

## CHAPTER V. STUDIES IN THREE SAMPLE COMMUNITY TYPES

This section of the reports deals with the three types of community in Lanao proposed for closer observation for the purpose of obtaining concrete descriptions of community structure. Much of the concrete data which constitute the basis of generalizations in the preceding sections of this report have been drawn from said communities in the region. The first of these communities is Butig representing the ideal type of the "most rural, isolated, and least affected community by the current modern changes." Of course, it is just one of the communities under the same classification in this general survey.

### A. B u t i g : A Sampling of an Isolated Community

#### Introduction

Butig is one of the 25 municipal districts of Lanao del Sur or one of the total number of 29 municipal districts of the recently undivided Lanao Province. The criteria for its rural and isolated characteristics are based upon physical and cultural factors. It is about 56 kilometers from Marawi City, the principal center of acculturation in Lanao del Sur. Its all-Maranao population of 3,437 live in villages and scattered houses over an area of about 344 square kilometers beyond the southeastern shores of Lake Lanao. It is only accessible by trails of varying distances from different points of contact on the lake shores.

The traditional tales and the *salsila* (genealogy) of the Maranao

identify Butig as the oldest of the early communities in Lanao. The *salsila* of Butig is said to be the oldest edition of written genealogy<sup>47</sup> among the Maranao and its contents are handed down orally or in more recent record editions to succeeding generations. It tells about the royal Maguindanao ancestors who first settled Butig. The popular claim for royal descent (*bangsa*) from Sarip Kabunsuan is said to have been passed on to the Maranao through the ancestors of Butig who established in Lanao the first royal Islam community.

Besides the discernible material evidence of folk culture, the existence of primitive beliefs and practices among the inhabitants of Butig are indicative of its isolation. While these folk customs are still widespread among the Maranao even in the more sophisticated areas, they are better preserved and more rigidly observed in Butig. The practice of offering festivities to the spirits of ancestors who, they believe, have influence on the quality of the harvest is much more systematic in Butig than elsewhere. Similar magical beliefs are to be found in their treatment of illness through practices in which Islamic traits are mixed with pre-Islamic elements.

The social bonds expressed in the value of kinship, interest, territory, and status which are sociologically regarded as the "four springs of action" in the community can be tested through observing the cultural values of the rural people of Butig.

(1) *Kinship*. The people of this rural area take very high pride in their claim for "royal kinship" which they term *bangsa*. They try to prove this by relating their genealogy from Sarip Kabunsuan through whom their founding ancestor Dianaton was descended. They say that their royal origin was the earliest source of other royal origins in Lanao. Although their villages and houses are widely scattered over the area, they are tied together by their emotional bond of blood relationships.

(2) *Interest*. They hold common traditional interest in their territory and kinship, and their folk culture which is rich in magical practices, myths, and legends. They take pride in something like "the grandeur that was Butig," which they relate as once a place where ancestor Dianaton built an extraordinary house but which did not exist to this day as it was enchanted and petrified into one of the "sacred" mountains called Pindiaman in their locality. In the modern sense, they expressed common desire in future projects of barrio road constructions and irrigation system to water their ricelands

which suffered from long drought, and the extermination of rats infesting their crops.

(3) *Territory*. The people hold common interest in their territory where there is a huge and rough rock called "*butig*" which, according to legend, is connected with the exploits of their ancestors. They detested the fact that some of their traditional territories were incorporated into the official territories of other municipal districts. These are the barrios of Balaygay, Nanagun, and Dimapatoi in Lumaban, and Sawir in Masiu. In said barrios, they have their kinship relations who have built new *agamas* and who participate in the life of other communities instead of Butig. Even Buldon in Cotabato is a part of their traditional territory which they thought should be a part of Lanao Province.

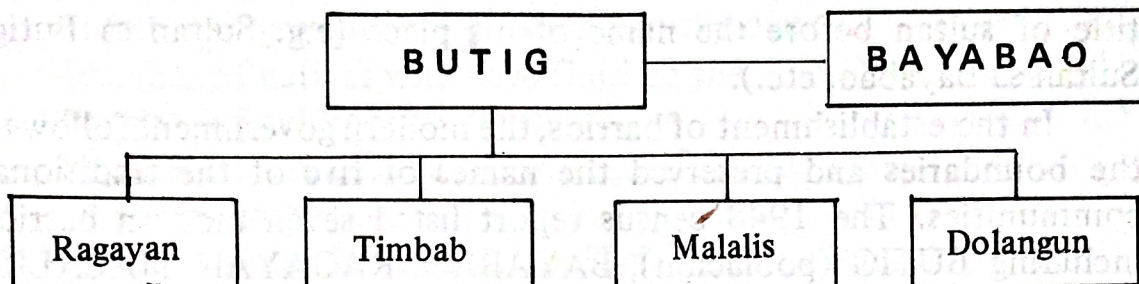
(4) *Status*. Each member of the community in Butig (despite the sub-division of the community into smaller segments) take pride in his status as an *Ibutigun* — "native in Butig." This means to him the high regard for the place as one of the 15 original *pegawidan* sultanates of Lanao. Besides this interest in the ascribed status of a "royal native," they also take interest in new statuses and ranks of political leaders such as that of mayor, councilor, and other government position of influence. Under this kinship status, there is common defense and offense if only the members of the community are faced by an outside enemy, as shown in their rivalries and armed clashes with members of other communities.

While familism and localism gradually tend to weaken in more advanced or fast-changing communities they are still strongly preserved in Butig under the current isolation of the community. Transportation and communication which are factors of change have still a long way to minimize the localism of Butig. But with this localism and familism as the basic ideology of rural life, the people of Butig tend to be quite easily mobilized toward collective action on the strength of traditional cooperation in community life.

### Community Structure

The whole of Butig was one of the fifteen original *pegawidan* sultanates of the "Four States of Lanao." Its ancient structure consists of Butig, the principal community and seat of the sultanate power, and the minor ("supporting") communities of Ragayan,

Timbab, Malalis, and Dolangun. But the *pegawidan* class of Butig split into two and a later community was organized, now called *Bayabao*. This old structure is charted as follows:



The original of Butig as a sultanate was maintained more rigidly when it had only one mosque located at Butig Poblacion where all the people prayed together and interacted in other phases of community life. In recent years the six original communities have divided into mosque-groups or *agamas* as follows:

1. BUTIG<sup>48</sup>
2. Bualan<sup>49</sup>
3. Pantaon
4. Poktan
5. BAYABAO
6. Pindolonan
7. Dinganun
8. TIMBAB (or Raya Rimbab)
9. Loloda Timbab
10. RAGAYAN
11. Koloyan
12. Tokasan
13. Pimbago
14. Balala
15. MALALIS-DOLANGUN

It is noted that the ancient communities of Malalis and Dolangun maintain a common community mosque under one *imam*. This means that as a mosque-group the two communities constitute one *agama*, but as a traditional political structure they constitute two units of equal rank and power which are exercised by two sultans. Each of the other 14 communities is under a headman bearing the title of sultan before the name of his place (e.g. Sultan sa Butig, Sultan sa Bayabao, etc.).

In the establishment of barrios, the modern government followed the boundaries and preserved the names of five of the traditional communities. The 1948 census report listed seven modern barrios including BUTIG (poblacion), BAYABAO, RAGAYAN, MALALIS, DOLANGUN, Bualan, and Pantaon. The last two barrios are parts of ancient Butig.

The seven barrios have multiplied into about eighteen barrios, with the appointment of eighteen councilors, one for each barrio. The increasing number of barrios is probably motivated by the desire of the party in power to appoint more councilors for political campaign purposes.

The ancient *agama* organizations are further segmentalized into smaller units called *lipongan* consisting of a neighborhood of a few houses.

The fifteen *agama* communities have been regarded by the local municipal district administration as "barrios." It appears that the administration has been converting mere *sitios* into barrios to give representation to every *agama* community for modern political expediencies. This indicates the complex and conflicting relationship between the traditional organization of the *agamas* and the modern barrio set-up of the constitutional government, and bastardization of structure and function of both systems of authority.

