

## CHAPTER IV. MARANAO TRADITIONAL SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT

The Maranao are organized as a large *communal* society within the kinship bond which is the fundamental basis of relationship. Their genealogies called *salsila*, which are partly written but mostly handed down by oral tradition, account for the common origin of all Maranao from legendary and historical heroes said to have been founders of communities and societies.

Blood relationship which can be traced from these ancestors is called *bangsa* which means "royal descent." One branch of the Maranao family tree relates its common descent from Radia Indarapatra, a mythical ancestor of the epic characters. The other branch traces their other lineage from Prophet Muhammad through his daughter Fatimah down to Sarip Kabunsuan who Islamized the Maguindanao and Maranao peoples. It is said that Kabunsuan founded the first sultanate dynasty in Mindanao to which later sultanates relate their social and political structures.

### Traditional Four States

The Maranao divide their homeland in Lanao into political and territorial jurisdictions called *Pat a Pangampong* which means, "Four States" or "Four Principalities." The names of the member states are Bayabao, Masiu, Onayan, and Baloi (see Map II) whose sovereignties and relationships to each other are defined in a set of traditional covenants called the *taritib*, which also binds all the smaller units of society into the total structure.

It is related in the traditional tales of the Maranao that each of the four geographical divisions was a community founded by an ancestor who held no formal office or title, but had exercised some sort of leadership and a claim over the land. These principalities were

relatively independent through sharing ancestors to the coming of the Americans and the establishment of modern government the Maranao were never controlled under a single authority despite the traditional alliances of the four principalities.

I. Bayabao was further divided into three sub-divisions, namely, Poona Bayabao ("Where Bayabao Begins"), Lumba Bayabao ("Central Bayabao"), and Mala Bayabao ("Greater Bayabao").

Poona Bayabao was composed of seven original communities, each representing a sultanate, namely TAPOROG, BANSAYAN, ROGAN,<sup>38</sup> Talagian, Bubong, Bugaran, and Sisimun.

Lumba Bayabao was composed of BACOLOD, BOROKOT, MINITUPAD, MARIBO, Galawan, Butod, Taluan, and Maguing.

Mala Bayabao was composed of RAMAIN, DITSAAN, Marawi (including Saguieran), Marantao, Suba a Buntong, and Antanga Didagun.

II. Masiu was composed of two geographical sub-divisions on opposite shores of Lake Lanao known as East Masiu and West Masiu, but the traditional name of the seven original communities are MAROHOM, RAKMATULA, MARHOM DIALALODIN, Kadayon, Madayao, Abagat (in modern Taraka), and Pondag (in modern Balindong, Tugaya, Bacolod Grande, and Madalum).

III. Onayan was composed of two geographical sub-divisions known as East Onayan and West Onayan, but the traditional names of the communities are BUTIG, PAGAYAWAN, BAYANG, Ragayan, Timbab, Malalis, Dolangun, Binidayan, Pualas, Padas, and Boribid.

IV. Balo-i was composed of BALUT, Basagad, Matampay, Kabasagan, and Lumbac.

The ancient boundaries of the four principalities are located with respect to the modern territories of cities, municipalities, and municipal districts of Lanao (see map between pages 66 and 67) as follows:

Bayabao — comprises Mala Bayabao, Poona Bayabao, Lumba Bayabao (including Wao), Ditsaan-Ramain, Bubong, Marawi City (which traditionally includes Saguieran District), and Kapai.

Masiu — comprises East Masiu: Taraka, Molundo, Tamparan, and Masiu: West Masiu: Balindong, Tugaya, Bacolod Grande, and Madalum.

Onayan — comprises East Onayan: Butig, Lumbatan; West

Onayan: Tubaran, Bayang, Binidayan, Pualas, Tatarikan, Ganassi, Madamba, Malabang, Kapatagan, Nunungan, Munai, Caromatan, Lala, Tubod, and Baroy.

Balo-i — comprises Balo-i, Pantao Ragat, Matunggao, and Tangcal.

