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Making the Vanua: Collective Fishing Technology in Batanes and an Austronesian Archetype of Society

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Making the *Vanua* Collective Fishing Technology in Batanes and an Austronesian Archetype of Society

The Ivatan notion of a *vanua* (port) has linguistic connections to the wider Austronesian world. This article explores the term *vanua* in the verb form *Mayvanuvanua* or “making a port,” which refers to a sacrificial rite performed at the beginning of the summer fishing season by *mataw* fishers in Batanes. “Making the *vanua*” reproduces port polities of fishers competing to attract and successfully capture the fish dorado for a limited (seasonal) period of time. The article outlines the rite’s symbolic elements and shows ethnographically the resulting collective as an organized group of fishers under a system of government, and moreover one which also relates to two other kinds of social groups in Batanes life: cooperative work groups (*payuhwan*) as well as groups of persons that drink together.

KEYWORDS: FISHING · VANUA · RITUAL · RITUAL TECHNOLOGY · COOPERATIVE WORK · BATANES · AUSTRONESIAN

ing, however, is not exactly an individual endeavor. Traditionally in Batanes the mataw method of fishing has a collective aspect: before the fishing season begins fishers must first get together to “make the port” (*Mayvanu-vanua*). Presently there are only four mataw ports or *vanua* in Batan Island: Chanpa-n, Manichit, Maratay, and Diora,² located on the Valugan (roughly the east) side of Batan Island. Batanes Province comprises the ten northernmost islands of the Philippine archipelago (fig. 1). The Ivatan people number some 15,000 and the closely related languages spoken there are Ivatan (on Batan and Sabtang Islands) and Itbayaten (on Itbayat Island).

What is a vanua? In Batanes this term is straightforwardly translated to the English word “port.” In the hazardous shorelines of Batanes, significant and infrequent, and named, are the points where land meets sea and allow boat transit between both realms.³ A vanua may be a stony beach fronting an eroding cliff side, or the area where there is a way through coral terraces and rocky outcrops. *Mamanua* means “to land, to head toward a seaport.” Another verb, *Mayvanuvanu*, signifies the construction, building, fixing, or assembling of the “port.” How is the port “made”? By killing a pig at the shoreline and drinking sugarcane wine together. Before commencing the fishing season, fishers must get together at the vanua to perform sacrificial rites: *Mayvanuvanu*.

The vanua, then, is a location in space. Once ritually assembled, it is also an organized group of fishers with a leader and system of government. Mataw fishers orient and identify themselves around these passageway or landing sites, vanua or ports. The mataw form what can be described as quasi groups that exist for a limited (seasonal) time only. The seasonal character of the group is also conveyed in the word replication in Mayvanuvanua, which indicates likeness, play, simulation, imitation, or modeling (as in the Tagalog *bahay-bahayan*/house-house, which means making a small version of a house/a play-house/playing house). This is not a permanent structure; at the end of the season, the vanua is “dismantled” or “broken up” (*Kavahen su Vanua*).

By making the vanua (Mayvanuvanua), the mataw transform the vanua, which is a natural geological feature of the landscape, into a sacred and

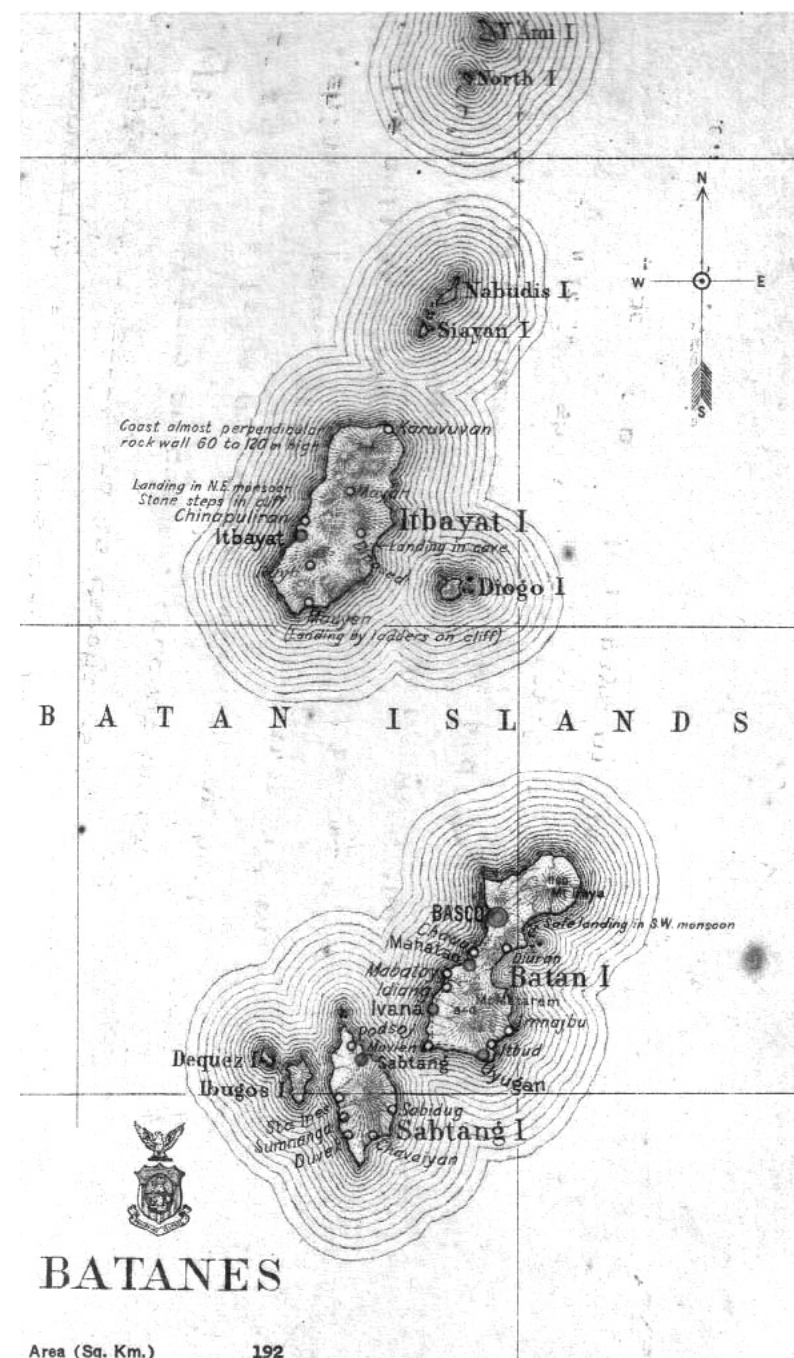


Fig. 1. A map of Batanes, c.1916

sensitive place. At this potent juncture an exemplary fisher will then go to sea first (*Umdinaw nu Vanua*), to initiate auspicious precedents and attract and invite the fish, fellow beings, to come to their vanua. The vanua, now competing with other vanua, is described to the fish as “the most beautiful of all.”

Purity is an aspect of the attractive vanua. For the duration of the three-month fishing season, the vanua’s “cleanness” or “health” is said to affect day-to-day fishing fortunes. Individual successes or failures are evaluated in relation to previous seasons, in relation to the experiences of other members of the group, and in comparison with what is happening with rival vanua.

