

## **Butuanon Cuisine: In Search of Local Identity**

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Abstract - As evidenced by the ancient traders, Butuan is known for its valuable resources like the value of Butuanon food plants such as *lumbia* trunk upon which *kinabo* (winnowed unaw flour), *palagsing* (boiled unaw flour), *inisab* (hot mixed unaw flour) and *tinumpi* (pressed heated unaw flour) are made. The Butuanons cooked their food utilizing their ethnic cooking styles, revealing the Butuanon's Identity through their food preparation. The study used the ethno-historical method through the oral interview with the aid of an interview schedule. The interviews were cross-checked through the different key informants from the six villages, with a total of thirty-six (36) key informants. The originality and authenticity of the Butuanon Cuisine and recipes in the six villages Banza, Bobon, Libertad, Doongan, Maug and Babag can be traced back to the ancient period, which continued during the Spanish and American periods up to the present. The continuity of the Butuan food preparation survived due to the demands of the

old Butuanons and the existence of the supply of the native food resources.

**Keywords** - Butuanon cuisine (bulbous), Indigenous Filipino food, Sago (Lumbia) based dishes

## INTRODUCTION

Butuan City is the capital of Agusan del Norte and the regional center of Caraga Region. It has a total land area of 70,000 hectares. It is administratively composed of 27 urban villages and 59 rural villages. Among the 27 urban villages, 6 villages are chosen as area of study namely: Banza, Bobon, Libertad, Lower Doongan, Maug and Pagatpatan (MTP, 2004). These six villages are located along the tributaries of Agusan River which are intertidal areas where high tide and low tide marks occur.

Due to the richness of culture and history of Butuan, there is a need to revisit and reexplore the character of Butuan in the past. Understanding Butuan is understanding its cultural history, to quote Duke Busa Sanchez's statement that "Before there was no Philippines, but there was Butuan" (Zaide, 1994) as evidenced by the ancient traders from other countries Butuan for has been known for its valuable resources.

The location of the six villages contributes to its fertility, because of its swampy areas with murky, muddy soils which favor the growth of its products such as *lumbia*, *nipa*, taro, pawo and gabi (sct. *Colocasia esculenta*) and shellfish like *tuway* and *bibi* (The hard clam is known as *Mercenaria mercenaria*, the soft-shell clam as *Mya arenaria*). These resources provide food such as flour from the *lumbia* trunk upon which *kinaboo*, *palagsing*, *inisab* and *tinumpi* are made. The *kayam* nut comes from the *kayam* tree which also grows on the outskirts of Butuan. From these raw materials, the Butuanons cook their food utilizing their ethnic cooking styles, revealing the Butuanon's identity through their food preparations. Thus, this research was conducted.

As far as the Butuanons utilize their food plants into their own kind of ethnic cooking style, Domingo Salita's statement (1997) on cultural geography regarding earth in relation to man's cultural

activities and his achievements as they are influenced by the physical environment is indeed true. Salita therefore, explains that the cultural activities of man depend on the existence or the presence of what the environment provides. Much more, Gene Gonzales (1999) confirms Salita's definition of cultural geography, that food in any country will have a variation and are limited to what the land can offer.

### **Review of Related Literature**

Through arts, dances, folklore and religion, peoples and places can be identified. Moreover, one can also identify people through their distinct and ethnic cuisine. A very good example is the place of Malaysia. From time immemorial, Malaysia, a tropical lush-green land has been a trading center of Southeast Asia. The Arab world and later those from Europe settled or met to trade, and left traces of their foods. Borrowing and adapting from each other's cooking techniques and ingredients, they developed a rich and spicy Malaysian food (Claudio, 2005).