### Modern Traits and Acculturation

Despite the relatively slow occurrence of social and cultural change, Butig is affected by the current influences that make Maranao communities change their traditional patterns of life. Under the

constitutional structure, Butig is organized as a municipal district which is a branch of the provincial and national governments. While there is no extensive research on culture traits to measure the degree of acculturation, the following data on the condition of community life might serve as indications of a changing pattern:

Number of government personnel in the district . . . . .	30
Number of natives who have finished the secondary course . . . . .	12
Number of public schoolteachers . . . . .	5
Number of schoolbuildings (one pre-fabricated and one makeshift) . . . . .	2
Number of municipal district officials (councilors, etc.) who have gone to school . . . . .	5
Number of past mayors (11 since the creation of the district) who have gone to school . . . . .	3
Number of municipal district personnel who have visited Manila to become acculturated while traveling and observing life in other communities . . . . .	4
Number of merchants among government personnel who were acculturated in their traveling and trading in other communities . . . . .	4
Number of government personnel who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, an occasion for acculturation . . . . .	3
Number of modern machineries (a cornmill) . . . . .	1

The above criteria on cultural diffusion will not be sufficient to describe the new changes taking place in the community. In agricultural life, the cultivation of new crops such as Irish potato, cabbage, and white beans have been introduced into the community from the neighbor municipal district of Lumbatan, where the agricultural school has been responsible for the introduction of modern agricultural practices including the culture of new crops and the use of chemical fertilizer. The frequent visit of rural folk to the center of acculturation in Marawi City and other more advanced communities is gradually breaking the isolation of this district and bringing it closer to modern community life and ways. As a municipal district, the community takes active participation in modern elections for the selection of district, provincial, and national officials. Such participation teaches them the function and value of the modern government.<sup>50</sup>

## Two Types of Authority

It is clear that, like most Maranao communities, the pattern of life in Butig is under the dual influence of two types of authority – namely, the *traditional authority* exercised by the officers of the sultanate or *agama* system, and the *legal authority* as represented by government agents of the municipal district administration. The main framework of the traditional system is described by the *agamas* and the titled persons who assume authority in the different sub-localities (see Chart 2) and political jurisdictions of the municipal district that is in conflict with the older system. The following table gives a graphic picture of the traditional set-up in Butig:

AGAMAS OF BUTIG<sup>51</sup>

Name of Agama		Titles of Sultan	Founding Acenstors	Locations
Moriatao (*) DIANATON	(1)	Sultan sa Butig	Sultan Barakat	Butig
Moriatao SALAGINTO MAYOR	(2)	Sultan sa Bayabao	Salaginto Mayor	Bayabao
Moriatao DIDAITUN	(3)	Sultan sa Ragayan	Didaitun	Ragayan
Moriatao DITUCALAN	(4)	Sultan sa Malalis	Ditucalan	Malalis
Moriatao ZUBO	(6)	Sultan sa Timbab	Zubo	Timbab
Moriatao RABIOLAN	(6)	Sultan sa Dolangun	Rabiolan (female)	—
Moriatao SULTAN SA KALODAN	(7)	Sultan sa Sarip	Sultan sa Kalodan	Balala
Moriatao MAKALANTONG	(8)	Sultan sa Koloyan	Makalantong	Koloyan
Moriatao WARUN	(9)	Sultan sa Poktan	Warun	Poktan
Moriatao AMATONDING	(10)	Sultan sa Pimbago	Amatonding	Pimbago
Moriatao MAMA SA RAGAT	(11)	Sultan sa Tokasan	Mama sa Ragat	Tokasan
Moriatao ATORI	(12)	Sultan sa Bualan	Atori	Bualan

Agama in Pantaon (**)	(13)	Sultan sa Pantaon	(**)	Pantaon
Agama in Pindolonan (**)	(14)	Sultan sa Pindolonan	(**)	Pindolonan
Agama in Dinganun (**)	(15)	Sultan sa Dinganun	(**)	Dinganun

(\* ) *Moriatao* means "descendant or offspring," e.g., *Moriatao Dianaton* means "Descendants of Dianaton" given as a name to the total kinship group constituting the membership of the *agama*.

(\*\*) Traditional name of the *agama* and the name of its founding ancestor are unknown to the informants.

The exercise of authority in each *agama* is not confined to the person of a *pegawidan* sultan. Under the hierarchy, there is a set of other minor officers representing each sub-kinship group and also the other set of religious officers headed by the *imam* or an *agama*. This means that the total number of persons bearing leadership titles, if all be listed, will easily exceed the number of government agents assuming the legal authority in the municipal district administration. In contrast to the above list of traditional leaders, Butig has the following set of constitutional government personnel:

- 1 — Municipal District Mayor
- 1 — Municipal District Vice Mayor
- 18 — Municipal District Councilors (each assigned to a barrio or sitio constituting an *agama*)
- 1 — Municipal District Treasurer
- 1 — Municipal District Chief of Police
- 2 — Municipal District Policeman
- 5 — School Teachers
- 1 — Sanitary Inspector
- 1 — Itinerant Forest Guard

At the time of this survey, it appeared that the Barrio Law had not been implemented, as evidenced by the absence of Barrio Council organizations. Without having held an election as the law provides, the municipal district mayor reported that he had submitted to the Governor's Office a roster of complete members of Barrio Councils for his district.

The district personnel represent varied personalities. Five of them occupy traditional offices. The Mayor is the Sultan of Unayan; and the Panondiongan sa Bayang, the Mama sa Ragayan and the Sangkipan sa Sawir are councilors. The Sultan of Ragayan is the District Treasurer. Eleven are the *kalalagan* (skillful persons in the rhetorical art), namely, the mayor and ten of the councilors. Five are guerilla veterans, namely, the vice mayor and four of the councilors.

Besides the five schoolteachers who have finished high school, other district personnel have gone to the modern school. Both the Municipal District Treasurer and the Sanitary Inspector are high school graduates; the Chief of Police completed second year in high school; and two councilors have gone to the grade schools.

The varied orientation of these district personnel will perhaps indicate that their exercise of leadership in the total constellation is a conglomeration of the old and new patterns. The mayor, for instance, who has not gone to the modern school, settles disputes among his people mostly in accordance with tribal procedures. The chief of police, who has some education, tends to execute his duty in accordance with the state police regulations, although as a Maranao he is equally oriented to the traditional customs of dealing with the affairs of the community. In recommending the appointments of his vice mayor and councilors, the mayor bases his selection upon both the formal-informal leadership roles of each person in his community, as shown in the personality identifications of all the district personnel.

*Complex Leadership Role.* Butig was once a barrio of Lumbatan District. Since its establishment as a separate municipal district, the provincial administration has been selecting traditional leaders for appointment as mayors. Two of the past mayors of Butig were Sultans of Butig; another two were Sultans of Bayabao; one was Sultan of Ragayan; and the incumbent is Sultan of Unayan. The other past mayors did not have formal traditional titles, but they were from the datu class. This method of selection is common to other municipal districts in the province, in view of the desire of the Muslims to be represented by their indigenous leaders. Another motive under present practices is to utilize the influence of datos for strengthening the power of the party in power, as these datos are capable of controlling the votes of their followers during elections.

reconstructed their mosque to conform with the new trend of building Moorish-style structures, a deviation from the conventional Maranao style. About fifteen mosque buildings in Butig were built as a result of the regular collective responsibility of all *agama* members in their respective sub-communities. It is in this kind of project that both the secular leaders (e.g., sultans, etc.) and the religious leaders (e.g., *imams*, etc.) led the decision of their people towards undertaking the mosque constructions. The leaders customarily convene *opakat* (community assembly) both inside and outside the mosque for the purpose of undertaking the project by assigning shares to the different kindship groups.

Frequent wedding, funeral, and religious ceremonies furnish the occasion for casual gatherings in the community where rapports are made toward the decision of undertaking matters of community interest that require collective action. And for every type of activity, there is a pattern of leadership. For example, in Barrio Bayabao the religious group established a madrasah school. One of the ex-mayors of Butig, a leader in recreation, established a *tarik* (cockpit) and a *koya-ay* (race track) for the recreational entertainments of the enthusiasts. The school watchman who is a member of a respectable family also organized a volleyball game.

In Sitio Dilabayan in Barrio Bayabao, the mayor, with the help of his Chief of Police and the local datus, among them his relatives, established a marketplace where the people of the district meet twice a week. Recreation leaders also organized a *tarik* and a volleyball game to enliven the weekly gathering.

Like other communities isolated from the law-enforcement agency, feudal clashes of various causes take place quite frequently in Butig. These occurrences disturb progress of peace and order and become a community problem. A kinship group in Butig had a feud with another group in Macadar, Lumbatan District. Each group undertook vengeance and counter-vengeances against each other. The Constabulary and the court took action on the complaints and counter-complaints of both parties who were bent on continuing their private war by shooting at each other wherever and whenever they had occasion to clash.

Resorting to extra-judicial settlement, the district mayors of Butig and Lumbatan and the Constabulary Station Commander made use of the traditional pattern of settlement as initiated by the first

two leaders and other datus of the two districts. The group of peacemakers, according to Maranao concept for mediators, was composed of: those from Butig – the Mayor, the District Treasurer, a datu ex-Mayor, the Sultan of Bayabao, and another sultan; those from Lumbatan – the Mayor, the Sultan of Macadar, another sultan in Lumbatan, and the *Kabugatan* or Malalis who was related to both communities.

The customary settlement suggested for the case by the two mayors and the other datus was the widespread custom of *kapangan-gawid*, a practice of “restoring honor from disgrace,” for the satisfaction of both parties and their communities. It is a popular custom of compensating an aggrieved party and is regarded as an “honorable” procedure. To the Maranao, the killing of a member of “Party B” of Lumbatan by a member of “Party A” of Butig was disgraceful to the former. “Party B” took vengeance and killed one member of “Party A,” also thus causing a disgrace to the latter. Each party felt its members were aggrieved, not taking into consideration whom to blame for the cause of the trouble.

The decision was that “B” would pay P 1,000.00 to compensate (i.e., “restore the honor”) the immediate family of the deceased in “Party A.” Similarly, Party “A” would compensate the same amount to the immediate family of the deceased in “Party B.” The terms of the “honorable” settlement were accepted by the feuding parties. “Party A” solicited contributions from their kins in the *agamas* of Barrios Ragayan and Diganun in order to raise the amount of P 1,000.00 settlement money. “Party B” of Lumbatan also raised funds from their own kinsfolk to end the trouble. Both parties promised to end their feud by swearing on the Quran never to harm each other. The swearing ceremony required that the feuding parties became “blood relatives” not in reality but in fiction. This being done, the government authority quashed the case by withdrawing the complaints of both parties.