This article is part of an attempt to appreciate vanua making as fishing technology, in the sense that rites associated with a production calendar are not different in intent from all the other actions or techniques undertaken for a good harvest, which Condominas (1986) refers to as ritual technology. Vanua making meaningfully enhances the efficacy of fishing by reproducing a “community,” which incorporates the spirits and the fish of summer, toward the success of fishing as a collective human project. This article also draws the insight that the model for this maritime tradition of port-and-society is deeply rooted and could be described as archetypically Austronesian. In the section that follows, the linguistic connections and cognates for the term vanua in the Austronesian region are mapped out. The remainder of the article outlines important symbolic elements of vanua making in Batanes. It also shows ethnographically how the vanua collective overlaps with two other kinds of social groups in Batanes: cooperative work groups (*payuhwan*), and groups of persons that drink together.⁴

Vanua and *banua in Austronesian Languages and Cultures

The term vanua and its cognates can be found in many places and languages extending beyond the Philippines to Southeast Asia and Oceania. For example, Benoa is the name of an old port in Bali; *banua* in Bikol denotes town or population center and is also a synonym to the Tagalog *bayan*, which denotes country or motherland; in some places, the term denotes cosmos or sky. It can denote a house or boat (most famously represented in the architecture of the “house of origin” with its sweeping boat-shaped roof in Banua Toraja in Sulawesi) and nation, such that as a spatial concept it also represents the people who are sustained by it and who belong to it (e.g., Waterson 1997,

92–93). The term can be found incorporated in ethnic self-designations, as among the Tagbanua of Palawan and the Banwa-on of Agusan.

The disparate glosses for the term in different Austronesian languages—house, village, town, land, commons, mainland, island, port, region, country, weather, sky, night, year—“suggests an original semantic category for which no English equivalent exists,” says Blust (1987, 96). In his semantic reconstruction, Blust (ibid., 100, 101) concludes that the original or Proto-Malay-Polynesian term *banua probably referred to

an inhabited territory which included the village and its population together with everything that contributed to the life-support system of that community. . . . This inhabited territory included the village, its fields and fruit groves, its domesticated animals, its sources of drinking water and its places for disposal of the dead (the goodwill of the deceased being indispensable to the prosperity of the living).

Recent discussions on the significance and breadth of the concept of vanua range from the negative sense of narrow provincialism and dependency (“vanua mentality” in Fiji)⁵ to the positive equation with nationalism.⁶ Denoting both land and people, a fusion that may be associated with cognatic kinship, the term vanua also indicates prior rights over common property vis-à-vis foreigners.⁷

Boat Society

Manguin (1986) calls attention to the fact that the boat as a metaphor for the “ordered social group” is one recurrent image in Southeast Asia. Surveying the region, he notes how many terms for community and leader reproduce the image of a society where each shares the sense of “being in the same boat,” an egalitarian ethic or sense of necessary hierarchy, and which is led by one with expert knowledge and sacred power. In some places in Southeast Asia, villages may be spatially organized around parts of a boat.

Boats and houses, both the container and the contained (the “boat-load” and the “household”) are the fundamental social units Similarly banwa and cognate terms can be found in many Austronesian languages with the meanings of a house (Palawan, Toraja), a larger

social group (Javanese, Balinese, Bugis, Malay) or a boat (Javanese?, Ngaju). (Manguin 1986, 189)

This description relates with the familiar barangay-type paradigm where the village is also a “boat,” led by its “captain,” and which has been formalized as the smallest unit of local government in the Philippine setup.⁸ The boat also links this world with the next; the deceased travels to the afterlife in a “ship of the dead.” It is suggested too that this notion is linked with the maritime roots of Austronesian populations (e.g., Manguin 1986; Waterson 1997), a point that should be noted especially in light of the current archaeological interest in Batanes.⁹

House Society

Meanwhile, taking off from Lévi-Strauss, there has been an extended discussion on “house societies” in Southeast Asia, where the concept of the “house” has been cited as an extended metaphor for the process of kinship and social relations, and as the representation of the social group as well as of the world around it (e.g., Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995; Waterson 1997).¹⁰ Waterson (1995, 50) observes how the house can be viewed in ideological terms, and that in fact a house society can exist even in the absence of any house structures: for example, for communities of sea nomads, the islands that they return to function as symbolic houses. Houses are linked with ancestors and rituals. The house as dwelling, origin-place, and ritual site conveys both a sense of location and of the articulation of social relations.

A Multilayered Concept

In sum, the ancient Austronesian idea of *vanua/banwa* denotes several things at once: (1) a fixed and spatially located center, a familiar and sheltering landscape (rather than a territory), in other words, a home base; (2) a house or a boat, a structure that is human-made; (3) the people that belong to it, and who thus have a shared identification. Implied is the sense of community, of solidarity and cooperation, and of leadership and law. Identifying people with place, this center where geographic and social locations conjoin also points to traditions, to shared language, and to ancestral lineage and continuity, such that those who do not belong are “others,” potential enemies or rivals. Also included are the emotional ties one has to this land (and sea), which sustains society.

The multilayered idea of social and political center, community, and home may include other kinds of beings as well: animal, vegetal, mineral,

and unseen agencies—plural entities, or “fellow beings,” in relational existence to one another. Paluga (2004) comments that, by the inclusivity of other living species and spirit agencies in the landscape, the *banwa* concept traverses the modern nature/culture dichotomy. Yet rites for negotiating social relations with unseen beings and actions of ordering the landscape can also be appreciated as expressing a specific vision of a nature/culture dichotomy: wild and enchanted places are clearly opposed to ordered and domesticated or humanized areas (Borchgrevink 2002).

We can now look at the practical and symbolic logic of *vanua*-making rites among contemporary “port” associations of traditional mataw fishers in Batanes in light of this background. The reverse may also apply: outlining the meaningful elements of *Mayvanuvanua* may reinforce and illuminate the semantic reconstruction of a proto-Malayo-Polynesian concept of **banua*.

Making the *Vanua* in Batanes

Before I finally saw a *vanua*, from all the stories I had heard about having to get together to “make the port” (e.g., *aayusin ang vanua*, *gagawin namin ang vanua*, *yung aming port doon*) before the fishing season starts, I had visualized that there would be some sort of physical structure made of wood or cement or perhaps some piled stones. So when I went to Diora to see the *vanua* in October 1991, I remember looking up and down the beach and asking my companion, who was the president of the Mahatao Fishermen-Farmers Association, “where is it?”

The *vanua* that I could not see I discovered to be a natural aspect of the landscape; it was the sand I was standing on and the water before me, where a passage could be made out of the shallow coral terrace and the rocks that jutted out here and there: it was the unique and rare access-way for going out to sea and coming to land to be found at this particular place. But the cooperative work of ritual, of *Mayvanuvanua*, held early in the month of March, transforms this space into a man-made “port.” Principles for order and precedence have been established by the rites. Here is what I observed in the first *Mayvanuvanua* I witnessed.¹¹

Sunday, 1 March 1992, Maratay

The ritual leader . . . was mostly silent, sitting on a rock and smoking, walking along the shore, sometimes he conversed with other mataw fishers apart from the rest.

The mataw fishers were only just arriving, they had gone to church to attend mass earlier in the morning. The women and some children also came (for the first time because they had heard that I was going to attend the ceremony and therefore they also wanted to participate. The mataw fishers had agreed that the women would come this year and that the contribution would be increased to afford a larger pig to feed everyone.) One man was looking for good-sized rocks to place a cooking pot on. People were paying their contributions of P100 to the Secretary-treasurer.

Along the beach there was only one boat, covered with coconut leaves. It belonged to the one who had been chosen to make the first fishing trip (*Umdinaw nu Vanua*). Places where the other boats would be drawn up on the beach were marked by big stones or driftwood. I counted fourteen . . .

