their families from Dalaguete, which was explained in the previous section, can be considered as their response to the capitalism penetrating their formerly subsistence peasant community. It also depicts an aspect of their survival strategy when faced with the environmental deterioration of the region and the depletion of the natural and social resources around them. Furthermore, the process of out-migration of the Dalaguetnon fisherfolk to several settlements can be seen as their continuous negotiation with the outside world, in which processes, the formerly closed and relatively egalitarian peasant community has established various channels with the outside world. As a result, social differentiation among the fishermen and the commercialization of fishing have occurred.

The process explained above, however, is not simply a disintegration of the peasant community. The migrants from Dalaguete, including the second generation migrants who were not born in Dalaguete but in other settlements, still maintain the consciousness as a group that belongs to the same place of origin even after several decades of their initial out-migration. The question that remains to be posed is what cultural institutions exist that enable the migrants in the different settlements to maintain this consciousness or to construct the meaningful boundary between "us" and "them." The sharing of the legend such as Maria Cacao among the migrants from Dalaguete, albeit distributed unevenly among them, certainly facilitates maintaining such a boundary and further shaping the migrants' identity.

The discussion in this section suggests an aspect of legend-making which was explained at the beginning of the paper. The data examined in this study show, on one hand, that the ubiquitous legend of Maria Cacao is given a specific form and expression in the course of migration experiences of the narrators. In turn, it enables the narrators to structure and imagine their reality in a particular way; for instance, the intensification and activation of their image of homeland and identity.

Notes

The research for this paper was made while the author was appointed as Visiting Research Associate at the Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University. The author is grateful to Dr. Erlinda Alburo of San Carlos University and Dr. Makito Kawada of Chukyo University for their comments and suggestions on the draft of this paper. Also special thanks are due to Mr. Roque Entia and Mrs. Columba Fajardo, the key informants of this paper, and the other people of the municipality of Dalaguete, Cebu, for sharing their experiences and knowledge with the author and providing the support during his research.

1. The original of this version can be found in Alburo (1977, 39–43).
2. For the ethnographic data on those people who spend a mobile and migratory way of lives, see Zayas (1994) and Seki (2000) for the fishermen and their families, and de la Peña (2000) for the merchants, Ushijima and de la Peña (1996, 2000), and Zayas (1996, 2000) for the artisans.
3. Of these versions, only the Cebuano version has been published (Osorio 1940). The author was fortunate to see the English script written by Osorio, which is kept in his ancestral house in the poblacion of Dalaguete. The author is thankful for the kindness of Mrs. Ma. Consolacion Rojo, youngest daughter of Amando Osorio.
4. Personal communication with Dr. Makito Kawada of Chukyo University.
5. The author acknowledges the suggestions made by Dr. Erlinda Alburo and Dr. Makito Kawada for this part of the paper.
6. Some studies make mention of the Maria Cacao legend. Aligada (1970) briefly introduces the Maria Cacao story in her structural approach to the Cebuano legends. Mojares (1988) delves into the uses of folklore which have the motif of benevolent goddess, such as Mariang Makiling and also Maria Cacao, for a historical understanding of the past and its changes. Further, Olofson and Uy (1989) have collected some versions of Maria Cacao tales in Matutinao, a barangay of Badian, Cebu, and suggest the fragmentation and loss of the motifs of the “environmentally situated legends,” such as the Maria Cacao tale, in the process of the change and deterioration of the environment.
7. The interviews on the legend and other related information were conducted intermittently during field work in Barangay Coro, Dalaguete, Cebu, in April, May and August of 2000.
8. The presentation does not intend to give the impression that the informants narrated their own version of the legend coherently from the start to the end on one occasion. Rather, the stories were given to the author in fragmentary form on several occasions. The author organized the pieces told by the informants, which are recorded in a cassette tape, field notes, and diary, according to the sequence of the story. The interview was conducted in Cebuano with occasional help from the local interpreter.
9. Entia explained that the real name of Tata Cero is Cerilo Besin. He is also called by his nickname, Cero Dukut, and used to dislike the *dukut* (crust of corngrit or rice). This is because the dukut worked against his supernatural power (“*supak sa kalaki ni Tata Cero*”).
10. Fajardo is not so sure if Maria Cacao was the owner of the *dakong bato*, or she just docked her ship at the place.
11. A full discussion of this part can be found in Seki (2000).