It is noted with significance that the group of peacemakers was composed of persons representing both the *traditional* and the *legal* authorities who took joint action to pacify the trouble. The respective *agama* communities where the feuding groups have their memberships gave a part of their resources, collectively and individually, in order to resolve a serious problem affecting the peace and tranquility in their respective localities. The pacification of the warring groups

At the times of this study, the district administration of Butig, unlike a regular municipality, is non-autonomous. The mayor and his councilors are under the control of the Provincial Governor's Office, which recommends them for appointment by the national government.<sup>52</sup> There is no formal sanction under constitutional law to make the nobility status as a criterion in the selection of persons for government posts, but for practical purposes, however, an appointing or recommending officer tends to select a datu, preferably one having a formal traditional title, who is capable of maintaining the respect and cooperation of his community. Under the government appointment, an appointed datu is expected to learn the execution of constitutional laws and policies. Although a sultan-mayor or datu-mayor bears the interest of his traditional organization, his *agama* community (through an informal or unconscious process) becomes subordinate to the governmental organization of the municipal district.

The selection of one for the position of a mayor from a certain *agama* often causes the jealousies of other *agamas* in the same district. This often results in intrigues and struggle among sultans and datos for a government appointment which in effect enhances the prestige position of a "lucky" *agama* group. In the Butig poblacion, rival aspirants of the incumbent district mayor, who was residing and holding office in Barrio Bayabao, thought that the position of mayor should be a capable member from the original *pegawidan* families of the Sultanate of Butig, residing in the poblacion. Such rivalry over the control of prestige and authority induces the residents of communities in Lanao to participate actively in political contests.

It is observed that the setup of a municipal district administration is composed mostly of persons who lack adequate school education or acculturation for the execution of modern governmental functions. There is a tendency for them to handle public matters in accordance with traditional practices. Where there is conflicting interest between the government and the *agama*, there needs to be a satisfactory solution to end the conflict.

In this situation where a government personnel is at the same time a traditional leader, there is a case of a complex leadership role. Officership in the constitutional government and datuship in the *agama*, when combined in the leadership behavior and personality of a leader, is a case of a complex role in community leadership. This

might be conceptualized as a phenomenon of "marginal leadership"<sup>53</sup> wherein the leader assuming a dual role bridges the inter-societal relationships of two societies differing in structures and cultural values.

*Organized Activities.* The organization of the inhabitants of Butig into *agamas* is indicative of their collective and individual capacities to undertake matters of common interest. Thinking and working together has been their traditional pattern since their early community life began. Concrete cases of common undertaking are numerous and connected to varied social, economic, political, religious, and recreational affairs. A few may be mentioned as examples of regular cases of collectivity.

In the farm, the whole membership of an *agama* does not work altogether for a common economic enterprise, but the smaller kinship groups (e.g., two families in the same clan) do exchange labor. A farm family customarily exchange farm hands with another family during times of mowing, harrowing, weeding, harvesting, and threshing. This system of giving and returning help is called *kapamagogona* or *kasoda-soda* which is a customary practice in all Maranao farm communities.

In Butig there still exist the magical ceremonies to induce a "successful" farming season. The *agama* people are often involved in the communal practice of offering entertainments to spirits of ancestors as well as common spirits believed to protect crops from drought or from rodent or insect infestation, or from the direct harm of the spirits themselves. At the time of this survey, Butig was infested with rats, which the people believed was of supernatural origin. The ceremony of *kapamangangai* (appeasing the spirits) was repeatedly performed under the leadership of regular magicians, but the rodents continued their devastating effects.

The modern technique of rodent extermination was introduced with the use of chemical poison by a few farmers. This method has not been consistent, neither was there a consistent community action (besides the magical way) of exterminating the rats. The inefficacy of the new technique, which may not have been properly administered, only reinforced the belief of the superstitious that the rodents had supernatural origin.<sup>54</sup>

In mosque construction, reconstruction or repair, all kinship units join together pooling their labor and material resources. The mayor described how the people of his *agama* in Barrio Bayabao

would have been difficult as most of the accused in both parties were bent on taking the law into their own hands. But with the cooperation of the traditional system and the influence of its leaders, the problem was brought to an end in the interest of community peace and order.

The mayor confessed that in his administration of governmental matters, he availed of the cooperation of traditional organizations and the influence of their leaders. He also reported that in his own experience not all *datus* donning formal traditional titles execute active leadership roles, just as not all persons holding government appointments perform significant leaderships over matter of community interest. On the other hand, there were others in his district who held no formal office in either system but executed effective leadership roles. The need for leadership in his rural community require looking beyond both the *legal* and *traditional* systems for the reinforcement of both old and new systems in relation to community functions.

A deeper search may reveal leaders enacting *charismatic* authority side by side with both the *legal* and *traditional* authorities<sup>55</sup> in the process of decision-making for collective action in the Maranao community.

#### B. LUMBATAN : A SAMPLING OF AN INTERMEDIARY COMMUNITY

Lumbatan is a municipal district strategically located on the southern shores of Lake Lanao. It is a community having intermediary characteristics between the most rural and least affected by change and the most urban and most affected by change. It is neither as rural and isolated as Butig nor as urban and accessible as Marawi City. This "intermediary" characteristics of the community is based upon both geographical and cultural factors.

Geographically, Lumbatan is accessible from Marawi City across 21 kilometers of water-way on Lake Lanao and nine kilometers of muddy trail from Butig. With this strategic position, travel between the rural area of Butig and the urban center in Marawi City pass through the lake port of Lumbatan which serves as a springboard between the two communities of contrasting characteristics.

With an area of 45 square kilometers, Lumbatan is smaller than

Butig. But Lumbatan's population of 9,284, according to the 1948 Census, is three times larger than that of the latter. The population of the Lumbatan poblacion is 1,899 of which only 505 are Christian, mostly the family of constabulary personnel and the Christian personnel of the school administrations assigned in the district. The Christian population has decreased since the transfer of many families as a result of the last war.

Its being a geographical and cultural intermediary, Lumbatan is a center of moderate acculturation in Eastern Onayan and the nearby settlements on the southeastern shores of the Lake Lanao. Through its market place and lake port it serves as a distributing center for Eastern Onayan and the neighboring group of municipal districts on the southeastern portion of the Lake Region. The early American administration in the province had established a military detachment in Lumbatan, bringing about changes in the cultural and social life of the surrounding rural communities. Its municipal district administration is comparatively better organized than that of Butig. It has a municipal district building as quarters for the government business and personnel. Also, it exhibits a considerable increase in the number and kinds of schools, markets, businesses, utilities and service institutions, transportations, and recreation. With the increase in schools, there has been a corresponding increase in the training of teachers, the educational level of the public, and particularly of the value of the modern professions.

Since the administration of the early United States Pacification Campaign, the government had established a constabulary force for the maintenance of peace and order which provided security for the pre-war Lumbatan Agricultural School that brought about purposive changes in the life of the inhabitants in the rural areas of the province. Today, the school has been converted into the Lanao National Agricultural School, with continuing influence upon the cultural and agricultural changes in the community. The total picture of the new cultural characteristics of Lumbatan, which is neither less advanced than Butig nor more advanced than Marawi City, may be understood by listing some the place's modern cultural items as follows:

### Modern Facilities

Municipal District Building .....	1
Constabulary Station Command .....	1
Secondary and Collegiate Agricultural School .....	1
Elementary School (at Poblacion) .....	1
Schools Offering Primary Course .....	13
Market places (one daily at poblacion, two weeklies) .....	3
Rice and Corn Mills .....	3
Artesian Well (at school site) .....	1
Electric light system (at PC barracks) .....	1
Telecommunication and radio message office (Bureau of Telecommunication & one PC message center) .....	2
Post Office (with District Treasurer's Office) .....	1
Families operating motorboat transportations .....	6
Households having radio receiving sets .....	14
Households using latrines .....	50
Households using kerosene pressure lamps .....	70
Itinerant Floating Clinic (Provincial service) .....	1
Sari-Sari Stores and restaurants at poblacion .....	17
Sari-sari stores .....	10
Sari-sari stores and restaurants combined .....	5
Restaurants .....	2
Catholic Chapel .....	1
Tennis Court .....	1
Basketball Court .....	2

### School Administration

Lanao National Agricultural School:	
Teachers .....	14
Muslim .....	5
Christian .....	9
Other Employees .....	9
Muslim .....	7
Christian .....	2
Total Enrollment .....	184
Boys .....	175
Girls .....	9
(5% of total enrollment are Christian)	

**District Elementary School Administration:**

Teachers .....	29
Muslim .....	23
Christian .....	6
Total Enrollment .....	833
Boys .....	605
Girls .....	228
Lumbatan Central Elementary School total enrollment ..	268
Muslim .....	194
Christian .....	74

**Native-born Having Modern Jobs and Professions**

Lawyers .....	2
Agriculturists .....	5
Teachers .....	34
Secondary School Teachers	
(B.S.E. & A.B.) .....	5
Elementary School Teachers	
(Normal & E.T.C.) .....	9
High School graduate teachers .....	20
Armed Forces Officers .....	5
Lieutenant Colonel .....	1
Captains .....	4
Commerce Graduates .....	2
Arts and Trades Graduate .....	1
Bank Employees .....	2

**Native-born Having Clerical Jobs**

District Treasury personnel .....	5
JP Clerk and District Secretary .....	1
Bureau of Internal Revenue Agents .....	2
Commission on Integration Field Representative .....	1

*Education and Acculturation.* The change evidences show the impact of modern social and cultural ways upon the Maranao community during almost six decades of culture contact. In 1902, after the Maranao defeat in the historic battle of Bayang, the inhabitants of the rural settlements including Lumbatan came into close contact

with the American forces who brought along Christian Filipino personnel of the occupation army. Camp Vicars was established in Upper Bayang, followed by the establishment of a permanent garrison at Lumbatan Poblacion.