A twin of the Indonesian cuisine, which has a similar history, Malaysian cuisine consists of many exotic and tasty dishes – a tribute to the conglomeration of people who developed a colorful, healthy, and satisfying cuisine. Being a Muslim country, pork is not found on the menu. Chicken, fish and to a lesser extent, beef and lamb are cooked with rice and vegetables in innumerable ways. Basil, cardamom (a small capsule with 8 to 16 brown seeds used as a spice), chili pepper, cinnamon (a yellowish brown distinctive, fragrant, aromatic and sweetish, pungent taste from a dried bark used as a spice), cloves (aromatic dried flower bud used as a spice), coriander (both seeds and leaves are pulverized used as food seasoning) coconuts, cumin (small white or pink flowers often grown for its aromatic seeds), ginger, lemon grass, lemon and lime juice, mint (aromatic leaves used as a culinary herb), nutmeg (evergreen tree with a yellow drupe as a fruit for spice), pepper tamarind and turmeric (dried rhizomes are used as a yellow dye and as a food seasoning, especially in curry powders) are the major condiments employed to make these dishes moderately spicy and flavorful (Claudio, 2005). Indeed, Malaysia is suitable for growing spices and coconut trees.

Worthy of mention is Indonesia's culinary art which is close to other Southeast Asian countries. The Indonesian food preparation is strongly influenced by India. A good example is the curry sauce which is highly spiced often diluted with coconut milk and served with bite sized meat, fish and vegetables enlivened the blandness of rice which is the staple food. Arab traders ultimately converted Java from Hinduism to Islam and exercised their culinary influences as well. *Kebabs* which are marinated meat cubes threaded on skewers were reinterpreted to become *satay*. Other spices identified by the Arab traders are *dill* (leaves are used for flavoring pickles and sauces) and *fennel* (seed, leaf, stem, and bulb of the fennel plant used for cooking) which are found in Indonesia and are now being used by the natives. Indonesian food would be unrecognizable without the wok (Chinese cooking pan), stir frying the soybean and noodles which thread their way throughout their cuisines in countless ways. All these spices previously mentioned along with soybeans are grown in Indonesia. Peanuts, which are commonly grown in Indonesia provided sauces for *gado-gado* (a dish consisting a various boiled vegetables served with peanut sauce) and *satay*. These are the most identified food cuisine in Indonesia (Claudio, 2005).

Traditional Filipino cuisine is the result of various culture from the Malays and Indonesians, who were the first foreign settlers on the Philippine shores. Indians, Chinese, Japanese and Arabs, have traded with the Filipinos long before Magellan arrived. The early Chinese influenced the native food cuisine when they introduced stir frying, deep frying, noodles, and soy products which became indispensable food vocabulary of the native Filipinos. However, the native Filipinos improvised the Chinese cooking and incorporated it into the indigenous way of cooking using the native ingredients available in the Philippines. For instance, *pancit* or salted noodles are incomplete without a squirt or two of fresh *calamansi*.

From the ancient period to the modern period of Philippine History, Filipinos learned through the years to improvise their ethnic cooking style into better native food cuisine which had been influenced by ancient Asian neighbors as well as the Spanish and American way of cooking. However, native Filipinos still use the food plants that are provided in their own local resources. As such, many native Filipino foods are still preserved at present.

Thus, the people from villages Banza, Bobon, Libertad, Lower Doongan, Maug and Pagatpatan, utilized the food products of these places and developed them into their own distinct and ethnic way of cooking and still preserved at present.

## FRAMEWORK

Zaide states “to know the history of a country, one must first know that its geography, land, climate and natural resources affect the life, customs, and character of the people”. Furthermore, Dr. Harry E. Barnes explains that “geography gives individuality to nations and produces the variety of customs and occupations, which are a product of man’s reaction to different environment” (Zaide, 1994). To put these concepts into context in the research of Butuanon Cuisine, the geographical location and climate therefore, determine the individuality of a certain place and people particularly in the distinctiveness and rareness of their food preparation and style.

Therefore, the idea of Gonzales agrees with Salita’s definition of cultural geography which is also affirmed by Zaide and Barnes.

## OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The study aimed to trace the originality and authenticity of Butuanon cuisine and recipes in the villages Banza, Bobon, Libertad, Lower Doongan, Maug and Pagatpatan.

Specifically, the study sought to pursue the following objectives:

- 1.) identify the indigenous local resources or food plants found in the six villages.
- 2.) present the different foods prepared from *Unao*, *Pawo* and shellfish.
- 3.) present the different recipes of locally made food in Butuan from the six villages.
- 4.) describe the people’s knowledge and skills in locally made food augment their income.
- 5.) show how the native food preparation vary from the daily consumption from that of the special occasion.

- 6.) Identify and explain the cultural, historical, sociological and economic significance of the native foods to the Butuanons from the six villages.

## **MATERIALS AND METHODS**

### ***Research Design***

The study used the ethno-historical method through oral interview with the aid of an interview schedule. The ethno-historical method explored and examined the cultural and social significance of the native food of the selected villages. Tracing the historical roots of the native foods from the six villages explained how the Butuanons value the native foods at present. This oral interview constructed the historical background of the old ways in food preparation of the Butuanons and to acquire the primary sources of Butuan cuisine and recipes. A case study was conducted in Banza as a model for a detailed explanation. The interviews were cross-checked through the different respondents from the six villages.

### ***Key Informants***

The study has six (6) key informants from each village: a total of thirty-six (36) key informants. The following criteria of the key informants are: native-born, old residents or their parents are old residents who could talk about Butuanon food. Old settlers are also considered as key informants with fifty years of residency.

Table 1. Key informants from the six villages

AGE	BABAG		BANZA		BOBON		DOONGAN		LIBERTAD		MAUG		TOTAL
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
51 - 55	1						2			1		1	5
56 - 60	2	1		1	1			2		1		1	9
61 - 65				3		2		1				2	8
66 - 70				1	1				1	3	1		7
71 - 75		1		1		1		1				1	5
76 - 80		1			1								2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>36</b>

### *Locale / Study Sites*

The basis of choosing the six villages is based on the following: 1) being one of the oldest settlements in Butuan; 2) the presence of the native food plant or marine resource; and 3) where most of the Butuanons live and have ethnic food in their place.

These six villages are known in Butuan for producing food plants which are unique and not common throughout Caraga Region. Besides, they prepare locally made food manually, using local made equipments in cooking and the cooking style is so laborious and tedious and time consuming. Butuanons in these areas are also eating exotic known food.

### *Instruments Used*

A prepared interview schedule was used in this study. Tape recorder, tapes, notebooks, pens, batteries were also used. Tokens were given to the interviewees after the interview as an expression of gratitude.

### *Procedure*

First, the researchers conducted ocular visitation before they located and identified the interviewees of the six villages. Next, they conducted immediately the interview proper. Sometimes, the initial interviews were not sufficient, thus the researchers went back for

additional information. Their interviewees' responses were cross-checked through the different interviews from the six villages. Third, the researchers translated all the Cebuano interviews to English. Then, the congruent responses in answering the specific questions were summarized. Finally, the research was encoded, edited and submitted to the Office of the Vice President for Research, Extension, Accreditation and Development.

When the case study was conducted, the researcher went to the Village Captain and the Village Secretary to ask for the profile of Village Banza. The data given was incomplete; therefore, the researcher had her own way of surveying the items which were insufficient. After the survey, the researcher made an analysis of the data made from Banza to give more strong evidences of the true nature and situation of the place.

### **Data Analysis**

The responses of the key informants from each village were cross-checked and validated through the congruency of the responses from the six villages.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### ***Geographical Location***

During the ancient period, the Agusan River was the pathway and source of cultural interaction and development of the Butuanons with various ethnic groups outside Butuan. The natives from other places such as Bohol, Leyte, Cebu and Sulu would come to Butuan and exchanged native goods such as beeswax, gold, beads, pottery, textiles, mats and metals (iron and bronze). Meanwhile, the Butuanons exchanged with them goods such as rice and carbohydrate staples (banana, rootcrops, *unaw* starch and *sago*). Thus, Butuan became a major trading center (Cembrano, 1998). Through the years, the importance of the Agusan River and their tributaries have contributed much to the social and economic development of Butuan and Agusan particularly the Butuanons.