Within the domains of the four principalities are two categories of sultanate differing in social and political ranks. The first group of fifteen is known as *pegawidan* or *panoroganan* (ruling) representing a superior rank. The second group is known as *pegawid*, representing a lower rank. In each principality, the *pegawidan* and the *pegawid* groups are both descended from a common founding ancestor. The *pegawidan* is descended from a male line known as *wata sa mama* while a *pegawid* group comes from a female line,

As a result of frequent intermarriages between the two groups combined with bilateral kinship, there is no individual or group in the whole society that can claim to be a "pure" *pegawidan*. Excepting in smaller communities of closely-related persons, the "supported-supporting" relationship tends to become indistinct.

The structural organization of the original fifteen *pegawidan* and twenty eight *pegawid* ancestries of the four principalities is shown in the following table.<sup>39</sup>

### I. BAYABAO

#### A. Poona Bayabao

Pegawidan Sultanates	Founding Ancestors	Present Location	Pegawid Sultanates	Present Location
Taporog 1	M'Baor	Poona Bayabao	Talagian 1	Poona Bayabao
Bansayan 2			Bubong 2	
Rogan 3			Bugaran 3	
			Sisimun 4	

#### B. Lumba Bayabao

Pegawidan Sultanates	Founding Ancestors	Present Location	Pegawid Sultanates	Present Location
Bacolod 4	Digos & Danaum	Lumba Bayabao	Galawan 5	Lumba Bayabao plus Wao
Borokot 5	Apun		Butod 6	
Minitupad 6	Okoda		Taluan 7	
Maribo 7	Ibango		Maguing 8	

**C. Mala Bayabao**

<b>Pegawidan Sultanates</b>	<b>Founding Ancestors</b>	<b>Present Location</b>	<b>Pegawid Sultanates</b>	<b>Present Location</b>
Ramain 8	Otowa	Ramain-Ditsaan	Marawi 9	Marawi City & Saguiaran
Ditsaan 9			Marantao 10	
			Subaa Buntong 11	
			Antanga Dida- gun 12	Ramain-Ditsaan

**II. MASIU\***

<b>Pegawidan Sultanates</b>	<b>Founding Ancestors</b>	<b>Present Location</b>	<b>Pegawid Sultanates</b>	<b>Present Location</b>
Marohom	Balindong	Taraka	Kadayon 13	Taraka
Rakmatula 10			Madayao 14	
Marhom			Abagat 15	
Dialalodin 11			Poridag 16	
				Balindong Bacolod Grande Madalum

**III. ONAYAN\***

<b>Pegawidan Sultanates</b>	<b>Founding Ancestors</b>	<b>Present Location</b>	<b>Pegawid Sultanates</b>	<b>Present Location</b>
Butig 12	Sultan Bakarar	Butig	Ragayan 17	Butig
			Timbab 18	
			Malalis 19	
			Dolangun 20	
Pagayawan 13	Borowa	“Pagayawan” means the whole of West Onayan, but most mem- bers reside in Tatarikan. Bayang	Binidayan 21	Binidayan
			Pualas 22	Pualas
			Padas 23	Tatarikan
			Boribid 24	Tubaran
Bayang 14	Diwan		(Pegawid function within the social structure of the society.)	Bayang

## IV. BALO-I

Pegawidan Sultanates	Founding Ancestors	Present Location	Pegawid Sultanates	Present Location
Balut 15	Ora-in	Baloi	Basagad 25	Baloi
			Matampay 26	Matunggao
			Kabasagan 27	Baloi
			Lumbao 28	Baloi

## NOTES

Under Masiu, the names of *pegawidan* and *pegawid* groups are not the same as the names of places. The names refer to "social groups." The titles of "Sultan sa Masiu" and "Kabugatan sa Masiu" (heir apparent) are alternately assumed by "10" and "11" above.

A new *pegawidan* group was recently created, the "Sultanate of Onayan" whose members are descendants of Ancestor Domalondong (brother of Sultan Barakat, the founder of Butig.) The *pegawidan* function of the new sultanate is internal within its sub-groups. Some genealogies count it as the 16th in the total number of *pegawidan* groups.

The written genealogies of the Maranao, which borrowed a number of words from Malay, refer to the territorial domains of the original sultanates as "*Nagri Busar*" that might be closely translated into "Great Provinces" each of which is ruled by a sovereign sultan, assisted by a set of officers of different ranks and titles constituting a "council of datus" for the administration of public affairs.