Despite the difficulty posed by the past organized resistance against the occupation force, the American administration "policy of attraction" slowly and gradually won over the inhabitants toward cooperation. In line with this policy, the early American military administrators utilized the influence and leadership of leading *datus*<sup>56</sup> to assist them in the establishment of a more peaceful relation with the Maranao.

Camp Vicars became a recruitment center for the enlistment in the organization of the Philippine Scouts as early as 1907. Many Maranao recruits served in other military sectors, giving them the ways of other societies outside their native community.

Camp Vicars constituted a new community in the midst of a Maranao region. Composed of Americans and their Christian Filipino constituents it provided an initial contact between Maranao and Christian. They employed as gardeners a few Maranao farmers who acquired knowledge of the cultivation of the new crops and spread the knowledge to the surrounding communities.

The suitability of American crops to the soil in the Onayan area led to the establishment of the Lumbatan Agricultural School formally introducing modern agriculture. The cultivation of new crops developed a significant agricultural economy in the southern portion of the Lake Lanao region.

The mixed American<sup>57</sup> and Christian Filipino school administration together with a mixed Muslim and Christian student body, plus the military establishment, set the stage for a Muslim and Christian community in Lumbatan Poblacion. The municipal district administration was equally paramount in bringing about changes in the traditional communal characteristics of the community. The complex pattern of the old and new ways of life made Lumbatan a reference community among other Maranao rural settlements in the process of transition.

*Municipal District Government.* The district administration, as it is today, represented the *legal* authority under the constitutional government. The set of district officials was composed of a district

mayor, a vice-mayor, and four councilors appointed by the national government through the recommendation of the Provincial Governor.<sup>58</sup> This local political unit maintained a relatively small police force and a district treasury office whose personnel receive salary from the local income of the district government. The mayor received a monthly salary of only P45.00 and the vice-mayor and the councilors held no regular offices and received no per diem.

Other services extended to the district were financed by the National and Provincial Governments. Under this setup the Justice of the Peace, the Constabulary company, the school personnel, the sanitary inspector, and the telegraph operators assigned in the district were personnel of the National and Provincial Governments.

The municipal district was sub-divided into ten "modern" barrios, according to the 1948 Census of Population, as follows:

<b>Barrios</b>	<b>Population</b>
1. Lumbatan (Poblacion) . . . . .	1,899
2. Bakayawan . . . . .	1,292
3. Basak . . . . .	740
4. Balaygay (Part of the Bugi traditional territory) . . . . .	585
5. Dilausan . . . . .	1,470
6. Deromoyod . . . . .	838
7. Lalapung . . . . .	893
8. Macadar . . . . .	542
9. Mineros . . . . .	540
10. Nanagun (Part of the Butig traditional territory) . . . . .	485

Under Republic Act 1408, the barrios in Lumbatan were supposed to have elected barrio councils through which the rural inhabitants could actively participate in the affairs of government. Survey information, however, revealed that there were no real elections, but like most other municipal districts in the province, records were submitted in the Provincial Governor's Office listing names of barrio lieutenants who were supposed to have been "duly elected." One PACD worker assigned in another municipal district noted that the conduct of the elections was not in accordance with established rules. In response to a request, the district secretary furnished this research team a hand-written "paper" organization

of barrio lieutenants of 18 barrios, instead of 10 as recorded in the Census Report of 1948. No record of the names of other members of barrio councils was obtained to complete the roster of officials of barrio governments.

The practice of appointing traditional leaders for district positions is similar to that in Butig. The American administration had appointed the Sultan of Onayan and the Sultan of Lumbayanagui as district presidents during two succeeding terms of office. They were followed by other influential datos coming from the royal ruling families of Onayan who were similarly appointed to the position of district mayor under the Commonwealth and Republic regimes. Similarly, appointees to the offices of vice-mayor and councilors were selected from the datu class.

Since the early organization of the district, two of the mayoralty appointees were educated natives from the public school. The others were "plain" datos with the background of traditional leadership in their communal society. This unofficial practice of selecting traditional leaders despite their lack of adequate orientation in the intricacies of modern government shows an informal recognition of their capacity to lead their people who prefer to be represented by indigenous leaders. But unlike the district government of Butig which is composed of a set of all-Maranao personnel, the administration of Lumbatan has a few non-Maranao personnel who serve side by side with Muslim personnel. The list below shows the ethnic composition of the government personnel in Lumbatan:

<b>Personnel</b>	<b>Ethnic Identify</b>
1 – Municipal District Mayor . . . . .	Maranao
1 – Vice-Mayor . . . . .	Maranao
4 – Councilors . . . . .	Maranao
1 – District Treasurer . . . . .	Maranao
5 – Treasury Clerks . . . . .	Maranao
1 – Chief of Police . . . . .	Maranao
4 – Policemen . . . . .	Maranao
1 – Municipal District Secretary . . . . .	Maranao
34 – Secondary & Elementary School Teachers . . .	Maranao
7 – Agricultural School Employees . . . . .	Maranao
1 – Constabulary Station Commander . . . . .	Tau Sug
1 – Company of Constabulary . . . . .	Christian, Maranao and

	Tau Sug
1 — Justice of the Peace . . . . .	Christian (Tagalog)
9 — Secondary School Teachers . . . . .	Christian (Tagalog)
2 — Agricultural School Employees . . .	Christian (Tagalog)
1 — Telegraph Operator . . . . .	Christian (Tagalog)

Assuming the legal authority of the government, the above-listed personnel exercise leadership roles in their respective spheres of influence in the community. But outside the legal authority, the inhabitants of the district have varied social activities under the leadership authority of their traditional organizations.

*Traditional Structure.* The Municipal District of Lumbatan includes the traditional communities of Lombayanagui, Macadar, Kadingilan, Bita, and a part of Butig. The greater portion of the area belonged to Lombayanagui. The territories of the barrios of Nanagun, Balaigay, Lonay, and Wago were legitimately parts of old Butig. Macadar, Kadingilan, and Bita are separate and autonomous communities according to traditional concept. This division into sub-communities is based upon the ancestral origin of the inhabitants in each community and the areas that they occupied prior to the establishment of the modern government. The traditional divisions may be understood in the following list of communities with their founding ancestors:

<b>Traditional Communities</b>	<b>Founding Ancestors</b>
1. Lombayanagui . . . . .	Anar and Alnao (brothers)
a. Deromoyod . . . . .	Anar and Inang (couple)
b. Lumbatan . . . . .	Alnao and Sanaolan (couple)
2. Macadar . . . . .	Andong (female)
3. Kadingilan . . . . .	Togon (female)
4. Bita . . . . .	Ngklan (female)
5. Parts of Butig . . . . .	Dianaton
a. Nanagun — also claiming descent from Oriong	
b. Balaigay — also claiming descent from Ongoling	
c. Wago — also claiming descent from Sultan sa Raya	
Dolangun	

According to genealogical accounts, Ancestors Anar and Alnao, the original founders of Lombayanagui, were brothers who acquired high traditional prestige for their community through marrying royal

ladies of the original founding or ruling families of Onayan. Ancestor Anar married Inang, sister of the great founder Dianaton of Butig. Ancestor Alnao married Sanaolan, daughter of the other great founder Borowa of West Onayan.<sup>59</sup> The frequent intermarriages between the later descendants of the two royal couples (Anar—Inang and Alano—Sanaolan) resulted in the continued maintenance of the unity of all the sub-communities under the traditional name and authority of Lombayanagui.

Ancestors Andong for Macadar, Togon for Kadingilan, and Ongklan for Bita were among the nine daughters of Borowa.<sup>60</sup> Each daughter gave social rank and prestige to the communities they founded in Onayan. Because of this legitimate claim to royal origins from the ruling houses of Dianaton and Borowa, the present-day inhabitants of Lumbatan District claim equal rank with those of the high prestiged members of the 15 original sultanates of the Four States of Lanao.