The residents from Babag, Banza, Bobon, Maug are also makers of boats (bawto – canoe boat), *unaw*, and nipa wine. These native boats were made of *doongon* (sct. *Heretiera litorales*) or *tugas* (sct. *Vitex parviflora*) (Cembrano, 1998). The purpose of the boat is to transport the native goods which they have produced to other areas particularly within the city of Butuan by following the Agusan River tributaries. Aside from these forest products they have gathered, these areas also have plenty of ricefields, *lumbia*, banana, *pawo* or root crops. Because of its riverine location, these villages also provide marine resources particularly shellfish (kinhason – sct. *crostacei*) (see p. 23) as a result, their means of livelihood are either fishing, farming or *unaw*, nipa making and trading.

### *Topography*

Butuan is located in the Northeastern Mindanao facing the Pacific Ocean. Libertad is based on the foothill with an opening of Masao River. Beside Libertad is Doongan and Babag which are facing the coastal areas of Agusan River and across the river is Maug and Banza with its adjacent neighboring village Bobon with Agusan river tributary.

## **Short Historical Accounts of the Butuanon Food Plants in Relation to Butuanon Cuisine and its Socio – Cultural and Economic Significance**

### *Butuanon Food Plants*

*Unaw*: Food Savior of the Butuanons

The secret therefore of the ancient Butuanons for long survival was the *kinabol* food. When the Spaniards arrived here in Butuan, one of the offerings of the Butuanons was the *unaw* and *kinabol*. The traditional way of cooking *unaw* has never changed. Though it is true that rice is the basic staple food of the Butuanon, it is not a handy food. This is the reason why the ancient Butuanons preferred to bring and eat *kinabol* in their work activities (Sanchez, **Babag**).

Through the years, the Butuanons have learned to cook the *unaw* in various ways. Aside from *kinabol*, they are able to cook *palagsing*, *tinumpi*, *inisab* and *buway/atuli* porridge (see. Butuanon Recipes). At present, one can find unaw conical sieves mainly from Banza and sometimes in Langihan market especially during Saturdays and Sundays. Each conical sieve is worth P150 or P200. The retailed *palagsing*, *inisab* and *tinumpi* also can be found in Langihan market and sometimes outside the school campus where vendors form a queue.

### **RICE: Basic Staple Food**

Rice is an annual grass in the grass family, *Poaceae* (formerly *Gramineae*). Asian rice is classified as *Oryza sativa*. Rice is a nutritious food, providing about 90 percent of calories from carbohydrates. In Butuan, rice is called *humay*. One of their major agricultural productions is rice.

### **Duma: Food for the Masses**

*Duma* is an ancient group term for food plants of the Butuanons such as *saging* (banana), *camote* (sweet potato), *balanghoy* (cassava), *pawo* (taro). *Duma* is a group of starchy food plants that can also be a good substitute for rice. Unanimously, the Butuanons believe that no one would go hungry if only everybody will work, plant and harvest root crops or food plants. As the saying goes, “what you sow is what you reap”.

### **COCONUT: Food Plant for all Seasons and Ingredient for all Butuanon Cuisine**

**Coconut**, family of *Arecaceae* (formerly *Palmae*), classified as *Cocos nucifera* which is abundant in Butuan being located in a tropical zone, is a common name for the fruit of a tree of the palm family.

### **Shellfish: Source of Protein and Calcium**

**Mussel** (*tahong*). The common sea mussel is scientifically classified as *Mytilus edulis*. The zebra mussel is known as *Dreissena polymorpha* (Microsoft Encarta, 2008).