The original "Ruling House" of Masiu was called *Samporna* which created the dual authorities and titles of "Sultan sa Masiu" and "Datu a Kabugatan sa Masiu." In Bayabao, there are a number of claimants to the title of "Sultan sa Onayan" and "Sultan sa Baloi" have been created for each of the two principalities, respectively. The Sultan of Baloi derived his legitimate claim to the title from the "Ruling House" of Balut. The Sultan of Onayan ascended to his rank as a descent of Ancestor Domalondong, the brother of the founder Sultan Barakat of the "Ruling House" of Butig.

Among the four sultans of principalities, the Sultan of Masiu appears to have been given the highest respect within his territory as reported by an old informant as follows:

As his sign of greatness, when the Sultan of Masiu visits a *torogan* (royal ceremonial and communal house), he is offered a mattress and a mat rolled together to be carried home by his entourage. He is given gifts of ceremonial weapons and other valuables. This is done during an initial visit to a village. Before his arrival to a place, gongs are sounded loud to announce his coming. As he enters the boundary of a village, he is met with a *tangkongan* (royal decorated chair) borne on the shoulders of slaves to bring him to the welcoming party, followed by a brass band of gongs and drums and ceremonial weapons. He has warriors and slaves who accompany him while attending ceremonies or in inspecting his domain. He owns vast landholdings farmed by his slaves, tenants, and relatives. He is entitled to *buis* (tribute) from lower-rank members of his sultanate.<sup>40</sup>

The above description is an example of the past grandeur once fully enjoyed by powerful sultans and still practiced to some extent. Sultans no longer receive tributes, but they collect shares and rents from their cultivated lands. They still have legitimate claims to some

entitlements from dowries given to brides in their localities during wedding festivities. But their prestiges are still highly upheld in the present-day society.

### Agama Concept

An *agama* is a relatively small community bound together by a variety of kinship relations, by traditional membership, and by a variety of social, religious, and political activities. It has a mosque as a physical sign of the community's relative independence from *agamas*. It has one supreme sultan having a higher rank over other sultans and minor officials within the same *agama*.

Unlike the ancient Greek city-states which tended to confederate into a single compact body, the Maranao principalities and sultanates witness frequent segmentation and multiply into other units with different degrees of structural strength and power. Through the gradual growth of the original rulers' family, creating wide spread settlement over the productive areas, the relationships within the sultanate brought about the founding of new sultanates or *agamas*.

### Pangampong Sub-structures

In its ideal form, a *pangampong* is theoretically a state, a political unit with a territory, people, government, and sovereignty. Its original structure consisted of a few sultanates classified into two functional categories — *pegawidan* and *pegawid* sultanates. Both types have been splitting and changing resulting to the present-day innumerable sultanates, *agamas*, and their many titled persons in modern Lanao. Despite this frequent cleavage, each new social unit maintains emotional attachment to a mother *pangampong* for reason of their memory of common origin, territorial unity, and some valued traditions. The typical case of Masiu gives an evidence of the past and present position of its structure.

At one time Masiu had two *pegawidan* and four *pegawid* groups. Marohom Rakmatula and Marohom Dialalodin, the two *pegawidans*, descended from the founding ancestor, Balindong. The seat of their central government is Moriatao Balindong, in Taraka District. According to their traditional rule of ascension and succession, they alternately assume the offices of Sultan sa Masiu (formerly, Sultan sa

Samporna) and Datu a Kabugatan sa Masiu (Heir Apparent). The two rulers maintain two royal houses and a common mosque for their state and the religious congregations of the people in the *pangampong*.

During important social, political, and ecclesiastical affairs, the *pegawid* groups of Kadayon, Madayao, Abagat, and Pondag were prevailed upon by traditional covenant to assemble at Moriato Baliñdong. All four groups were forbidden by the covenant to maintain their own official communal houses and mosques which, if established, would rival the power and prestige of the central authority. The first three groups lived in small villages called *lipongan*, which had no independent status. The fourth group, Pondag, had their settlements scattered on the west Lake Lanao shores now comprising Balindong, Tugaya, Bacolod Grande, and Madalum Districts. Physical distance and the risk of crossing Lake Lanao made it difficult for them to fulfill their obligations to the central authority. At one time when a group of Pondag members were on a boat from Balindong (formerly Wato) to attend the regular Friday Congregation at the mosque in Taraka, they capsized and were almost drowned. The incident became the basis of their appeal to build an independent mosque in their territory. The Sultan of Masiu and his council of datus approved the appeal and the people of Wato established their own mosque together with the Sultanate of Wato. This having been done, the other Pondag members in Tugaya, Bacolod Grande, and Madalum also built their own mosques and their respective sultanates, which were accorded customary recognition by all the four *pangampong*.