The owner of the pig was caressing its tummy, which the pig seemed to like; it relaxed and lay down on its side. I was taking pictures. Then the pig's owner turned to me and asked the time. "10:15," I said. "Tama 'yan" [that's right] he said [in Tagalog]. Then immediately three people helped him hogtie the pig. The pig didn't make much noise because its mouth was held tight and tied. Its neck was washed with seawater fetched in *cabaya* (leaves of the *chipuho* tree).

Then the ritual officiant stood over it and said in Ivatan words to this effect—"may this animal absorb any misfortune in store for us members of the fishing group during the season." Then he stuck the pig's neck with a knife. Not so much blood came out. He took a coin and held it so that blood trickled on it and said in Ivatan: "I pay for the vanua with this," then he turned and threw it out to the sea. It fell about a meter from the shore.

Someone handed him black sugarcane wine (*mañivaheng*) in a plastic liter bottle. [He] poured some of it over the neck of the pig from a white coconut shell, then he drank the wine that was left in the shell. After this, he poured some more into the shell for the owner of the pig to drink. Then the owner of the pig took the bottle and went to each one

present and each person drank some *palek* (sugarcane wine) from the coconut shell. This included all the women and children. Since there was still some *palek* left in the bottle, whoever wanted another drink was given some more.

The mataw fishers began building a shelter . . . out of coconut trunks and coconut leaves under the supervision of the ritual officiator. . . . It looked like a high-rise construction project because of the mataw's predilection for wearing hard hats¹². . . . The post for the east corner of the four-posted shelter was planted first. . . . Then coconut leaves were placed on top for shade.

There was a long meeting among the mataw fishers and the ritual officiant, squatting in a circle on the beach. About what? I later asked him. He said about the sharing of the pig.

The pig had been left alone meanwhile. I noticed it lay at the high tide mark. Then some mataw fishers began singeing its hairs off using cogon grass. . . . The pig was washed in the sea. Then it was butchered. A mataw set out large *gabi* [taro] leaves in the beach corresponding to the number of people who contributed to the occasion. These were for shares of the pig to be taken home by the participants. Each person who contributed . . . had about a kilo's worth of port to take home.

The *apdo* (gall bladder) was examined by the ritual officiant. He said there would be many fish this season because it was full. . . .

The visitors [which included some political aspirants, one planning to run for governor of Batanes] had retreated to the . . . shelter. Gin was being passed around, most of it brought by the visitors. . . . The first name [finger food] was being cooked by the women. The ritual officiator left early, to go to the cockfight at Ivana, they said. We waited for the food to be cooked, passing gin around. . . . Everyone was soon drunk in the heat of the noonday sun.

After Mayvanuvana, the newly constructed vanua or "port" was still, to me, invisible; there were no physical port-like structures erected at the

vanua. But what Mayvanuvanua clearly had accomplished was to demarcate a period of time when careful actions were expected and many taboos observed. At a later visit, I noticed that this sign, written in English, had been posted in the shelter: “This is a house for us and everyone is allowed to enter but be sure for not making foolishness or unnecessary movement.”

Cooperation

We now pay attention to the ritual speech in making the vanua. The words spoken in Mayvanuvanua¹³ are powerful. These binding words (like a curse on the landscape) are explicit about the nature of the vanua as a cooperative group.

Manma kadiman su viñay aya	We kill this animal here
aysayang su vanua ya	to sayang (sacrifice for) the vanua
Dita'ta-n,	Dita'ta-n,
as an sino u may suerte su	and whosoever is destined for bad
marahet diaten	luck or misfortune among us,
na ma'sa a mapia su coopera-	who are joined together with good
syon,	cooperation
nu u dia na am nu viñay aya	let it go to this animal instead,
a tayto namen dimahen.	whose life is now taken.
Nu mapia ya vuhawan am	With this valuable gold
isadiw namen	we pay for
su vanua da yanu apuapu	the vanua of our ancestors
namen di Dita'ta-n,	of Dita'ta-n.
as nu marem aya,	And this Marem,
am akmanchi siya u karuariem	that looks like the sea, green with
da Waryen kada Kasi	you Waryen and Kasi
isavasavat namen a makaraya	that will come home with us fishers
du vanua aya Dita'ta-n,	that land here at the vanua Dita'ta-n.
as akma kamu anchi nirakayan	So you would be hanging up to dry
vunus	in reward for
du yuhwan namen aya.	our <i>yuhwan</i> (cooperative work) here.

Dita'ta-n refers to the “real” name of this particular vanua; the piece of gold (*vuhawan*) is the coin for payment; Marem denotes a bead offering (*motin*);¹⁴ Waryen and Kasi are the formal names by which flying fish and

dorado are addressed in rites (commonly they are called *arayu* and *dibang*); and payuhwan refers to a specific form of highly disciplined cooperative work organization in Batanes.

Payuhwan are usually organized for agricultural work in the fields, and corresponds to the Tagalog idea of *bayanihan* (Hornedo 1989). Payuhwan groups have elected leaders, schedules, and even written rules. Participation in the work is compulsory for members and there is strict allocation of work, with fines imposed or, in old times, even physical punishment, for absences and noncompliance of work responsibilities (Isidro 1995; Hornedo 1989).

Each vanua then is a formal organization known to have rules and regulations or *abtas* (laws). The laws specify fines or penalties for absences, tardiness, and so on; they often reiterate some of the taboos, and specify penalties and fines for violation. The old records of the vanua of Manichit are among those that had been kept intact by their vanua secretary and which were shown to me in 1992.

The two typewritten documents date to 1943 and 1960 (for the full text see appendices A and B), and begin

Du Sino a Payanungan Na:

Yamen a mian su firma du panayajbuan na anmana makakaktij amay-tatao du Vanua du di Manichit . . .

To Whom it May Concern:

We who have signed below, as brothers and fishermen of the Vanua of Manichit . . .

The fact of actually having written rules, and the style in which they are written, also show that the Manichit mataw fishers (as early as the 1940s and 1960s) were drawing on modern legal forms of expression, thus giving a modern style of formality and gaining a legal standing or recognition to the customary rules that I think anyone in our “modern world” would readily acknowledge.¹⁵

The written rules of Manichit also stress the leadership mandate of the First Fisher (referred to as *Mandinaw nu Vanua* and as president) and spell out regulations with the specified fines and penalties for violation.¹⁶ Finally the date to “break up” the vanua (*kacava su vanua*) is set on 31 May. (There is a fine for actions done before 31 May, however the document is unintelli-

gible at this point.) Funds of the association, in the form of dues or fines, are usually reserved or collected for ritual expenses.¹⁷ (Manichit is not the only vanua with written documents. The case of Chanpa-n, which has evolved into the Valugan port chapter of the Basco Fishermen-Farmers' Association, is discussed below.)

Joining a vanua group is not difficult and fishers may transfer from one vanua to another from year to year depending on relative convenience to fields, residential arrangements, or other reasons. Note that all mataw fishers are also farmers, usually planting a mix of crops, among which would be the cash crop garlic and the root crop *uvi* for subsistence and for feeding to pigs; typically they would also be raising one or two heads of cattle. Some mataw may also opt to drop out of fishing to focus on a different summer occupation, such as construction work, for that year. Hence the number and composition of members of a vanua may fluctuate from year to year, although the vanua would usually contain most of the same fishers, and often there would be ties of kinship and neighborliness among them as well.

A fisher could also conceivably fish from a vanua without participating in Mayvanuvana. However, the ritual covers only the participants, and sometimes words may be expressly said during ritual to the effect that “whoever does not cooperate, let the misfortunes go to him.”