**Clam** is a common name for many species of bivalve mollusks that burrow wholly or partly into the sand or mud by means of a hatchet-shaped muscular foot. For the Butuanons, clams are known as *tuway*. Clams are edible and eaten by the Butuanons and throughout the world. Clams are usually taken from the intertidal areas in Butuan. The hard clam is known scientifically as *Mercenaria mercenaria*, the soft-shell clam as *Mya arenaria*, and the surf clam as *Spisula solidissima*.

### *Religion, Customs, Practices and Festivities*

When the Spaniards arrived in Butuan, the Butuanons welcomed them with gold, basket full of ginger, native wine and native foods. Through military conquest and conversion of the natives to Christianity in 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Spaniards subjugated the Butuanons and later the Butuanons embraced the Hispanic culture. The Spanish culture was integrated and intertwined with Christian religion. Once the natives acknowledged Christianity, it meant also that they practiced the Christian rites, festivities, beliefs, customs and practices.

It is not only fiestas that the native Butuanons learned to celebrate but also other Christian practices such as Christmas Day or the birth of Jesus. Before the day of Christmas, they had to hear the nine days novena and masses which were usually done in the early morning known as *misa de gallo*. By the day of Christmas, they usually prepared native foods such as *biko*, *budbud* (*glutinous rice*), *puto* and *bibingka* which were Bisayan native foods and were introduced to the Butuanons. These native foods were influences coming from the *Boholanos* or *Bolanons*, *Leyteños* and *Cebuanos* who were immigrants and had intermarried with the Butuanons. However, the native Butuanon foods continued to be desired and prepared by the Butuanons side by side with the Bisayan native foods. Those Bisayans who migrated to Butuan were attracted with the booming commerce and trade during the ancient period which continuously flowed in after World War II. In short, their presence in Butuan had influenced the variety of food preparation which was accepted and became part of the Butuanon culture. As told by Rene Cultura from Banza, her mother before the fiesta of Banza usually prepares plenty of millionaire's salad or *atsada* (see Butuanon Recipes) for those visitors' family members, for relatives and friends who are not able to come and eat with them during the feast day.

Rufia Bustillo Serdeña from Doongan confirms such practice, in her own experience, when she worked with an old Butuanon woman named Apo Lalia Ato Furia known as landed woman who always asked her workers to prepare plenty of *kusilba* and *kalamay* for the visitors as well as for those relatives and friends who were not able to attend such celebrations whether during fiesta or Christmas. Even during ordinary days, the Butuanons were identified for their generosity as observed by Angeles Bustillo Torralba and Paz Bustillo Torralba both from Ambangan, Libertad. They said that Anecito Cubillas at that time was recognized to be a food sharer in their community. His wife Honorica Ato Furia was also religious and attended daily masses.

One distinct cultural practice among the Butuanons is *hungus-hungus*. It is a custom among the Butuanons wherein a group of farmers rotate in working on the rice field of its members. They take turns in working in different rice fields. *Sundunon* is another practice of the Butuanons when it comes to the production of rice. The farmers volunteer to work in a specific field from planting to harvesting. They do not get paid for planting on a specific area. (key informants from Banza and Bobon.).

Cembrano, (1998) described that traditional societies where resources may be abundant, communal sharing or assistance means a member's obligation to others within settlement. This dynamics of socio-economic relations can be best described as *what I eat is what you eat*. The Butuanons call the dynamics as *bagat*. The purpose of sharing is to make all the members of the community eat their meal. This practice is attested by Generoso Cupin, a local Butuanon historian in the 1900. Among the clannish and pure Butuanons, the sharing of food or sometimes known as "bring house" is still practiced today during birthdays, weddings and fiestas, which is typically a very Filipino character. During the Spanish period, this *bagat* dynamics is reinforced by the Spanish missionaries who espoused for the virtue of charity or generosity. Indeed, the Spanish missionaries had succeeded in making a routinary practice to the Butuanons to be more charitable people as Christians. (Abundo, Babag). During ordinary days, the Butuanons prepare their food in a simple manner and in less quantity which is only good for the family consumption. (Eduardo A. Fortun, Babag).