Likewise, the subordinate villages of the Kadayon, Madayao, and Abagat groups in the immediate vicinity of Taraka gradually established to have their own mosques and political units, although they still recognized the *pegawidan* status of the Sultanate of Masiu.

In the course of time, these groups which seceded from the central authority continued splitting and multiplying. The physical sign of secession is the establishment by a group of a new mosque, a communal house, and a set of offices. Since a group is composed of sub-groups, it also maintain an internal *pegawidan-pegawid* ("supported-supporting") pattern of relationships in their power and prestige system. The changing process from dependent status to an independent status, as manifested by customary establishment of a

mosque, is termed in Maranao as *kasibay sa agama*, meaning, "mosque separation." An *agama* is not exclusively a religious institution. It is a social organization with joint political and ecclesiastical structure and function. It is a small but compact unit of Maranao society found in considerable number in the settled territories of the four principalities. It is the organ of decision-making and organized action in a small community. With Moriatao Balindong as the capital, the Taraka District territory (where the Sultan of Masiu still maintains his influence even after the succession of communities in West Masiu) is divided into *lipongan* villages. Literally, *lipongan* means "groups," whose members had a relatively lower social status in contrast to the superior rank of the prestige class in Moriatao Balindong. With the change into a more autonomous status by establishing separate mosques, many *lipongan* in *Taraka* are today politely referred to as *agama*. In the past, each community served the ruling class in the following manners:

Lipongan A<sup>41</sup> – which refused to be regarded as a *lipongan* due to a relatively better social status, "voluntarily" answered the utility needs of the two ruling classes. In times of war they gave military protections for the Sultanate. They were then a warrior class.

Lipongan B – also of better status, kept the yellow and green royal flags of the sultan and his heir-apparent.

Lipongan C – of relatively lower status, was composed of fishermen and land tillers who gave tributes out of their produce to the rulers and their families. They also served as warriors.

Lipongan D – were carpenters and artisans charged with the construction and repair of the royal houses and the furnishing of a royal litter called *osonan* during enthronement, wedding, and funeral ceremonies.

Lipongan E – were "lightkeepers" who illumined the royal houses during social and ceremonial gatherings.

Lipongan F – maintained the environmental arrangement and sanitary conditions of the royal houses' premises.

Lipongan G – were charged with the work of replacing the worn out or termite-eaten huge posts of the royal houses.

Lipongan H — kept the fishing equipments of the sultan and his heir-apparent.

Lipongan I — carried the *osonan* litter during royal funerals.

In addition to the above mentioned symbols of royal privileges, only the sultan and his heir-apparent could display their royal and green flags. The use of the yellow flag is one they shared with the original fifteen *pegawidan* sultanates. The flag is customarily hoisted on the bow of their royal boats as they crossed Lake Lanao during important trips. *Pegawid* flags are usually hoisted at the stern, according to tradition.

### The Agama Structure

Despite the noticeable weakening of a *pangampong* in power and territorial positions from both internal and external causes,<sup>42</sup> the autonomous *agama* communities exercise a relatively strong integrated function for the multiple needs of community life in the modern Maranao society.

In its ideal role, an *agama* community might be a *pegawidan* or *pegawid* in relationship to other *agamas*, although it has more of an autonomous status. Generally, it has one superior sultan (although in others there are co-equal rulers) as the chief officer above the ranks of a community council of lower-ranked titled men including some minor sultans representing kinship units in the same organizations. Some other titles of officers are *kabugatan*, *radiamuda*, *pituilan*, etc. for the males: *bayi*, *bayalabi*, etc. for the females. These titles are hereditary in each kinship unit. If the *agama* is of *pegawidan* status, the superior sultan maintains a *torogan* as his family's residences which also serves as a "palace" or communal house for multipurpose assemblies. In front of the *torogan* is a communal playground for recreational and ceremonial purposes where the symbolic and decorative flags of the community are displayed during important events.