Outside the governmental organization of the district, the people of Lumbatan maintain their communal relationships in accordance with the older laws and order in thier communities as handed down to them by their early ancestors. Under the traditional structure, the community is divided into numerous sub-communities distinguished from each other by their organization into *agamas*, founding ancestors, traditional leaders, and territorial jurisdictions as shown in the following tables:

#### DIVISION OF COMMUNAL ORGANIZATION<sup>61</sup>

Names of Mosque Group or Traditional Community	Headmen's Titles	Founding Ancestors	Location (barrio or sitio)
1. Moriatao Sarip	Sultan sa Lombayanagui	Taman, also Anar and Inang	Lombayanagui
2. Pitatangulan (*)	Datu sa Pitatangulan	Sanaolan	Pitatangulan
3. Moriatao Ilom	Sultan Diamla	Anar & Inang	Singcara
4. Bago a Ingud	Sultan Maamor	Datu sa Poktan	Bago-a-Ingud
5. Moriatao Datu	Sultan sa Deromoyod	Datu (from Anar)	Deromoyod
6. Nanagun (Butig)	Sultan sa Nanagun	Agapo Ariong (of Butig)	Nanagun
7. Moriatao Bandara	Sultan sa Lumbatan	Bandara (From Alnao and Sana)	Poblacion

8. Moriatao Bai sa Dagook	Sultan sa Dagook	Bai sa Dagook (from Bandara)	Dagook
9. Wago (Butig)	Sultan sa Raya	Sultan sa Raya Dolangan	Wago
10. Kadingilan	Sultan sa Kadingilan	Mama sa Kadam	Kadingilan*
11. Bakayawan	Sultan sa Bakayawan	Mbaraong & Anglo- pa also from Atora	Bakayanan
12. Lonay (Butig)	Sultan sa Lonay	Sheik	Lonay
13. Lumbac	Sultan sa Lumbac	Malaila (m)	Lumbac
14. Basak	Sultan sa Basak	Idongun (c)	Basak
15. Moriatao Datu	Sultan sa Lalapung	Datu	Balintad, Lalapug
16. Pantar	Sultan a Romapunut	Apa	Pantar
17. Babakun	Sultan Kabogatan	Wali	Babakun
18. Lilod a Lalapung	Sultan sa Iranon	Dipatuan	Lalapung
19. Lilod a Lalapung	Sultan Sarip	Alnao	Lalapung
20. Moriatao Sheik	Sultan Samporna	Sheik	Raya Lalapung
21. Moriatao Mama sa Kodan	Sultan sa Kadingilan	Mama sa Kodan	Bayang
22. Buadi Angkapa	Sultan sa Bualan	Angkopa	Togon Bualan
23. Losoda Lalapung	Sultan Maamor	Tomongka	Lalapung
24. Bubong a Lalapung	Sultan Maamor	Sultan Maaor	Lalapung
25. Kadayonan	Sultan sa Kadayonan	Sultan sa Kadayonan	Kadayonan
26. Macadar	Sultan sa Macadar	Andong (**)	Macadar
27. Dalama	Sultan sa Dalama	Andong	Dalama
28. Balintad	Sultan sa Balintad	Andong	Balintad
29. Pikotaan	Sultan sa Pikotaan	Andong	Pikotaan
30. Dalaon (*)	Datu sa Dalaon	Sheik sa Sawir	Dalaon (Ngolong)
31. Balaigay (Butig)	Sultan sa Balaygay	Taman Ngolong	Balaigay
32. Bita	Sultan sa Bita	Ngklang	Bita

(\* ) These communities headed by communal leaders with the title of "datus" represent recent separation from an original communal *agama* organization.

(\*\*) Ancestor Andong is the progenitor of eight kinship groups having eight separate mosques.

*Intercommunity Relationship.* The table of the segments of the communal society shows the complexity of the traditional structure with its pattern of leadership as exercised by the different sultans and datu. Under the government, Lumbatan is divided into barrios and sitios under the leadership of government agents. But under the older organizations of Lombayanagui, Macadar, Kadingilan, Bita, and Butig, the community is segmentalized into a number of *agamas* or units of mosque group. Each *agama* or sultanate is under the social, political, and religious influence of a set of traditional officers representing kinship units whose positions rival the legal authorities of district and barrio officers in the constitutional government.

A better understanding of this complex system may be achieved

by examining a few of the communities. Under the *taritib* or old order of traditional relationships among the communities in Lanao, the Sultanate of Lumbatan is not among the early communities. It maintains an autonomous local power which was independent of the jurisdiction of the two original ruling houses of Onayan — the House of Dianaton and the House of Borowa.

The Sultanate of Deromoyod supported the emergence of the newly-created office of Sultan sa Unayan which claims equal *pegawidan* rank with the high-prestige Dianaton and Borowa royalties. The claimant to the office of Sultan sa Unayab based his right upon his descent from Domalondong who traced lineage from Ancestor Dianatan like the Sultan Barakat of Butig.

The Sultanate of Lumbatan whose ancestor was Bandara later made claim to equal status with other *pegawidan* sultanates due to historic intermarriages with other ruling families. Bandara married Bai sa Samporna, a descendant of Balindong, the original founder of Masiu. Out of the royal union three children were born, namely, Marohom Diaman, who assumed the ranking title of Amerol Omra of Maguindanao; Bai sa Dagook, who married Melpus of the royal family of Bayang; and Marohom Adil, whose descendants founded the office of Sultan sa Onayan.

In order to acquire more royal status, Marohom Diaman married into the family of Marohom Dialalodin of the ranking royalty of Masiu. Out of this royal marriage a son, named Amai Runang, was born to assume later the title of first Sultan of Lumbatan. The Sultan married into the ranking family of Zaimbo and Kabibala of Linuk ang Tamparan. Out of the union, a son was born named Ompongan from whom the present-day rulers of Lumbatan and Dagook (in the poblacion area) derived their rank and authorities.

Despite the separation into two units of Ompongan's descendants, the two blood-related sultanates of Lumbatan and Dagook maintained mutual military defense and a recognition of each other's royal titles and authorities. The two sultanates accord each other dowry gifts called *adat* whenever there is a wedding celebration involving the marriages of their daughters. This mutual giving of material gifts is a symbol of kinship bond between parties.

The Bandara kinship organization is divided into a number of sub-kinships assuming different roles and offices under the overall leadership of the Sultan of Lumbatan. This multiple segmentation

of social structure makes it difficult to undertake the rule of succession in the sultanate. On the other hand, the kinship group of Bai sa Dagook is simply divided into two sub-kinships, namely, the Descendants of Datu and the Descendants of Bai whose royal members alternately assume the same set of royal titles. This is a pattern of rotating the rights to social ranks between the two groups. For instance, if one group holds the offices of *Sultan* and *Imam*, the other would assume the titles of *kabugatan* (reigning prince) and Bai (queen or princess) of Dagook. This means that the complimentary roles of *pegawidan* (supported or ruling) and *pegawid* (supporting or following) are periodically rotated between the two groups of ruling families. This is similar to the rule of succession between the ruling families of Masiu previously reported.

The poblacion area is the seat of the municipal district administration of Lumbatan. The municipal district hall, the marketplace, the constabulary barracks, and the schools have been established on the territorial premises of the Sultanates of Lumbatan and Dagook. As centers of community life, the two sultanates have their mosques built close to the government district hall and the marketplace.

Like other business centers, Lumbatan Poblacion attracts a heterogeneous population of residents having business interests. Before the war, the majority of poblacion residents belonged to Christian families and a few Chinese who maintained small business shops, bakeries, and eating-places. These small establishments gave services to the school population, the personnel of the constabulary and the district administration, and the daily commuters to the poblacion area. Today only about 37 Christian families remain. Maranao settlers from the districts of Masiu, Bayang, Ganassi, Bini-dayan, Balindong, Butig, Tubaran, and Tamparan have joined the native villagers of the *agamas* of Bandara and Bai sa Dagook. The frequent intermarriages between settling families and the native groups tend to develop inter-kinship integration among the Maranao residents. There are a few cases of exogamy between Christians and Maranaos.

The site of the agricultural school including its farm land is said to have been voluntarily donated to the government by the Sultanate of Unayan during the early development of the community, where he served as municipal district president and later as mayor for about thirty years. The school maintains legal ownership of the land. Other

members of the land by the school. However, those among them who are employees of the school tend to support the ownership of the government. This is an instance where the *legal* and the *traditional* organizations have conflicting interests, basing their claims upon "constitutional" and "native" rights, respectively.

The parallel leaderships of the government and the *agama* groups are to have been seen in the accomplishment of different community projects in the poblacion area. The government, through paid labor and leadership, constructed the municipal district hall, the marketplace, and the lake wharf. In comparison, the *agama* members of Bandara under the joint influence of the Sultan of Lumbatan and the Imam constructed their mosque. The members of indigenous organization contributed both labor and materials. Similarly, the members of the *agama* of Bai sa Dagook under the joint leadership of the Sultan of Dagook and the *Imam* built their own mosque under the same obligatory labor and material contribution to the construction project. The two *agamas* also constructed stone breakwaters to protect their villages from being eroded by the dashing waves on the lake shores.

Under the PACD program, the community is reported to have undertaken the project of connecting with steel pipes the spring water from the school site to the village surrounding the marketplace in the poblacion. Both the PACD representatives and the municipal district secretary reported the active support of the two *agamas* of Bandara and Bai sa Dagook toward the accomplishment of the water project. The secretary witnessed the discussion inside the two mosques of the importance of gravity water system for the double purpose of drinking and religious ablution. The community agreed to put up their counterpart to the project in the forms of labor and materials.

Besides those of the poblacion area, there are occasions of organized activities under indigenous leaderships. In the barrios and sitios of Basak, Bakayawan, Dalipuga, Lalapung, and Dilausan, the district secretary described the existence of horse-racing as a collective recreational activity. The report mentioned the names of race enthusiasts among sultans and datus who led their people in the construction and of a stairway on the sloping side of the hill from his village down to the lake shore. As a sequel to the project, the Imam initiated the construction of a bamboo wharf for the berthing

of bancas and motorboats and a place for mosquegoers to perform their religious ablutions.

The case previously reported about the feud between a family in Butig and another family in Macadar which disturbed the peace and order in both communities illustrated the capacity of traditional leaders to solve a public problem. The district secretary reported of the sultans of Macadar and Dalama and the *kabugatan* of Malalis, who used peaceful mediation towards the amicable settlement of the feud under traditional laws and practices. The government authorities acceded to native settlement which seemed advantageous to the establishment of better relationships between the two communities.