## Ash Wednesday / Holy Week Palm Sunday, Easter Saturday and Sunday

Another note worthy to mention is the practice of the catholic Lenten season. Like Ash Wednesday, in many churches particularly Catholic Christianity, people come forward to be marked with ashes, an ancient symbol of sorrow and repentance; On Palm Sunday, Christians recall Jesus' entry into Jerusalem during the last week of his life, when he was welcomed by people waving palm fronds; other important days of Holy Week are Maundy Thursday, when Jesus shared the last supper with his disciples, and Good Friday, when He was crucified at the start of the Holy Week. The Spanish missionaries had a way in making the Butuanons religious by giving them activities during Holy Week like attending mass, Station of the Cross, confession.

Catholic religious activities, cultural practices and occasions also dictate what kind of food the Butuanon would eat. Such practices would make the Butuanons closer and more cohesive. Through the years, the Butuanon cuisine has slowly receded in the food preparation because of the modern global cuisine which is more of western fastfoods along with the old Butuanons dying and fading. However, the remaining pure Butuanon generation still desires the Butuanon cuisine (Cultura, **Banza**).

According to Nicomedes Cambray from Libertad, there are exotic foods in Libertad which can be found such as tamilok that can be taken from the mangroves and abatud from the nipa palm. Village Captain W. Pulido from Doongan confirms such statement and says that during his younger days, his friends or "barkadas" would go to the woodlands in Doongan for adventure and look for food. What they wanted to eat was more of the tamilok, abatud and caught fish. The tamilok (refer to Butuanon Recipes) was eaten raw with vinegar and spices, while the abatud (refer to Butuanon Recipes) was fried. According to him, eating abatud is tasty and rich in fat while tamilok is slimy and spicy. Eating the exotic foods made them happy.

Another perspective of the Butuanon nature is the community eating or neighborhood eating. According to the Bobon key informants, there are times that there is a desire to eat as one group and each voluntarily contributes the ingredients. For instance, with *kusilba*, each

neighbor will contribute *butong* or young coconut, *kinugay* or brown sugar, firewood, kawa or big pan and paddle or somebody's effort to mix the grated young coconut by rotation. Once the *kusilba* is cooked, each neighbor then brings his/her own bowl or container for the *kusilba*. Even those who have not given are still given *kusilba*. Then, they will eat it either with biscuit, bread, camote or *saging*, or anything that is bland in taste that can be paired with *kusilba*. The manner of neighborhood eating is one way of strengthening community relationship.

During the ancient period, Butuan was a major trading center. Through the Agusan river and its northeast coast, as well as those of nearby islands, trade and commerce was very active. Bartering system or exchange of goods was their means of economic activity. Marine and forest products were usually exchanged for foreign products such as pottery, textiles, porcelain wares, or ceramics (Hontiveros, 2004). Then during the Spanish period, the native Butuanons continued to produce their own agricultural crops. Thus, the Butuanons were self-sufficient. When they cooked their own food, they just get it from their farm or marine source from the nearby river (Cultura, Banza).

However, when the Americans arrived, economic life changed. There was encouragement of selling goods in the public market. As a result, the native Butuanons were forced to increase their yield or agricultural produce in order to sell it in the public market. Once they received their profit when they went home, they could now buy their home needs such as sugar, soy sauce, salt, gas and others. Therefore, the profit is only a supplement to their economic needs (key informants, Bobon). For those Butuanons especially the natives from Babag, Banza and Maug where unaw making, laksoy making and nipa making are their occupational skills, they sell their unaw, laksoy and nipa also in the public market or sometimes by order (Curilan, Maug). For those Butuanons who are fortunate in their native occupational skills, they are able to use their profit in supporting their children's education. Nonetheless, there was an economic shift, when white collar jobs were in demand and factories were established in Butuan City such as plywood factory, sawmill, Celebes factory and others (Abundo, Babag and Cassion, Banza). The Butuanons preferred to work in this new kind of employment. Hence, the native occupational skills were neglected, and only a few Butuanons remain in such laborious work

(key informants, **Bobon** and refer to Case Study of Banza). From this time, even in the selling of *inisab, tinumpi, palagsing* (mainly with unaw mix) is also a highly specialized skill and there are only few vendors selling this kind of native foods. This has become more important, uncommon and substantial identity of the product produced among the Butuanons. This is also true with the laksoy making in Babag and Banza.