The hierarchy of officers constitutes the governing body of the *agama*. The superior sultan presides in all state meetings or in his absence meetings could be held "in the name" of his traditional authority. In view of their importance in community affairs, non-titled datus of recognized prestiges and abilities also participate in the democratic discussions on matters of general interest.

The administration of organized religious activities is one of the several functions of an *agama*, although it can be observed that there is a separation of powers between the temporal and spiritual officers on "pure" theological and "pure" secular matters.<sup>43</sup> The mosque is primarily a place of worship but at times a place to discuss some secular affairs belong to the community which the people built under the leadership of both clerical and secular officers. The former set of officers is composed of the *imam*, the mosque leader or president; the *katib* or *bilal*, a religious officer who first calls the mosquegoers to prayer; the *modin*, a substitute or an assistant to the *katib* during the latter's absence; and the high-prestigious *kali*, a judge or consultant on religious laws. Often, the *kali* occupies a marginal role between the two types of authority for reason of his dual knowledge of Quranic and *adat* or *taritib* (customary) laws.

These titles, along with "sultan," represent the Arab diffusion into the pre-Islamic patterns of the Moro system. Arab religious titles also received local modifications in that they became "hereditary" in the kinship units of most *agamas*. Besides those holding formal religious offices, in the *agama* there are religious practitioners belonging to the class of *tuan*, *olamas*, and *hadjis* who take active leadership on ecclesiastical affairs.

In most community gatherings, both the temporal and spiritual officers interact on matters of general interest, either of regular or casual nature. In the deliberation of public matters, the ranking officers of both the *pegawidan* and *pegawid* kindred groups do not take monopoly of the discussion. Minor titled men as well as influential non-titled men, such as the *kalalagan* or *maongangen* (skillful persons in the rethorical art), take active part in the discussion in order to arrive at a public decision. In a large or small assembly, the ideal "rule of the majority" is observed. Majority rule is translated into *kiaopakatan*, *kiaoparikan*, or other similar legal terminologies to mean the "decision of those who assembled." The Maranao are highly sensitive over any unpopular decision termed *da kaopakati*, which is often annulled upon protest.

It can be seen that in the *agama* there is a semblance of "representative democracy," as shown by the fact that accredited representatives of the component social and political units constitute a council. On the other hand, "popular democracy" is also discernible

in the *agama* assemblies in that plain members holding no formal titles may participate as they do participate actively in the process of decision-making.

Besides the regular titles previously mentioned, in the *agama* special titles of prestige having no formally-defined roles are given to persons of power, wealth, ability, and other personal qualities. Among these titles the most popular ones are *panondiongan* ("noble"), *sangkopan* (masculine title for one who is feared and respected), *wata mama* ("male son"), *adapun* ("majesty"), *bayi a gaos* ("rich lady"), and others signifying positions of informal leaderships in the community.

### Laws and Judicial Officers

In the *agama* four acts of laws are in operation governing varied types of relationship. These are: (1) the *Kitab* or Islamic laws of the Holy Quran, as interpreted by the *kali* and other learned men; (2) the *taritib* or customary laws with local and inter-communal provisions; (3) the *igma* or recently promulgated laws which, when handed vertically to refer to generations, also become traditional laws; and (4) the *pasad* or terms of alliance between inter-related *agamas*.<sup>44</sup> Precedents (*kiasagadan*) in the settlements of previous cases also become legal references. *Agamas* have no prisons nor military peace officers formally appointed. Strong *datus*, however, could force the accused to appear before them. Prior to the inception of modern government, the forms of punishment were by retribution, enslavement, compensation and fine.

A semblance of the western "trial by jury" is a traditional pattern among the Maranao in the settlement of important cases. A group of *agama* officers as well as non-title *datus* of known honesty and integrity often perform a judicial function called *kokoman* (Arab loan term) where contesting parties submit their disputes. The jury of nobles ministering justice include in their group the *kali*, who is the authority on Quranic provisions. The jury labor at arriving upon a popular decision over the case.

### Types of Agama Membership

Kinship is a fundamental criterion for membership in an *agama* community. Membership in the community is inherited through one's ancestors who are blood-related to community founders.

Because inheritance and kinship are bilateral (through both father and mother) one may be a member of a number of *agamas* in which he may reside if he chooses, to which he owes allegiance, and from which he can claim protection and support. One may also reside in the community by virtue of marriage to a member, or by moving in without traditional claim or affiliation by marriage.