Mataw fishers often described themselves to me thus in 1992 (my first research period in Batanes): “we have good cooperation in our vanua.” And many said, “there are fewer accidents (*disgrasya*) now than in the past because of ‘better cooperation.’”

We could note that the vanua has the ambiguous facility of affording passage while being at the same time a precarious and hazardous place. The vanua area involves the boat parking spaces, as well as temporary shelters, which may be set up on the shore, and the actual passage through the water where the waves are breaking. During big waves, the most danger of a boat capsizing, either when going to sea or coming ashore, is at the vanua.

There are other dangers that stem from vanua making itself. In Diora, for example, stories were told of certain fishers who went mad or lost consciousness while going through the vanua. Only the First Fisher could cure such conditions or ailments. It was also said that women should not pass behind the area where the boats were parked or their hair will fall off.

However, according to the mataw, the rites make the vanua safe and mataw fishers would claim that their vanua has a good record of no lives ever

having been lost due to capsizing, a significant record because daily they negotiate sea conditions—large waves, strong currents—that are generally risky and dangerous. Cooperation within the vanua includes the expectation that the mataw will watch out for each other. In case of bad weather or big waves they wait for each other by the entrance to the vanua and no one is left out at sea.

To initiate the fishing season, the vanua also selects a lead fisher called the Mandinaw nu Vanua from among the best fishers in the group. Only after the chosen leader has passed through the vanua and made a successful First Fishing Trip (Umdinaw nu Vanua) does the fishing season formally begin.

Relating with the Spirits and Following the Ancestors

Any significant modification of the landscape demands the exchange or payment of life. To explain this point it was remarked by my informants that accidents in construction sites in Metro Manila can be traced to want of ritual sacrifice. They also wondered whether street children were not kidnapped for the purpose of sacrifice for the large buildings and bridges that had been built in the metropolis.

The term *sayang* grammatically connotes exchange. That is to say, unlike the English verb, to sacrifice, where the object of the action is the animal victim, with *sayang* the object of the action is the house or the structure: that is, by offering the life of an animal and spilling its blood, the house is transformed (the animal, for its part, was simply “killed”). By substituting an animal’s life for human life—in advance like insurance—the modification is “*sayang-ed*” and therefore made safe to its users, attracting good fortune. Consistent with the architectural metaphor in the term Mayvanuvana, the sacrifice of an animal’s life is comparable with sacrifice for house and boat construction in Batanes. Such life taking or bloodletting is said to avoid accidents (*disgrasya*). These potential misfortunes were all redirected to the sacrificial animal. Hence a boat will not overturn at the vanua, in the same way that a carpenter will not accidentally injure himself while building the house or boat, and the inhabitants of the house will have good fortune.

The sacrifice is implicitly addressed to the invisible spirits or *añitu* who are always ultimately the cause of tragic misfortunes or *disgrasya*. Spirits are powerful others whose presence and entitlements cannot be ignored; they must be placated as they can wreak harm on humans. If the sacrifice is not

done, it is said that a human victim will be found and the *añitu* will still get their “share” (*natay*) somehow. *Añitu* can be male or female, old or young; they belong to a parallel society to humans, and are often vaguely said to be the spirits of dead people; in Batanes they are also often referred to, in English, as bad spirits or ghosts.¹⁸

Añitu do sometimes befriend and help humans, and they may also be asked to intercede and help to persuade fish. A *manayrin* fisher (one who uses the hook, line, and sinker) told me that the *añitu* are intermediaries with the fish: “The ‘bad spirits’ can persuade the fish to eat your hooks. That’s why sometimes you can catch many fish. . . . It’s like they will reciprocate what you give them.”

Vanua making links the season’s group of fishers with previous generations of fishers via the explicit “payment” of gold for the vanua of the ancestors. The rite conjures up the reenactment of previous actions, consciously being a repetition of the same actions of exchange and payment, and of “saying words” while throwing the coin into the vanua.¹⁹ Noted one mataw, “There is already a lot of money in the vanua” (*Marami nang pera dyan sa vanua*). Generations of fishers have dropped rare blue-green beads and coins into the vanua, spilled blood to “cleanse” it, and most significantly “said things there.”

The next rite after Mayvanuvania that has to take place is the launching of the vanua: the First Fishing Trip of the leader. His role is to “call” the fish to the vanua. Appropriately, for migratory fish, the context is global. The ritual speech of the First Fisher while he is out at sea declares:

Waryen, Kasi,
fish of America, Taiwan, Japan, Arabia
and other parts of the world,
come to our vanua, ours is
the biggest and most beautiful vanua.

A Clean Port

The pouring of palek or sugarcane wine in all the mataw rites brings to mind the action of washing. Mayvanuvania can also be appreciated as a form of prophylaxis against dirt. In case of many fishers experiencing difficulty making a catch (and especially if, meanwhile, other fishers at other vanua are heard to be doing well), the vanua might be diagnosed during the season as

dirty (*marudit*). Unusual events or actions may be recalled to blame for this state of affairs, followed by the First Fisher’s performance of a collective rite of Cleaning (*Maynamunamu*) of the vanua. The same Ivatan word is used in the context of cleaning the house, or anything that has been soiled. Ivatan-English slang synonyms for the rite *Maynamunamu* are *May-cleaning* and *May-washing*.

In the discourse of traditional mataw fishing, dorado are “cared for,” feted with “delicious” wine, and so on, and summoned to the homeport of fishers. The formal concern in the mataw traditions is that of welcoming the migratory “fish of summer.” The fish are persuaded to come or give themselves to a clean vanua. The framework of cleanness gives coherence to the fishing endeavor as a sensitive collective project within a limited season. According to this framework, with proper and sustained interactions with fishers, and in solidarity or “pity” for the human condition, fish as fellow beings may be persuaded to give themselves. In this vein the success of fishing is meaningfully framed in terms of cooperation or group solidarity.

Flying fish and dorado—the fish of summer—are traditionally accorded careful treatment (or at least outwardly high regard). There are prohibitions (taboos or *dagen*) against carrying these fish improperly, spitting out the bones when eating them, and the like.²⁰ These prohibitions also jive with the timing of distribution, and how *arayu* or dorado are traditionally not supposed to be exchanged for money until after they have been shared out at the end of the season.

Individual rites of cleaning (*Maynamunamu*) are an optional part of a fisher’s daily routine. The First Fish (in dried form) that the fisher caught for the season, called the *Tangdah*, would be addressed by the fisher, who offers the fish of summer delicious sugarcane wine. The pouring of alcohol brings the image of “washing,” and this cathartic action is actually directed at the emotions of the fish, that may have accumulated “hurt feelings” because of improper human behavior. Other objects used in cleaning rites are the motin beads and a piece of copper or coin. Such rites may also be intended to counter the effects of dirt (*rudit* or *bwisit* in Tagalog) intentionally cast by another person.²¹ Such a negative emotion, however, could also be seen to reinforce personal lack of success in fishing; as an old fisher in Basco put it, “God does not give pity to those who are envious.” Cleaning is also linked with the purity of the fisher’s intention to feed and sustain his family. A retired mataw told me that he used to do the “complete routine”: “before

going to sea, touch the motin (small blue bead) to the Tangdah (or First Fish), then the mouth of the pot on the hearth, and then the mouth of the sleeping child.”