### The Butuanon Recipes

Basically the recipes prepared by the people of Butuan are taken from the food plants growing abundantly in the place. *Lumbia* is the source of *unaw* in which many foods are cooked and mixed usually with grated coconut (*lahing*) like *palagsing, tinumpi, inisab* and *kinabol*. The Butuanon foods are presented below with explanations as to how they are prepared:

Table 3. Classification of Butuanon cuisine

Main Dish or Viand	Sweets	Salads	Beverage
<b>SPECIAL OCCASION</b>			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Boiled <i>Baki</i> or shrimps</li> <li>- Boiled <i>kalimango</i> (crabs)/ <i>kayagang</i></li> <li>● <i>Buntan / Binuntan</i> (Crabmeat Wrapped in the Banana Leaves)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● <i>Kusilba</i> (Scraped or Grated Young Coconut)</li> <li>● <i>Kalamay nga Pawo</i> (Taro Jam)</li> <li>● <i>Palagsing</i> (Boiled Lumbia Flour)</li> <li>● <i>Bokayo</i> (Grated Not So Young Coconut)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● <i>Atsada nga Ubod sa Niyog</i> (Millionaire's salad)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● <i>Butong</i> (Young Coconut Juice)</li> <li>● <i>Laksoy</i> (Nipa Wine)</li> <li>● <i>Tuba</i> (Coconut Wine)</li> </ul>
<b>DAILY</b>			
Main Dish or Viand	Sweets	Salads	Beverage
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Boiled Crustaceans (<i>kayagang</i>)</li> <li>- Boiled <i>Banisil / Bibi / Bugkaa</i></li> <li>- Broiled <i>Haw-an</i></li> <li>- <i>Timuwa</i> (Boiled Fish)</li> <li>- <i>Inagun-on / Inun-unan</i> (<i>Haw-an or Pantat</i>)(Sour Fish)</li> <li>- <i>Apay</i> (Gabi Plant)</li> <li>- <i>Sinangag Pasayan / Hipon</i> (Toasted Shrimp)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Tabudlo</i> (Kamote Cooked in Sweetened Coconut Milk)</li> <li>- <i>Palatik / Latik</i> (Sweetened-brown sugar Coconut Milk)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Puso Salad</i> (Banana Heart Salad)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Butong</i> (Young Coconut Juice)</li> <li>- <i>Laksoy</i>(Nipa Wine)</li> <li>- <i>Tuba</i> (Coconut Wine)</li> </ul>
<b>EXOTIC FOOD</b>			
a. Abatud (Edible Larva) b. Tamilok (Larva from Palm)			

The Butuanon recipes had never been written by the early Butuanons. They simply habitually practiced the ethnic cooking style and handed down the said cooking techniques from one generation to another. Thus, through the years, the present generations continuously practice them.

## CONCLUSIONS

The originality and authenticity of the Butuanon cuisine and recipes in the six villages of Banza, Bobon Libertad, Doongan, Maug and Babag has been helpful to the Butuanons for quite a long time due to the presence of their natural resources, especially *unaw*, coconut, *nipa* and *duma*. From these natural resources, the Butuanons develop their own distinct and unique socio – cultural activities which shape and dictate their kind of food preparation on a said particular occasion. Also, it helps them historically to survive in times of crisis from ancient period up to the present. These cited food plants have economic values which develop their occupational skills to survive in their daily lives. As a consequence, all these offer them their identity and trademark of their own local places.

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