The customary practice of exchanging help among farm families is similarly found in Lumbatan. Farmers help each other in plowing, weeding, harvesting, threshing, and other phases of farm work. Under this system no compensation are due to those who help except the giving of *pagana* ("serving") to the guest-helpers.

Other forms of casual gatherings and collectivities are manifested during occasions of religious, social, funeral, and wedding ceremonies among the different sultanates or *agamas*. During a recent fiesta, which featured a "rural fair" exhibition at the agricultural school campus, casual groups from the different settlements joined the school population in the blending of modern and traditional style of celebrating a community holiday. The sounds of gongs and modern orchestra mingled in the air.

Despite the existence of some unconscious conflict between governmental and communal interests, the situation in Lumbatan seems to illustrate a number of occasions whereby the constitutional agencies and the traditional institutions are capable of integrating joint leadership toward the attainment of their common goal in community-building.

### **Economic Activities**

Farming, fishing, and trading are the most common occupations of the rural folks. A few families operate outboard motor launches for transporting passengers and cargoes across the lake. The fertile lands produce variety of crops including the foreign-introduced potatoes and white beans. Rice, corn, coffee, and peanuts are extensively produced for export to other communities and for domestic

consumption.

The village dwellers on the long shoreline from Lalapung to Balaigay engage in the business of middlemen between the upland farmers and the consumers in the other lake settlements. They also distribute imported commodities to the uplanders of Butig and Tubaran beyond the territory of Lumbatan. The lake port at the poblacion control the business of peddling and distributing the goods in and out of the district.

A good number of Lumbatan traders procure salted fish, salt, sugar, tobacco, and other commodities in the seaport of Malabang for the markets around the lake region. Thus the community serves as the next distributing center for goods passing through Marawi City and Malabang seaport. In contrast with the isolated district of Butig, Lumbatan has more economic advantages of engaging in other occupations besides farming.

This frequent exchange of farm and non-farm commodities in the different markets stimulate the culture-contact between the rural inhabitants of Lumbatan with those of other communities. The growth of the former's interest in economic activities also brings about unconscious effects towards social and cultural change even without the benefit of administered direction by conscious agencies.

### C. MARAWI CITY: A COMMUNITY MOST AFFECTED BY CHANGE

Marawi City is representative of communities in Muslim Mindanao where the old ways have been undergoing tremendous changes under the impact of the current social and cultural patterns within the span of about six decades. For its significant position it has the functions of: (1) an adopting community due to its relatively fast acceptance of new patterns, (2) a reference community (analogous to a reference group) as other sister Muslim communities tend to imitate its modern achievements — hence, the role of a model community; and (3) a center of acculturation for its effect upon the culture change of its inhabitants as well as the inhabitants of less advanced communities within the sphere of its communication. All these functions are related to the fact that it is an area of culture contact.

According to census Marawi City has a population of 22,913, of which 18,716 (or 81.4%) are Muslims, 4,177 (or 18.2%) are Christians,

and 63 (or .4%) are foreigners, mostly Chinese. Out of the Muslim and Christian population about 65 couples have entered into mixed or exogamous marriages.<sup>61</sup>

As a Philippine chartered city, Marawi has the status of a municipal corporation whose administration is independent from the

No. of Operating motorboat transportations . . . . .	10
No. of Catholic churches . . . . .	1
No. of Protestant churches . . . . .	1
No. of modern Muslim mosques (not built by <i>agama</i> groups) . . . . .	2

#### Modern Household Facilities<sup>63</sup>

(Total no. of city households: 3,914)

Percentage of households with piped water facilities . . . . .	32.4%
Percentage of households with radio facilities . . . . .	6.8%
Percentage of households with telephone facilities . . . . .	3.0%
Percentage of households using toilets . . . . .	75.9%

#### Modern Professional Careers

No. of Lawyers . . . . .	24
No. of Doctors . . . . .	15
No. of Dentists . . . . .	5
No. of Pharmacists . . . . .	13
No. of Registered Nurses . . . . .	22
No. of Engineers (Civil and few Mechanical) . . . . .	15
No. of persons holding masteral degrees . . . . .	8
No. of college professors & instructors . . . . .	23
No. of Secondary School Teachers . . . . .	47
No. of City Elementary School Teachers . . . . .	112
No. of Agriculturists . . . . .	4
No. of Certified Public Accountans . . . . .	1
No. of Insurance Underwriters . . . . .	2

Marawi had more or less similar characteristics with other typical Muslim settlements in Moroland before 1903 when the United States administration first established a garrison in what is now Camp Keithley. During that year, the Maranao started to be in long continuous contact with the new social groups of American,

Christian Filipino, Chinese, and Japanese. In 1907 the place was formally organized into the Municipality of Dansalan which in 1904 became a chartered city under the past Commonwealth Government. With the granting of the city charter in 1956, the name was officially changed to Marawi City as it is now known. Its administration is independent of the provincial government.

Its urban characteristics may be measured by diversified activities such as (1) government and private entities centered in the city, (2) education, (3) business and trade, and (4) industrial activities.<sup>62</sup> Its modern urban traits may be understood better by listing some selected items which are rare or non-existent in the rural communities:

#### Modern Facilities

No. of City Hall Building . . . . .	1
No. of Capitol Building . . . . .	1
No. of Telecommunication and radio message offices . . . . .	3
No. of Post Offices . . . . .	1
No. of Government Hospitals . . . . .	2
No. of kilometers of first, second & third class roads . . . . .	33.299
No. of First Class Steel Bridges . . . . .	1
No. of Ricemills . . . . .	5
No. of Cornmills . . . . .	1
No. of Movie-houses . . . . .	3
No. of Hotels and Lodging Houses . . . . .	3
No. of Market Places (1 daily, 1 weekly) . . . . .	2
No. of Electric Light and Power Companies . . . . .	1
No. of Artesian Well Water Systems (NAWASA) . . . . .	1
No. of Telephone Systems, Commercial . . . . .	1
No. of Radio Broadcasting Stations . . . . .	2
No. of Air Travel agencies . . . . .	1
No. of Airports (for light crafts) . . . . .	1
No. of Bus Companies operating in the city . . . . .	5
No. of Bowling Alleys . . . . .	2
No. of Tennis Courts . . . . .	2
No. of Private Clinics . . . . .	5
No. of Photo Studios . . . . .	5
No. of Schools offering college courses . . . . .	3
No. of Schools offering secondary courses . . . . .	4
No. of Schools offering intermediate courses . . . . .	3

No. of Organized Madrasa (Arabic) Schools . . . . .	5
No. of Newspaper agents offices . . . . .	4
No. of Drug Stores . . . . .	8
No. of families owning private automobiles . . . . .	16
No. of families owning private jeeps . . . . .	7

As a chartered city and capital of Lanao del Sur Province, Marawi is the common seat of two sets of government which are theoretically independent of each other in their administrative functions. These two governments represent a paramount influence in shaping and re-shaping the patterns of life in the community. The diffusion of western-oriented traits enriches the old ways of the Maranao despite the perceivable weakening of some aspects of their older institutional values.

The heterogeneous groups of Maranao and non-Maranao are brought together by common urban living. Considering, too, that the Maranao inhabitants have different *agama* affiliations, it is significant that urban living tends to integrate the native inhabitants into the *associational* society where they are bound by contractual laws. This is in contrast to their communal societies of the *agama* villages where relationships are controlled by kinship ties and customary laws.<sup>64</sup>

Again, it will be noted with significance that as has been observed in the rural setting the two types of authority – the legal and the traditional – are also bound together in the societal structure of the Maranao in the urban setting as was observed in the rural setting despite the dominant influence of the latter. Like the ruralite Maranao, the urbanite ones respond to two sets of control arising from their memberships in both the constitutional and the communal organizations.

### Traditional Structure

Mala Bayabao, the third sub-division of Bayabao is divided into six datuships (or sultanates) composed of the Two Datuship of Ragain and Ditsaan, and the Four Datuships of Marawi, Marantao, Buntong, and Didagun. These six datuships trace their common descent from two related ancestors who held the titles of Amerol Omra of Maguindanao and Datu sa Ragain, respectively. The structure of one of these datuships, Marawi, can be used as an ideal type of

community most affected by change.

Marawi was sub-divided originally into Five Datuships. Another two, Ibango and Toka, were later added. The original Five Datuships comprise (1) Marawi, (2) Bacolod, (3) Guimba, (4) Madaya, and (5) Toros. These seven datuships constituted the original communities before they split and multiplied into many more *agamas* during recent times.