12. According to the old residents of Coro, cholera took a heavy toll on many lives of the village people in Dalaguete, particularly in the years 1918 to 1920. It was in this period that the people of Coro acquired the wooden image of San Roque, who is revered locally as a patron on healer (*mananambal*), and adopted it as a patron of their village.

References

- Alburo, Erlinda K. 1980. A study of two Cebuano legends: The lost lender and Maria Cacao. *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 8:44–59.
- . 1984. Decline of the fertility goddess: The Maria Cacao tales of Cebu. *Philippine Humanities Review* 1 (3–4): 113–29.
- Alburo, Erlinda K., ed. 1977. *Cebuano folktales* 2. Cebu City: San Carlos Publications.
- Coronel, Sr. Ma. Delia. 1968. *Stories and legends from Filipino folklore*. Manila: UST Press.
- De La Peña, Lilian C. 2000. Bol-anons Stories from Photographs. In *Bisayan knowledge, movement and identity: Visayas maritime anthropological studies III*, eds. I. Ushijima and C. N. Zayas, 257–70. Quezon City: Third World Study Center, University of the Philippines.
- Jocano, Landa F. 1971. *Myths and legends of the early Filipinos*. Quezon City: Alemar-Phoenix.
- Magos, Alicia P. 1996. Barko nga Bulawan: Tales of the mythical gold boat of Panay. In *Binisaya nga kinabuhi: Visayan Life*, eds. Ushijima and C. N. Zayas, 257–59. Quezon City: CSSP Publications.
- Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports. 1986. *Folk culture of the Central Visayas*. Quezon City: Instructional Materials Corporation.
- Mojares, Resil B. 1988. Waiting for Mariang Makiling: History and folklore. *Saint Louis University Research Journal* 19:205–15.
- . 2000. The Woman in the cave: Genealogy of the Cebuano Virgin of Guadalupe. In *Bisayan knowledge, movement & identity: Visayas maritime anthropological studies III*, eds. Ushijima and C. N. Zayas, 7–30. Quezon City: Third World Study Center, University of the Philippines.
- Olofson, Harold and James Uy. 1989. Folklore in Matutinao. *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 19: 309–21.
- Osorio, Amando. 1940. Si Maria Kakaw ug ang Taytayan (leyenda). *Lungsuranon* 6(7): 3,12,15.
- Seki, Koki. 2000. Wherever the waves carry us: Historical development of the Visayan fisherfolk's livelihood strategies. *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 28 (2): 133–57.
- Ushijima, Iwao and Lilian C. de la Peña. 1996. The pottery traders of Maripipi, Biliran, Leyte: past and present. In *Binisaya nga kinabuhi: Visayan*

- life*, eds. I. Ushijima and C. N. Zayas, 139–166. Quezon City: CSSP Publications.
- . 2000. Blacksmithing in Carigara, Leyte. In *Bisayan knowledge, movement and identity: Visayas maritime anthropological studies III*, eds. I. Ushijima and C. N. Zayas, 77–100. Quezon City: Third World Study Center, University of the Philippines.
- Zayas, Cynthia N. 1994. Pangayaw and tumandok in the maritime world of the Visayan Islands. *Fishers of the Visayas*, 75–131. Quezon City: CSSP Publications.
- . 1996. Pottery making in Maripipi. In *Binisaya nga kinabuhì: Visayan life*, I, eds. Ushijima and C. N. Zayas, 111–28. Quezon City: CSSP Publications.
- . 2000. Panday and pandayan: The spread of blacksmiths in Eastern Visayas. In *Bisayan knowledge, movement and identity: Visayas maritime anthropological studies III*, eds. I. Ushijima and C. N. Zayas, 101–26. Quezon City: Third World Study Center, University of the Philippines.