Because one may belong to many *agama* communities but reside in only one, there arises several classes of membership as follows:

1. Active resident members;
2. Active part-time resident members — those who commute between their communities;
3. Active non-resident members — those who, though living elsewhere, maintain their identification by frequent visits, especially participating in community ceremonials, and who claim and pay their *adat* (material entitlement or obligation);
4. *Miakamong* — associate or affiliate members, those married to members;
5. *Bala-i* — residents related to *miakamong* members;
6. Inactive non-resident members — those whose connection to the community can be traced and can activate their memberships if desired by actively participating in community life;
7. *Mananangga* — just residents but who take active interest in the affairs of the community and are entitled to protection of the community; and
8. *Sakop*, *oripen*, or *bisaya* — slaves whose memberships are affiliated with those of their masters.

Because membership is based upon descent from a limited number of founding families who may have been themselves related and because of the practice of community endogamy, most members of the community are related, frequently in more than one ways to most other members.

### Social Classes

Taking evidence from their types of relationship and terminologies, the Maranao classify themselves into two general classes, namely: (1) the *mapia a tao* (the nobility) or the aristocratic datu class

claiming "royal descent" which they call *bangsa*, and (2) the *mababa a tao* (the low people), a more polite euphemism for *sakop*, *bisaya*, or *oripen*. Literally, the term *sakop* means "subject or follower" and is less humiliating than the other terms, both of which render the meaning of "slave." *Oripen* is the same as the Tagalog *alipin*, or the Visayan *olipon*. There seems to be no conclusive evidence that the Maranao *bisaya* refers to Visayan captives who became slaves.

Between the two, the *mapia a tao* are considered more important not only because of their prestige, but also because they constitute the majority in the total Maranao population. The *mababa a tao* are of insignificant number, hence a fast-vanishing class due to opportunities for social mobility under past and present conditions. "Slave" is more of a "category," for there exists no class structure of organization among slaves. A slave is a part of his datu-master's household, although many live as separate families maintaining affiliations with their masters.

The *mapia a tao* is sub-divided by an almost indiscernible social gap into (a) the *pegawidan* and (b) the *pegawid*, which have been previously discussed to mean the "supported" and the "supporting" classes, although the prestige distinction is slight. While a superior sultan comes from the first group, minor sultans and other officers come from the second group. Both sub-classes constitute the "community council of datos" since both have *bangsa* or are of "royal descent." Members of the two groups intermarry. Every *mapia a tao* can trace his status to be a part-*pegawidan* and a part-*pegawid* so that the ancient connotation of "supported" and "supporting" is often regarded in present life as undecorous. Once a highly respectable datu frequently made a poetic utterance which, when literally translated, meant that all persons had tails excepting himself, implying that he was a "pure *pegawidan*." Popular knowledge has it that there is no Maranao who is pure *pegawidan*.

There are special categories of slaves, such as follows: (1) *panakawan*, a male slave who accompanies his master as a bodyguard and "cargador"; and (2) *raga* (colloquial for "young spinster"), a female slave rendering household help for her mistress.

The causes of slavery among the Maranao are the same as those in early Philippines, namely, (2) birth in a slave family, (b) captivity

in war or from kidnapping, (c) purchase, (d) failure to settle debts, and (e) punishment for a crime committed against a person.

Liberation from slavery comes from any of the following: (a) escape from bondage, (b) paying the master, (c) voluntary release by the master, and (d) marriage to a member of the upper class. (Outside the Moro pattern, there is, in addition, the current interference by the constitutional authority, like the recent anti-slavery operations by the Armed Forces).

Slave holders who voluntarily give some sort of freedom to their slaves and treat them as kin are commonly found in many communities. Many a female slave liberated themselves and their offsprings when they were taken into marriage by men of the datu class. Even the offspring of a datu and a slave woman, in an unlegitimized relationship, may have legitimate claim to his father's status. A person of the status of part-datu and part-slave tends to pass into the *mapia a tao* category when the community no longer recalls his maternal origin. Male slaves of exceptional quality may cross the social gap by marrying a woman of the upper class.