The member communities, with their respective founding ancestors, titles of headsmen, and their locations in the modern city boundaries, may be charted as follows:

ORIGINAL "FIVE DATUSHIPS" OF MARAWI  
AND TWO ADDITIONAL "ASSOCIATE" DATUSHIPS

Names of Traditional Communities	Titles of Pegawidan Headmen	Founding Ancestors	Locations
I. (Datuships) BUADI SAKAYO (Marawi Proper)	1. Sultan sa Marawi 2. Datu sa Marawi 3. Masiricampo	Tubacan*	Bangon, Camp Keithley & Sanguiaran
II. BACOLOD	4. Sultan sa Bacolod 5. Sultan sa Pitailan	Boriongan*	Bacolod
III. GUIMBA	6. Sultan sa Guimba 7. Datu sa Guimba 8. Kabugatan sa Guimba 9. Sultan Diamla	Makalilay (Timbang)	Sadoc, Camp Keithley & Guimba
IV. MADAYA a. Raya Madaya b. Lilod a Madaya	10. Sultan sa Madaya 11. Sultan Diamla	Timbang* Makakilay	Madaya (Poblacion)
V. TOROS a. Toros b. Lumbak a Toros	12. Sultan sa Toros 13. Sultan Diamla 14. Sultan sa Lumbak a Toros 15. Sultan a Simban 16. Kabugatan 17. Sultan a Dimasangkai	Saolangun*	Toros (in Chico)
ASSOCIATE COMMUNITIES OR DATUSHIPS (Later addition)			
VI. IBANGO a. Dansalan b. Sabala a Mamao c. Marinaut	18. Sultan Dalomangkob 19. Sultan Maamor 20. Sultan Dimasangkai 21. Sultan a Kabugatan 22. Sultan Adil 23. Sultan sa Marinaut 24. Sultan Samporna	The ancestor of the 3 Ibango communities came from the pegawidan sultanate of Maribo in Lumba Bayabao	Dansalan (Poblacion) Dansalan (Poblacion) Marinaut
VI. TOKA	25. Sultan sa Toka 26. Sultan Adil 27. Sultan a Kabugatan 28. Datu a Mala	This newest community is composed of early members from the "Five Datuships"	Toka (Bacolod Chico)

\* Five sons of Ancestor Gomisa, the legendary first settler and founder of Marawi.

These communities and sub-communities are organized under the datanship rules of twenty-eight *pegawidan* sultans (or datus) who inherited their authorities from their respective founding ancestors or families. Within these communities, Buadi Sakayo maintains the role of *pegawidan* in relation to her sister communities. As a symbol of their ancient unity, all these communities had one central mosque located at Buadi Sakayo, the ancient capital. Later the council of communities allowed other communities to establish separate and independent mosques.

Under the city government, the traditional territories are today organized into districts, including other territories within boundaries — such as portions of Marantao and Sugud, and a part of the old territory of Buadi Sakayo is organized into the separate Municipal District of Saguiaran under the provincial administration of Lanao del Sur. Within the present city territorial limits, there is a total of thirty-four *agama* communities, each having an independent mosque.

Showing the territorial assimilation of traditional boundaries, the city organization into administrative districts is as follows:

1. Poblacion: Ibango (Dansalan, Sabala Mamao, and Marinaut), Madaya and Camp Keithley.
2. Bacolod Chico: Toka, Toros, Bacolod, Buadi Sakayo (Bangon)
3. Guimba: Guimba and Sadok
4. Sugod: Kaloocan, Timbangalan, and Sugod
5. Marinaut

As a result of the early residential and commercial invasion by groups of Americans, Christian Filipinos, and Chinese, the poblacion with its heterogeneous population was created on the geographical center of the territorial assimilation of traditional boundaries. The city organization into administrative districts is as follows: non-city natives and their rural brothers from the provincial districts resettled the poblacion district to form a mixed residential and commercial community.

### **Residential Integration**

The early organization of Marawi (formerly Dansalan) into a municipal town witnessed two forms of segregation — the administered and the non-administered types. In the occupation of Camp

Keithley, the American and the Christian Filipino groups were favored for residential settlement of the area to the exclusion of the Maranao. This "administered segregation" resulting from the conversion of the area into a military reservation accommodated only American and Filipino government personnel. In the poblacion the main street had been voluntarily vacated by the Maranao who avoided close residential contact with the Christian and Chinese groups; hence a situation of "non-administered" or "voluntary" segregation appeared.

With the gradual establishment of common interests in business, characterized by profitable exchange of trade commodities, the heterogeneous groups formed together a commercial and residential community which significantly promoted acculturational relationships between the distinct groups. While maintaining their internal traditional organizations, the Maranao relationship of co-existence with the other groups is governed under the city charter and the general laws of the government. Being exposed to urban contacts, the old communities of Ibango and Madaya present examples of noticeable changes in social and cultural habits as well as the economic adjustment of their residents. Both communities were originally made up of farmers, lake fishermen, goldsmiths, weavers, and other artisans who gradually change their means of livelihood by entering into the business of ricemilling, trucking, money-lending, leasing shophouses and lots, buying and selling, government employment, and other occupations similarly found in typical commercial towns.

The ethnic and religious groups which now form the mixed population of Marawi City are composed of the following.<sup>65</sup>

#### A. Ethnic Groups

<b>Total Population</b> .....	<b>22,913</b>
<b>Mindanao-Sulu Muslim Total</b> .....	<b>18,656</b>
a. Maranao .....	18,629
b. Maguindanao .....	20
c. Other Mindanao-Sulu Muslims .....	7
<b>Visayan Total</b> .....	<b>3,651</b>
a. Cebuano .....	2,577

b. Samar-Leyte .....	278
c. Visayan Unspecified .....	362
<b>Luzon Total .....</b>	<b>526</b>
a. Tagalog .....	105
b. Ilocano .....	344
c. Other Luzon groups .....	77
<b>Other Filipinos .....</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Non-Filipino Total .....</b>	<b>63</b>
a. Chinese .....	52
b. Other .....	11

### B, Religious Affiliation

Muslim .....	18,716
Roman Catholic .....	3,821
Protestant .....	335
Other .....	41

### Buadi Sakayo: Study of an Agama

The complexity of the whole structure of Marawi City, both in the modern and traditional sense, impels us to look at a smaller unit. The *agama* of Buadi Sakayo,<sup>66</sup> ancient capital of the original "Five Datuships," was selected for investigation. This community is officially called Bangon, a barrio (or sitio) under the territorial and political organization of the city government. It is a relatively small community which maintains the original mosque, a symbol of the religious and political unity of the old community. Buadi Sakayo has a pure Maranao population of 780 residing in 82 houses composed of 128 households.<sup>67</sup> This a portion of the original community whose territory and population theoretically embraced those of the present Saguiaran Municipal District, Barrio Bito, and Camp Keithley. However, under the traditional organization, these outlying areas (excluding Camp Keithley which became predominantly Christian in population) still maintain their kinship ties and activities in the traditional organization.

### Education and Acculturation

In contrast to those of rural areas, the residents of Buadi Sakayo Proper (at Barrio Bangon adjoining Camp Keithley) manifest a comparatively high degree of adjustment to modern ways. The

following list of “educated” or “acculturated” members of the community may serve as evidence of the changing characteristics of the personality of many among its residents:

Persons having professional careers . . . . .	8
Lawyers . . . . .	2
Colleges & secondary school teachers	
with masters degrees . . . . .	3
Journalist and sociologist . . . . .	1
Elementary school teachers . . . . .	2
Persons pursuing college courses . . . . .	5
Law student . . . . .	1
Medical student . . . . .	1
Engineering student (mechanical) . . . . .	1
Normal (E.T.C.) . . . . .	2
Persons who finished high school . . . . .	12
Persons who have not finished their elementary	
and high school courses (not including a	
considerable number of youths still going	
to school) . . . . .	13
Persons employed in the government or other	
modern jobs . . . . .	19
Judge of the Court of First Instance . . . . .	1
Provincial Vice-Governor . . . . .	1
Deputy Governor . . . . .	1
College & secondary school teacher, full-time . . . . .	1
Red Cross official . . . . .	1
Elementary school teachers . . . . .	2
Clerks . . . . .	7
Police Officers . . . . .	2
Others . . . . .	3

It is noted with significance that most of the above-listed persons play informal leadership roles in the life of the community. Besides their development of new personalities, they also assume an unconscious role toward influencing the social and cultural changes taking place in the life of their people. Like other city residents, many of the heads of households are engaged in peddling and trading in the city and in other non-Maranao communities. This means of

livelihood which exposes the traders to frequent contact through travel promotes acculturation to traits of other societies.

### Traditional Organization

Traditionally, Buadi Sakayo was sub-divided into nineteen sub-kinship groups which were once united in one central mosque located at Marawi Proper, now the barrio Bangon. Each unit is called *isa ka apo* ("stock of a common ancestor"). These 19 subdivisions with their leading headmen and the present domain of each are shown in the following table:

#### KINSHIP SUB-DIVISION OF BUADI SAKAYO

Names of sub-kinship (Moriatao) Groups**	Titles of Leading Headmen	Present Locations
<b>A. Pegawidan ("supported") Groups – Ruling Class</b>		
1. Sultan sa Marawi	Sultan sa Marawi	
2. Dowa ka wata sa mama (Two-Male-Descents)		Marawi Proper (Bangon)
a. Datu sa Marawi	Datu sa Marawi	
b. Masiricampo	Masiricampo	
<b>B. Pegawid ("supporting") Groups – Closer Council</b>		
3. Alonson	Rdiamoda Samporna	
4. Datu sa Rapitan	Sultan sa Bubong	
5. Lima-ka Amaan	Pangaaga Adil	
6. Baguinda Ali	Lokus (Elder)	
7. Karya	Sultan Dimala	
8. Lolus a Datu	Sultan sa Lokus a Datu	
9. Dipatuan	Sultan Adil	
10. Bandara	Bandara	
<b>C. Pegawid ("supporting") Groups – Distant Council</b>		
11. Ompanog (Mbanog)		
12. Sidowa		
13. Alambai		
14. Arandang	Sultan sa Bubong	Saguieran Municipal District
15. Nsigay		
16. Dowa		
17. Akad	Sultan sa Lombayanagui	Lombayanagui, Saguieran District
18. Asibay	Sultan Diamla	Pawak, Saguieran
<b>D. Pegawid ("supporting") Group – Associate Member</b>		
19. Tara	Sultan sa Pantar	Pantar, Baloi, Lanao del Norte

Note: Name or title of a founding (ruling) ancestor is given as a name of a sub-kinship group, e.g., *Moriatao Sultan sa Marawi*, meaning, the "kinship group of Sultan sa Marawi."