We can compare the traditional mataw obsession with cleaning with other contexts in the Philippines.²² Clearly not only agricultural knowledge (Borchgrevink 2002) but also fishing knowledge can be framed around “a cultural model of cleanliness.” More specifically, cleaning can be seen as a method of emotional catharsis, making up for possible offenses to the sensitivities of fish, the “return to sender” of negative emotions like envy, and to address any personal or collective transgressions in the order of things in mataw fishing grounds. It is like erasing the slate and starting anew. The timing of the cleaning of the vanua midway through the season serves the function of addressing tensions within the group following days of failure, especially when they hear reports about the successes of fishers from other vanua.

The cleaning rite for the vanua involves sacrificing a chicken at the vanua: The neck of a young rooster is cut over the Tangdah or First Fish (together with sugarcane wine, motin, and coin). Early in the morning at the vanua, the First Fisher talks to the First Fish that he caught and he speaks for the entire group of fishers, seeking to assuage the feelings and regain the sympathy of the fish, represented on their part by the First Fish:

Sichanguryaw aran angu iñenen da Waryen kada Kasi
am tayto namen dana imo basbasan wa manok aya,
as makayapo sichanguryaw am inyo mga Waryen kada Kasi
am tumuaw kamu na du huvok aya abo so kabwan
a isavasavat mu Waryen kada Kasi
akma kamu anchi nirakayan a vunus
du atavo du yuhwan namen aya du Vanua ya Dipta'ta-n.

Now, whatever hurt feelings Waryen and Kasi may have,
now we cleanse them with this chicken.
And beginning now, you, Waryen and Kasi,
come now here to the center that has no equal,
bring them home here Waryen and Kasi
to dry on the rack
for all our cooperative work here in the Vanua Dipta'ta-n.

Then the chicken is loosed and the direction of its steps, toward the sea or toward land, indicates the negative or positive outcome of the cleaning rite.

Drinking Together

At the end of Mayvanuvana, sugarcane wine (palek) has to be partaken by all present: everybody—including visitors, women, and small children—must take a gulp of the wine that is served to each one from a small coconut shell cup. Mataw fishers from Chanpa-n explained that swallowing the wine is done so that, in the same way, dorado should also swallow mataw fishers' hooks. Mataw rites specifically call for sugarcane wine, but when none is available commercial gin can be used instead.

Inclusive gestures of drinking and sharing wine seem to invite the fish to share (themselves) with the fishers as part of the same society. The añitu are also included, and in fact they are always symbolically present during *any* communal drinking session in daily life in Batanes, not merely on ritual occasions. Habitually, for every new bottle of gin opened, a few drops are first spilled or thrown out to the night. “For the ghosts,” they would sometimes say (in English).

The ubiquity of alcohol in Ivatan life cannot be understated. Considerably high daily alcohol consumption was remarked on by Recio (1973), and goes back much farther in time: in the early 1700s William Dampier (1906/1973, 104) named one of the islands Bashee Island after a “Liquor which we drank there plentifully every day”; thereafter the area became labeled as the Bashiic culture area (fig. 2), referring to the islands between Taiwan and Luzon (cf. Yamada 1997). It is often commented that Ginebra San Miguel™ is by volume one of the most significant commodities imported into Batanes. In general, gin (or the locally-made palek) is always brought out during most social occasions in Batanes, and also consumed during work in the fields. (I once joined a payuhwan in Itbud that had four members. Starting from climbing to the fields, gin was merrily being consumed from the outset as well as during the work itself; one person ended up sleeping among the yams.)

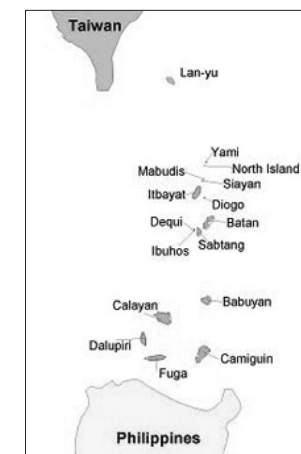


Fig. 2. The Bashiic Culture Area

Hornedo (1980, 55) considers offerings of food and drink as acts of petition to gain goodwill and “to obtain favors” from *añitu*. He notes that the *añitu* can be approached and negotiated with just like humans.

Generally, Ivatans do not deal with the invisibles in the manner of worship but of socializing in the sense of dealing with beings who behave basically like humans. The invisibles are, therefore, (a) to be respected so as not to incur their ire; (b) to be petitioned to obtain their favors; (c) to be appeased when offended; (d) to be carefully sent away or exorcised when they become undesirable; and (e) to be warded off with some shield of protection when they become a threat to one's security.” (ibid., 52)

Rituals of drinking serve important integrative functions in other indigenous Philippine settings (Fox 1972).

Mayvanuvana ends with a drinking session while the sacrificial pig is being apportioned and shared out among all those present, and especially those that contributed for the occasion. In general, allocation or sharing-out sessions in Batanes are usually accompanied by drinking. Finger food to consume while drinking (called “First Name” in Ivatan-English slang) would be taken from the shared-out meat. If after fishing, this would be some fresh fish prepared as *lataven* or raw fish salad. This food to accompany drinking and sharing out is also formally shared with the spirits in Manichit during Mayvanuvana: one old mataw took a few tiny bits of cooked meat from the different parts of the pig that was sacrificed and placed these on a big leaf. He twisted a small leaf into a cup to hold some sugarcane wine and these were placed on a large stone “table” in the forest nearby. The old mataw from Manichit said these words (in Ivatan) when leaving the offering in the forest:

Come and drink with us. Do not make us suffer but help us to make a large catch. Do not bring us misfortunes but give each of us “luck” (*sagal*) equally.

To learn the response or the will of the invisibles, after Mayvanuvana the internal organs of the sacrificial animal are analyzed (fig. 3). From the color of the lungs, the fullness of the gall bladder, and the texture of the liver,



Fig. 3. Ritual expert interpreting the internal organs of the sacrificial animal for omens of the fishing season, 1992

the portents of the season can be seen especially with regard to the main sources of uncertainty of mataw.²³

Dismantling the Vanua

A temporary structure must be dismantled when it has served its purpose. Sometime in May, the Dismantling of the Vanua, *Kapaychava' nu Vanua*, has to be performed by the First Fisher. “Breaking up the vanua” is done without much fanfare; it consists of picking up and moving a stone at the vanua. It was said that the First Fisher at Maratay would dive into the vanua and pick up a stone at the bottom.

I was present at Manichit in May 1992 to witness *Maychava nu Vanua* or the dismantling of the vanua at the end of the season. The First Fisher was there but it was the old mataw ritual expert that actually performed the rite. He bent down and moved a stone at the vanua, and briefly said something, which he paraphrased later into my tape recorder:

Mga Waryen, mga Kasi, tayoka da na u kapaytatao ta
as kanya-kanya ta na du paripariñen ta.

Waryen, Kasi, our fishing season is now over,
each person is *on his own* from now on in whatever he does.

The italics above emphasize that, with the dismantling of the *vanua*, the *vanua* as a cooperative group is broken up as well. Fishing safety and success cease to be hypersensitive to the purity or pollution of the *vanua*. Actions are no longer restricted and the taboo period is lifted. In the context of a group project coming to an end, this expression also connotes the settling of accounts among those involved (and soon it will be time for sharing out the catch).²⁴

Contemporary Transformations: Expanding the Concept of a *Vanua*?

Among the four *mataw vanua*, Chanpa-n is different in that it is being used by many other fishers aside from *mataw* during the summer, including those using motorized boats and nets. Meanwhile, there is also a new context for fisher relations: the *vanua* of Chanpa-n had assumed another identity as the Valugan Port Chapter of the Basco Fishermen-Farmers' Association (BFFA), a sectoral mobilization of fishers.