Some tentative formulations might be stated about the narrow gaps between ranks and prestiges for their significance in behavioral relationships. Although an individual generally derives his prestige from his kin-group status, there is a categorial ladder of individual ranks as follows:

1. A *pegawidan* sultan has higher rank than a *pegawid* sultan.
2. A minor *pegawidan* titled man has a higher rank than a minor *pegawid* titled man.
3. A *pegawidan* non-titled man has a higher social rank than a *pegawid* non-titled man.
4. The male enjoys a higher rank than the female.
5. Adults enjoy higher ranks than children.
6. Slaves have the lowest ranks.

### **New Values and Prestiges**

This report speaks of traditional patterns in their unsophisticated state. The devaluating effects of modern life upon old patterns, to be dealt with in our later analyses, cannot be overlooked. Both the old and the new prestige systems are in operation, so that the new generation of modern professional, political, and economic personalities

represent the new trends of values and prestige. These new trends are results of the current social, cultural, and economic changes. Government agents, politicians, and other persons of varied professional callings (such as lawyers, doctors, army officers, teachers, etc.) are looked upon as persons with high social statuses in the community. During this period of transition, Muslim individuals tend to compete in both new and old systems of values and prestiges.<sup>45</sup>

### Agama Territory and Property

The *agama* members own in common the mosque building, which they built out of their own collective resources. The community has territorial claims defined by natural boundaries. Subdivided land inherited by a kin-group is called *lopa a mianggapa*. It may have been originally a "private" property of a pioneer individual, who first cultivated the land and had handed it down to his recent small group of descendants who maintain its "private" status from the larger communal land property. It appears that public or communal land belonging to a whole *agama* or *pangampong* is called *kakola*.

According to learned Muslims, *khahulah* is an Arab concept for "property of Allah," for which all mankind have equal rights such as the vast lands, forests, seas, lakes, and rivers. But the Maranao limited the concept to local ownership. When a forest land claimed as a part of a *kakola* is opened up by an outsider, say of another Muslim (or Christian) group, the local group asserts its right of *kakola*. (Through this concept of *kakola*, it may be understood why titled lands of Christian settlers in Moroland are contested by Muslim claimants. The traditional and the constitutional concept of property ownership are in current conflict.)

When the local group allows outsiders to settle in its territory, the latter are expected to assume the role of *pegawid* ("supporting") to the former. Often, this mutual relationship results in intergroup integration in the local *agama* community through the common process of inter-marriage.

The *agama* is a multi-purpose organization, as shown in the complexity of its intra and inter-community activities. Its internal authority exercises legislative, executive, and judicial functions. Interwoven in this general function are the social, religious, recreational, and economic activities which are evidence of a high degree of

community interaction. In the past, it had an active military function which accounted for the frequent feudal clashes between communities.

Building and repairing a mosque is the most common project which involves the individual and family members in the *agama*. In recreational and casual gatherings which are held during wedding festivities, these members often join with other communities with whom they have kinship relationships. In the work situation, families often exchange labor which they term as *kasoda-soda*. In remote areas, the community performs collective magical ceremonies among farmers and fishermen to induce bounteous produce during the season farming or fishing. This being non-Islamic, it is being discouraged by learned Muslim religious practitioners.

#### GENERALIZATION<sup>46</sup>

### **The Functions of Kinship for Community and Society Structure**

#### **Kinship as Criterion for Membership in Community.**

Unlike communities in the modern, urban, western society, membership in a Maranao community is inherited through one's ancestors who are descendants of the founders of the community. Because inheritance and kinship are bilateral, one may be a member of a number of different communities in which he may reside if he chooses, to which he owes allegiance, and from whom he can claim protection and support. One may also reside in a community by virtue of marriage to a member, or by moving in without traditional claim or marriage. Because of this practice, there arises several types of memberships as had been identified in our previous report. (See *Types of Agama Membership*, pp. 80-81).

#### **Kinship as Providing Inter-community Structuring**

The Maranao claim descent from a limited number of common ancestors who were founders of their "nation" (*bangsa*), whose descendants were the founders of the *Four Divisions* ("states" or "principalities") of *Lanao* and of the communities within these divisions. These ancestors are ranked in importance according to (a)

whether they were original founders or sons and daughters, grandsons and granddaughters of the founders of Lanao and (b) whether they were younger or older siblings, and (c) whether they were male or female founders.

The founding of the communities, and the relationship of the founders to the earlier founders of Lanao and to the founders of other communities is recorded in the *salsila* (genealogy) of the Maranao. This genealogy is repeated and referred to during ceremonial occasions to define the relationship between the several communities and thereby to define the claims to prestige and other values of the residents. This provides a ceremonial structuring of inter-community relationships that is used in situations of ceremonial reaffirmation of the unity of Lanao, in crises situations of inter-community conflict, and in some inter-personal situations; but it is not the base for the day-to-day relationships between communities.

In addition, communities are bound together by the common memberships that persons have in several communities. Thus two communities (*agamas*), where members who claim membership in both communities, are usually bound more closely together and act more frequently in concert than do communities not having such common memberships.

### **Kinship (Ancestry) as Criterion for Social Class (prestige status) in the Community**

The ancestors of the present Maranao are ranked into two general categories: (1) the nobility or datu class, and (2) the slaves or *oripen* class. In addition, within the nobility class, a distinction is made between the *pegawiden* ("supported") and the *pegawid* ("supporting").

The nobility claims descent from original founders of Lanao as related in myths (i.e., called *darangen*) or in the *salsila* (genealogy), which is perhaps part-mythical and part-historical. The origin of the slave class consisted of old Maranao families who by virtue of crime, economic need, or by capture in inter-societal battles, were turned into slaves; or of non-Maranao captured in battles, slave raids (*kapangayao*), or by other procedures.

The distinction between the *pegawidan* and *pegawid* is based upon the same distinction mentioned above in connection with inter-

community status: younger (or weaker) brothers and their descendants were *pegawid* to older (or stronger) brothers and their descendants.

Because of class exogamy and because of the bilateral kinship system, most Maranao today are descended not only from the two prestige groups, but also from the lowly class. Consequently, the distinctions implied by the "ideal" class structure cannot be made in fact with any hard and fast classification of the population. However, certain families may claim prestige because of some ancestral skill or function. Thus a family whose ancestors were noted for bravery in battle, for special service to the community, or for special administrative or leadership skill may claim and receive greater prestige than those who can claim only in terms of traditional royal classification.

Finally, the prestige position of a family may reflect current achievement and activities of its members. A family that is politically powerful (through large numbers, skill, etc.) in the modern society will gain additional prestige. The same acquisition of "new" prestige is also true with a family whose members are educated in the western-oriented school or are successful in business. Thus the social class status system today is not a rigid one, though it has some rigid elements (e.g., slave ancestry as being completely disqualifying). In fact, it is probable that we should not speak of social classes as such: rather, it appears that there is a prestige distribution system that makes rather subtle distinctions between families in terms of the several criteria indicated above.

### **Kinship as a System of Relationship Statuses**

In addition to the function indicated above, there is also a system of classificatory statuses based upon kinship. These statuses define the relationships one has with other particular persons; the degree of closeness to be felt, the degree of responsibility to and for another, and the deference to be granted to him or received from him. For some of the statuses more explicit responsibilities are defined. A preliminary examination would indicate that there are these broad classes:

- (a) Father (including uncles and father's in law);
- (b) Grandfather (including grand uncles); and
- (c) Brothers and cousins to the 3rd degree.

These general classes are further defined by the closeness of the relationship which makes quantitative rather than qualitative difference in the relationship.

### **Kinship as the Basis for House-family Collectivities**

The fundamental social system in Maranao society may be the household family (*mbatabataa*) – the collectivity of persons joined by consanguinal and conjugal connections (blood and marriage connections), who live together, who eat together, and who work together. In its simplest case this unit is composed of a man, his wife, and their children. In more complex cases, it may consist of one or both parents of the husband and/or wife, aunts, uncles (and their unmarried children), son's wife and daughter's husband and their children, brothers or sisters and their spouses and children or others.

### **Other Intermediate Collectivities**

Next to the *agama*, the most important social unit is probably the *casual group* or *pseudo-group*. This is a temporary collectivity in which relations between persons are defined not by a morality or set of relations shared by these people as socialized beings in a common culture; or by status relations coming from the community. The *agama* is typified by frequent occurrence of these casual groups. It is probably that most of the "business" of the *agama* is "handled" in and through these casual groups. These might be thought of as the "informal" structure of the *agama*. In addition to the casual groups there are the several repetitive "gatherings," frequently ceremonials in which a number of relationships and connections are reaffirmed by the fact of the gathering.