There were larger issues relating to the market and to national government policies affecting fishers that made this larger sectoral model of organi-

zation relevant: the BFFA was organized in 1986 over the issue of price ceilings for fish that the local government had set. The BFFA has also actively lobbied against the controversial grant of sea lane passage around the Batanes Islands to Taiwanese sea vessels by the national government in 1991; Batanes fishers are very concerned about poaching by Taiwanese fishers. Among the important benefits acquired from membership in the BFFA were access to loans from the Batanes Development Foundation, Inc. (BDFI), for purchase of boats and fishing gear.

Modernization in Valugan Bay did not seem to be leading to loss of ritual technology, however, at least by the late 1990s. *Mayvanuvanua* in my observation was in fact the biggest and most public in Chanpa-n, compared with the other *mataw vanua*, in part because Chanpa-n is close to the capital and is accessible by vehicle.

Because elections are usually scheduled in May, during election years I always met many of those planning to run for provincial, municipal, congressional, and *barangay* level positions at Chanpa-n during the *Mayvanuvanua* held at the beginning of March. In fact, the politicians and visitors possibly outnumbered the fishers themselves at this event (figs. 4 and 5). Their contribution also came in monetary form, and their names were entered in the records of the *vanua* alongside those of the fishers, together with the sum of



Fig. 4. Scandinavian visitor to Batanes participating in *Mayvanuvanua*, 1992



Fig. 5. Potential candidates in local elections shaking hands with *mataw* fishers, 1992

money (e.g., P100 per member) for the organizational funds, which were usually earmarked to cover the cost of the sacrificial animal and other ritual expenses. For this contribution each visitor was also entitled to receive a share of pork (to take home).

Although most of the politicians did not know about the details of mataw traditions and of the sacrifice that they were participating in at the beginning of the season, they explained to me that (apart from the political mileage and exposure) they were “showing solidarity” with the fishers. However, it is true that all the participants, including visitors, become part of the vanua. The visitors imbibed sugarcane wine during the offering. They also brought and consumed a lot of gin, perhaps too much of it (sometimes there was actually more gin than could be consumed), but this was an appropriate thing to bring and do.²⁵

The vanua as an organization thus incorporates more people, although these are not necessarily involved in organizational matters. There may have been some loss of group intimacy by the expansion of the notion of a vanua. However, the reproduction of “tradition” provides a venue for larger networking and alliance. Since the time of my fieldwork, I learned that many of the BFFA officials had successfully run for local government positions themselves.

Final note

Transformations are undoubtedly occurring in Batanes fisheries and some of the conflicts between traditional and modern technologies that have been taking place constitute a topic for further discussion. Meanwhile, there are vanua still being “made” or “reassembled” each year on the east side of Batan Island, following the ways of previous generations of fishers and reproducing an ancient idea of making an organized society, working cooperatively, drinking together, and, so, catching fish.

Glossary of Batanes Ritual Terms

añitu	spirits
dagen	taboo
disgrasya	tragic misfortune, accident
kacava su vanua	“breaking up” the vanua
Kapaychava' nu Vanua	dismantling of the vanua
Kasi	name of dorado fish
Mandinaw nu Vanua	First Fisher; president
mañivaheng	black sugarcane wine
Maynamunamu	cleaning
Mayvanuvanua	making the vanua
motin	blue-green beads
natay	share
palek	sugarcane wine
payuhwan	cooperative work groups
sayang	sacrifice for, exchange
Tangdah	First Fish (dried flying fish and dorado)
Umdinaw nu Vanua	First Fishing Trip
vuhawan	gold, coin for payment
Waryen	name of flying fish

Notes

- 1 Floats and hooks and lines are used for catching flying fish that will be used to bait the long dorado or *arayu* (also known as dolphinfish, *mahi-mahi*).
- 2 *Mataw* fishers use three of these vanua exclusively during the summer season. At the time of my fieldwork in the 1990s, there were about eighty full-time mataw fishers pursuing traditional mataw fishing in Batan Island. Except for *sumuho* or nighttime fishing for flying fish with light, all other kinds of fishing are conducted mainly from the other sides of the island. Batan Island has four sides: Chadpidan (i.e., the opposite side), Kajbo (the side below), Dichud (at the back—of Mount Iraya), and Valugan (where mataw fishing takes place).
- 3 See, e.g., Yamada (1967, 148–49) for a list and figure of the “Ports of Itbayat Island.”
- 4 Most of the data presented here were collected in 1991 and 1992, supplemented by field observations in 1995, 1996, 1997, and 2003.
- 5 “[V]anua is the richly polysemous word meaning both ‘place’ and ‘land’ in several senses (from microscopic to macroscopic levels), and also ‘people,’ specifically a group of people united under a chief,” it designates ‘nonchiefly peoples’ but, as a synecdoche of indigenous Fijian social order, it also points indexically to ‘tradition’, and to the chiefs as representatives of the people, and what they stand for” (Tomlinson 2002).

- 6 "The concept of vanua, is actually, a Pan-Pacific concept, *whenua* in New Zealand, *fonua* in Tonga, *fanua*, *fenua* or *enua* in other parts of Polynesia, *benua* in parts of Indonesia, and, also *vanua*, in Vanuatu, which has adopted it as the core of the name for their modern island nation state. As an all-encompassing concept vanua is not just land, but the land, our waters, our traditions, our ancestors, our farmlands, our forests, our architecture, our food, our very identity, and the life-giving spirit that has nurtured our peoples for countless centuries. The concepts of *te aba* in Kiribati, *ples* or *kastom* in Melanesian pidgin, the dreamtime, for the Australian aborigines, or even *terroir*, for our Francophone Pacific Island territories, stress the same emotional links that Pacific Island peoples have with their island homes and ocean as the foundation for sustainable living" (Kepa 2003).
- 7 "Basically, in the mind of a Fijian, the vanua is all there is for him. It has its physical dimension; the land, sea, vegetation, animals, fish, birds; the social dimension; the customs, traditions, relationships, chiefly system, language; the spiritual dimension; the gods, spiritual world, religion. A vanua is defined by a specific area of land, a common custom and tradition, and traces its lineage back to an ancestral god . . . Those who are not members of that particular vanua are outsiders and are potential enemies. The history of Fiji is mostly stories of tribal wars, and this was the cause. When the Indians arrived, Fijians became united as they felt their vanua had been intruded upon, the Indians becoming their common enemies" (Vosabalavu 2003).
- 8 Also relevant is the Tagalog term *bayan*, which means town or center, as well as people and country, and forms the root of *bayanihan*, which means both helping and cooperative work groups; and *bayani* or hero. Paluga (2004, 22) notes that other conceptually related terms such as *ili* and *bongto* have been given recognition by the school of Pantayong Pananaw as important in "framing narratives on local communities" in the Philippines.
- 9 Bellwood (2005) proposes an "out of Taiwan" origin for the spread of Austronesian languages and cultures that were carried in migrations from around 3,500 years ago. He says that, based on material culture and neolithic complexes, "a Taiwan to Batanes (and Luzon) north-to-south colonizing directionality (is) almost certain" (Bellwood 2005, 10). Dizon and Santiago (1994) have documented prehistoric burials shaped like boats in Batanes.
- 10 Carsten (1995) notes that the most significant features of a typical Malay house are that it is easily enlarged and can be moved from place to place. The passing on of (supernaturally charged) heirlooms captures the enduring quality of the house.
- 11 With some variations, similar rites are performed in each of the four *vanua* on the Valugan side of Batan Island, and each of the vanua already has set dates in the first weeks of March to perform the annual event *Mayvanuvana*. Maratay is the earliest—usually their Mayvanuvana is on 1 March—and the vanua of Manichit is assembled the latest in the season on 15 March.
- 12 The hard hats were drifted from Taiwanese fishing boats. These poachers using mechanized equipment are perceived as the main threat to fishing in Batanes. Every year the Philippine navy catches a few of these Taiwanese vessels.
- 13 Beginning fieldwork in October 1991, when I met the *mataw* of Mahatao for the first time in a meeting they called for the purpose, I introduced myself and my plan to do a study on mataw fishing traditions and this was explained to the old mataw that officiated and advised on the rituals for Maratay. At that moment, he began to dictate the words of the ritual to me, with the instruction to "write this down," slowly and word for word, in front of all the others. Afterwards the mataw remarked that now I knew the "secret" and that it had been their first time to hear the words as

well. It is striking in hindsight that such arcane knowledge was openly shared thus. I surmise that perhaps the old ritual officiant wished for the words to be shared with the rest of his audience, since he dictated this to me without my even asking to know such.

- 14 The term *motin* possibly may have linguistic connections with magical stones called *mutya* (*motiya*, *mutika*, *mussa*, *muchu*, *moya*) in Philippine folklore (Odal 2002, 108–14). Such a "gem" or "pearl" is a potent charm that also connotes value, rarity, uniqueness, beauty, and according to Odal is a feminine symbol or archetype (as it can also refer to a person, typically a muse or deity-guardian of the place/people). The mutya is also rightly in the "center," as in "center of attention" (ibid., 113). This idea of the center as feminine is also linked by Odal to the "mother" figure or Inang Bayan ("mother country").
- I did notice a feminine element associated with the *vanua* in Batanes in the formerly traditional *mataw* vanua of Itbud. This vanua once had a particular stone that was said to be a beautiful woman and that was "spoken to" by the fishers of the past.
- For a discussion of the magical uses of beads among the nearby Yami of Taiwan, see Benedek 1991, ch. 3.
- 15 Manichit also appeared to be unique among the *vanua* as it seemed to have evolved into a regular cooperative. In 1992 member contributions depended on how much fish a fisher had caught the year before, and excess funds were turned into a revolving fund that members could loan at the end of the season. Unfortunately I had no time to inquire into organizational developments in Manichit in my later fieldwork periods.
- 16 For example the penalty for being absent from a meeting as of 1943 was P0.10; P1.00 was the penalty for stealing bait and for not returning to the president other fishers' equipment that may have been found at sea. There is also a provision that prohibits placing things like "money, or bones of the *jajay*" on the boat or gear of others, "nor to touch anything without permission of the owner."
- 17 The 1943 document was revised in 1960, increasing the amount of the fines and adding provisions regarding the behavior of *manala* (those who help *mataw* carry the catch home). The new document also specified (in English) that the "10th of March will be the first meeting of all member [sic] of the Manichit," at which time each one would have to bring P0.50 and P1.00 for the "road". New signatories had been added to the 1960 document, such that it included all the mataw fishers that were currently active in 1992. See Appendix B.
- 18 See Hornedo 1980 for a more detailed discussion of "the world and the ways of the Ivatan *añitu*."
- 19 *Mataw* fishers were sometimes using current twenty-five-centavo coins to represent the piece of gold (*vuhanan*), but ideally, according to a Basco ritual officiant, older coins are appropriate, especially the American-time coins that bear the image of an eagle.
- 20 Though not all the taboos (*dagen*) are codified and there is no exhaustive list, some of the dagen that are readily enumerated include the following: The *mataw* must come ashore only through the *vanua* he belongs to (otherwise he may lead the fish to another vanua). The *tataya* or boat should be drawn up with the prow facing seaward and its rear end landward. The fish should be faced toward land and their tails to the sea when laying them on the shore. An internal organ (the *riyal* or bile sac) should be removed at the shore and not brought home. The fish should be faced outward when arranged on the *pingga* (carrying pole). Only the pingga may be used to transport

dorado. They should not be carried by the tail. Or in a *bayong* (a market basket). They should not be loaded on vehicles (bicycle, jeep, airplane) till the season is over. The only permissible way to transport arayu is by carrying them and walking. The catch should not be dragged on the ground. While eating *lataven* or rawfish salad, one must not spit out the fish bones but take them with one's hand from one's mouth. Raw dorado may not be eaten while at sea, nor at the vanua, and it may not be placed inside a bottle.

- 21 "Dirt" includes jinxing things such as a rotten egg, coins, or money; hair from a goat's beard; three stones; a black stone; squash leaves; or fish bones (especially bones of a particularly smelly fish called *jajay* that a fisher or his boat may come into contact with on the way to sea, and which are also described as acts of "envy" (*mayinanahet*).
- 22 Borchgrevink 2002 points out esthetic, moral, and practical dimensions to systems of agricultural knowledge in Bohol, where "cleanliness" is a key metaphor in agricultural practices. He relates cleanliness to local environmental and beautification campaigns (clean and green projects), and with interchangeable beliefs in *engkanto* (spirit) and dirt as cause of disease and illness. Among Batanes fishers (in contrast to Bohol farmers) "cleaning" has much to do with frazzled interpersonal relations: Cleaning rites for the *vanua* are concerned about the behavioral infractions that may have caused the vanua to become "dirty" or "sick," thus affecting collective fishing fortune.
- 23 If it is red near the "head" of the liver, then the fish shall appear early. If the rear of the liver is redder, then the fish shall appear later in the season. A white liver indicates that few fish will be found and "brought home" to the *vanua* by fishermen. If this is the case, more effort should be exerted to "call" the fish to the vanua when the first fisherman sets out to fish. Fresh cuts on the liver mean that there may be dangers in store for the fishermen during the season. The liver and the lungs are also compared to see if they have the same coloration. The liver is analogous to the sea. If the liver is smooth and even, then the sea will be calm and no bad weather or sudden big waves (*rumoy*) can be expected during the season. A liver with ruffled edges indicates that the sea will be rough during the season. If the liver (represents) the sea, the *apdo* or gall bladder attached to it is the *tataya* or boat of the *mataw*. If the apdo is filled with liquid, then many fish shall be caught. If there are string marks on it, fishermen should go out to fish right away because there will be many fish but after a while they may disappear. There is a short white string-like appendage said to be found only in the liver of an animal sacrificed during fishing rituals. This represents the fishing line of the mataw.
- 24 In the same manner that a temporary structure put up for a wedding celebration or a fiesta would be taken down afterwards, the excess firewood could be sold or given away, and the accounting settled among those that helped to make the event happen (Hontomin 1992).
- 25 Even in the other *vanua*, it is usual to find representatives of local government offices and visitors, including aspiring political candidates, participating in *Mayvanuvanua*. I have seen local government officials become so drunk as to be senseless and rolling on the ground.

Appendix A

MANICHIT
Basco, Batanes (Cagayan)
March 14, 1943

DU SINO A PAYANUNGAN NA:

Yamen a mian su firma du panayajbuan na anmana makakaktij amaytatao du Vanua du di Manichit, am du cajojo namen no capian nu capaytatao am atavo a mangay amaytatao dia am dawa mamacug camis u abtas a unotansu capiahen ania su echapia nu sino a macaunot dia as kakastiguan du sino a diamacaunot dia:

- A. Mangday su awan anmana sitnanan no kapaytatao du asa kakawan am mayanung u kavayavayat nu atavo a miembro adauri su aktuctuan nu papian su vanua kanu kapaytatao as akma pasao ta anu komavos u kapaytatao am mirua u meeting du paypanmuan du navuya a defectos anmana rajet du nakarajan auri. Na Natungdo a Presidente am nauri u adngueyen su vajevejey du capaymeeting aya as anu mian u dimacangay a makaya-mot duganit anmana kaduan a manaloval am mayanung u kapatadi na su echasaray na tapian makavawa du kastigo no abtas aya.

Kastigo nu dengangay du meeting - - - - - P0.10

“ “ “ Nu comaro du lugar nu meeting a abu su permiso
du Presidente anman sino du miembro - - - - - P0.50

- B. Nu atavo a miembro nu sociedad aya am mayanung u kasidung na su sino a mavuya na amian du peligro anmana pakasisian akma su cadobok canu kaganit anmana kayan nu defectos adiamakaparini/ su omenung du sakayan.

Kastigo ni diamangunung - - - - - P1.00

- C. Vadawen u kapaytatao du warawara anmana Bedberen Nu sino a maytatao; anu mian u mavuya aynarian a warawara ametoroj du Presidente ta sia dana u machennguennguey nia u, tander a vidian nia;

Castigo nu manakao su Bedberen ----- P1.00

“ “ diamamedena navuya a warawara ----- P1.00

- D. Vadawen u kapamarin su aran ango du echapayengay a maytatao su pak-ayapuan nu echasadit anmana dimangjapi nu kapayengay a maytatao akma sira su kapangay su kartos, tojang nu jajay du sakayan, kalape_ su warawara anmana kaduan pasira. Nu echamaytatao am_ todajen anu abo u permiso du tandira.

Castigo nu mapasada siaya ----- P1.50

- E. Nu Presidente am nauri u adngueyen du cakava su Vanua, Nu 31, nu Mayo du mangday du awan am nauri u mayanung a kakava su Vanua

Castigo nu mapasada sia anmana mamarin su machesubna du akma su E.aya am ----- P1.50

Makayamot du manamonamo a aktuctucto ko a omonut du abtas aya am may-firma ako du panayajbuan naya as dawa sidongen mo yaken mo Apo Ko a Dios.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

We who have signed below, as brothers, fishermen of the Vanua of Manichit, in our hope for good/successful fishing for all coming to fish here, have made these laws, to be followed for the good of all, and punishments for those who do not abide by them are imposed:

- A. Every year at the beginning of the fishing season, all members must come for a meeting to discuss the welfare of the vanua and of the fishing, and at the end of the fishing season, another meeting again to learn what were the defects and bad things that happened. The chosen President shall listen to what is said in this meeting and whosoever cannot come due to sick-

ness should send someone in order to avoid the penalty for violation of this rule.

Penalty for not attending the meeting ----- P0.10

Penalty for leaving the place of the meeting without the President's permission and the members' ----- P0.50

- B. All members of our group must help whosoever is seen to be in danger and helpless for reasons like capsizing or sickness or who might have problems with his boat.

Penalty for not helping ----- P1.00

- C. It is forbidden to steal the equipment and bait of any fisherman; if anybody finds someone else's gear, give it to the President who will be the one to return it.

Penalty for stealing bait ----- P1.00

Penalty for not returning found fishing equipment ----- P1.00

- D. It is forbidden to do anything that would affect the fishing coming from . . . dirt, like putting money, or bones of the jajay [a fish] on the boat, kalapay [fisher's basket], and the gear when they are not there, nor to touch anything without permission of the owner.

Penalty for violation of this rule ----- P1.50

- E. The President shall decide when the vanua will be taken apart, on the 31st day of May every year is when the vanua should be dismantled.

Penalty for going ahead and making like E. (?) ----- P1.50

With a clean conscience I pledge to follow these laws and affix my signature below, so help me God.

Appendix B

MANICHIT
Basco, Batanes (Cagayan)
March 14, 1943

REVERADO
March 12, 1960
Basco, Batanes, Phil.

DU SINO A PAYANUNGAN NA:

Yamen a mian su firma du panayajbuan na anmana makakaktij a maytatao du vanua du di Manichit am du cajojo namen nu capaytatao am atavo a mangay amaytatao dia am dawa mamacugcami su abtas a unotan su capiahen ania su echapia nu sino a macaunot dia as kakastiguan du sino diamacaunot dia:

- A. Mangday su awan anmana sitnanan nu kapaytatao du asa kakawan am mayanong u kavayavayat nu atavo a miembro adaori su aktuctuan nu papian su vanua kanu kapaytatao as akma pasao ta anu komavos u kapaytatao am mirua u meeting du paypanmuan du navuya a defectos anmana rajet du nakarajan auri. Nu natungdo a Presidete am nauri u adngueyen su vajevejey du capaymeeting aya as anu mian u dimakangay a makayamot duganit anmana kaduan a malaval am mayanung u kapatadi na su echasaray na tapian makavawa du kastigo nu abtas aya.

KASTIGO: Nu dengangay du meeting ----- P1.00

Nu comaro du lugar nu meeting a abu su permiso do Presidente anmana aranu sino du miembro ----- P0.15

- B. Nu atavo a miembro nu sociedad aya am mayanung u kasidung na su sino a mavuya na amian du peligro anmana pakasisian akma su kadobok cano kaganet anmana kayan nu defectos adiamakaparinan su omonung du sakayan.

KASTIGO nu diamangunung ----- P1.00

- C. Vadawn u kapaytatao du warawara anmana Bedberen; Nu sino a maytatao; anu mian u navoya ta aynarian a warawara am etoroj du Presidente ta sia dana.

KASTIGO: Nu manakao su Bedberen ----- P1.00

Nu diamamide nu navuya a warawara ----- P1.00

- D. Vadawn u kapamarin su aran ango du echapayengay a maytataosu pakayapuan nu echasadit anmana dimangjapi nu kapayengay a maytatao akma sirasu kapangay su cartos tojang nu jajay du sakayan.

- E. Nu Presidente am nauri u adngueyen du cakava su Vanua. Nu31 nu Mayo du mangday du awan am nauri u mayanung a kakava su Vanua.

Am sino u maynamonamo an mana maylablab do warawara as mapanmo an mana mavoya a maypoja su pinanamonamoan docapayingay an mana catangked na a warawara a akma su tataya.

KASTIGO: ----- P1.00

Nu mapasada sia anmana mamarin su machesubna
du akma su E. aya am ----- P1.50

Vadaoen u manala a manepal do tataya a pacayapuan no kalapos no kapaytatao an mana dimangjapi no maytatao (MATON U MAYTATAO) Gatos nu Matao an dina yocoyocoran u manala na.

MOLTA ----- P1.00

Atavo a manala am mangay a manidong su mayaraya a anodeasacango as mian u piligro as cano mian u lidiad am nesisita u cayan atavo no manala as mangay ava do matarek a tomalamad so cadoan a maytrabajo gatos no tay manla dina yocoyocoran u manala na.

MOLTA ----- P0.50

10th of March will the first meeting of all member of the Manichit.

MOLTA ----- P0.50

ROAD ----- P1.00

Makayamot du manamonamo a aktucto ko a omonot du abtas aya am mayfirma ako du pangayajbuan naya as dawa sidongen.

Note

This document in Appendix B is a revision of the document in Appendix A, made on 12 March 1960. The two documents are essentially the same, except for the increase in the amount of fines and an additional two paragraphs after item E. These paragraphs refer to responsibilities of the *manala* (people who go to meet the fisherman and help to carry the catch). Parts of the original are torn or indecipherable, and so I have not managed a coherent translation of the last two paragraphs.

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