According to the genealogical history of the Sakayos, the 18 sub-kinship groups on the chart were all descended from a pagan ancestor named Tubacan, father of Ancestor Sakayo. Sakayo's son, named Ambego, was the first to establish an authority over all the land and people in the areas of Marawi Proper, Saguiaran, Lombayanagui, Pawak, and Pantar. The last named territory was the settlement of Tara (Ambego's brother-in-law) whose later descendants severed connections from the Sakayos to join the fourth *pengampong* of Balo-i.

The organizational setup on the chart immediately following presents Buadi Sakayo in its ideal state of original solidarity. The characteristic tendency of Maranao communal societies to split as blood relationships become distant brought about the gradual weakening of the original unity.

The "Six Kinship Groups" (*num ka lokus*) composed of Ompanog, Sidowa, Alambai, Arandang, Nsigay, and Dowa have established their independent mosques in Saguiaran for the convenient performance of their religious congregations. Likewise, the groups of Akad in Lombayanagui and Asibay in Pawak built separate mosques for similar reasons. In social and ceremonial functions, the "Eight Kinship Groups" maintain their traditional cooperation with the mother *agama* or datanship community at Marawi proper. (Analogous to modern organizations these kinship groups were granted a "commonwealth" status in relation to the original organization. They maintain local authorities and titles which are recognized by a "council of officers" in Buadi Sakayo).

The "Ten Kinship Groups" composed of Sultan sa Marawi, Dowa ka wata sa mama, Alonson, Datu sa Rapitan, Lima ka Amaan, Baguinda Ali, Karya, Lokus a Datu, Dipatuan, and Bandara closely maintain their communal unity in matters of social, political, and religious affairs. These groups constitute the central organization which is strongly bound by closer blood ties, territorial unity, common interest and activities, and allegiance to the communal authority. They maintain such physical symbols and places of assembly like their common mosque and the communal house (*torogan*) where the Sultan sa Marawi lives and presides over community assemblies along with other officers.

#### Group Prestige and Distinction

According to legitimate claims based upon the *salsila* (genealogy)

and *taritib* (customary laws), the two kin-groups of the Sultan sa Marawi and Dowa ka wata sa mama occupy the position of *pegawidan* (supported class). The other seventeen groups constitute the *pegawid* (supporting class). Both classes, as their genealogies reveal, belong to the aristocratic datu class descended from a long list of royal ancestors.

The leading officers representing the *pegawidan* occupy places of higher prestige and authority in the "community council of officers." The leading officers of the *pegawid*, though of lower categories, are equally indispensable in the power structure of the society. They constitute the representative membership in the council which generates fundamental decisions and actions in community affairs. Each kinship group, in either of the two classes, is composed of the few titled persons as leaders and the majority of non-titled persons as followers.

The *pegawid* is classified into two sub-groups that differ in prestige in consideration to the roles assumed by their respective representatives. The classification is as follows: (1) The leading *pegawid* officers residing in Marawi proper form the "Closer Council" to the Sultan, Datu, and Masiricampo who compose the Triumvirate of Rulers. Like the Triumvirate, they are assigned symbolic places of prestige (called *darpa*) inside the mosque. (2) The leading officers of the *pegawid* in the outlying areas of Saguiaran, Lombayanagui, and Pawak form the "Distant Council" for reason of their seeming "commonwealth" status of their locations and their physical isolation from the seat of the central organization.

### Complex Communal Structure

According to genealogical origin and power structure, the internal social stratification of Buadi Sakayo is as follows:

#### A. The Mapiya a tao (royalty)

##### 1. *Pegawidan* class — Leading Group — Marawi Proper

Members: a. Titled-persons

b. Non-titled persons

##### 2. *Pegawid* class — "Closer Council" — Marawi Proper

Members: a. Titled-persons

b. Non-titled persons

##### 3. *Pegawid* class — "Distant Council" — Saguiaran, Lombayanagui, and Pawak, and Pantar formerly)

Members: a. Titled-persons

b. Non-titled persons

B. The *Oripen*, *Sakop* or *Bisaya* (slaves) – No class organization. Few in number and attached to the households of some families of the royalties.

Buadi Sakayo is not strictly an inaccessible sacred society, although the fundamental basis of membership springs from generic relationship to an original founding ancestor. The frequency of exogamy permitted the admission of three types of outsiders to gain membership in the community such as: (1) a *miakamong* – a male or female outsider who married a blood-member; (2) a *bala-i* – a relative of a *miakamong*; (3) a *mananangga* – a settler.

An early example of the first case above was that of Ancestor Karya, a nobility from Madamba, who married Sakayo's daughter and became a member. An example of the second is the case of Akad and Asibay, both brothers-in-law of Sakayo; and that of Tara, brother-in-law of Ambego. Ancestors Akad, Asibay, and Tara handed down their rights of membership to their descendants who were gradually amalgamated with the full-blooded members of the Sakayos. Regarding the third case, two groups of pioneer settlers from Wato (now Balindong) cleared the forests of Saguiaran and established their *agama* organizations with mosques and datuship authorities recognizing political allegiance to the Sakayos. These groups became recognized as some sort of "associate" member of the Sakayo kinship organization by pledging allegiance to its central authority. Frequent intermarriages between the Sakayo natives and the settling groups has erased the early categories of *miakamong*, *bala-i*, and *mananangga* in the membership statuses of their present offsprings.

The original organizational set-up of Buadi Sakayo has now become more complex with the admission of new kinship groups and the founding of new *agama* sub-communities in the outlying territories of the whole communal society by legitimate Sakayo blood-members.

### Agama Government

Laying aside for a moment the thought and image of legal allegiance to the constitutional government, Buadi Sakayo in its traditional state is a political unit having a territory, people, government, local autonomy, and theoretical sovereignty. Its traditional government has legislative, executive, judicial, religious, and military

functions. Its hierarchy of officers run the affairs of the community under specific laws of civil and ecclesiastical natures which define various types of internal and external relationships. It has social, economic, and recreational activities which are equally governed by customary practices.

The community lays claims over a territory composed of settled and unsettled lands handed down to the generations by early founding ancestors. This territorial land called *gana* is of two categories: (1) The *kakola* — the communal or public land owned in common by all the inhabitants such as forest lands, swamps, and the unsettled cogonal areas not otherwise privately claimed by a specific member kinship-group or individual members. It may include water areas on Lake Lanao and the Agus River used as port or fishing ground. However, there are also private fishing places called *linao* for the exclusive use of family or small kinship group. (2) The *mianggapa* — the settled lands sub-divided among different kinship groups and classified under private ownerships. There being no scientific surveys, territories are defined by natural boundaries like mountains, rivers, trees, bamboos, and rocks. The Sakayo territory is respected by adjoining communities or others which are familiar with traditional claims of ownerships.

The Sakayo community has both civil and ecclesiastical officers holding formal titles which have been previously mentioned. They exercise temporal and spiritual authority, respectively. The ecclesiastical authority is composed of officers holding religious titles. The *Sultan of Marawi*, the *Datu of Marawi*, and the *Masiricampo*.<sup>68</sup> who represent the supported groups are of equal ranks although they differ in well-defined functions. The Sultan is assisted by his prince or heir-apparent bearing the title of *Kabugatan*. The prince and heir-apparent to the Datu bears the title of *Radiamoda*.<sup>69</sup> He assists both the *Datu* and the *Masiricampo*, although he is officially closer to the former. Also under the three highest ranking officers are other minor titled men and titled women upon whom authorities are vested by their respective kinship groups.

The Sultan is the ceremonial and titular head of the community and its government. Much like the English sovereign, he does not rule but he serves as a state symbol. Only his office can establish a *torogan* (principal ceremonial-communal house where he resides but does not preside in) and a *lama* (ceremonial and recreational

ground); he also keeps the royal emblems of the "state."

The Datu assumes an office similar to that of a prime minister. As such he wields the most active power of administering all important social and political affairs. He presides over all important assemblies held inside or outside the Sultan's *torogan*. He convenes *bitiara* (formal meetings or assemblies) on public matters with the *Masiricampo*, who is often his co-presiding officer, the *Kabugatan*, the *Radiamoda*, and the Sultan and datus representing the seventeen other Sakayo kinship groups. He represents the Sakayos in inter-community affairs. He and the *Masiricampo* submit approved matters to the Sultan for confirmation. (Although the Sultan assumes the ideal role of a titular head, which exempts him from active discussions in public meetings, he is represented in the assemblies by the *Kabugatan*, his heir-apparent so that his duty is simply to confirm. It appears that his "ideal" role as a titular symbol has never been "real." because he is frequently seen actively joining discussions of public matters).

The principal roles of the *Masiricampo* is that of an economic officer. He administers all agricultural lands belonging to the *pegawidan* class. He collects all shares due their families and receives tributes from farm families who are obliged to give tributes. (This giving of tributes is no longer observed.) He is the representative of the three ruling families to the local assemblies of the "supporting" groups in Saguwaran, Lombayanagui, and Pawak.

The group of "supporting" officers is composed of the minor sultans and other titled datus representing the other seventeen groups. They are members or "ministers" in the "council of leaders" whose assemblies are presided over by the Datu. Under this class of officers are other titled datus and titled women representing the different sub-kinships.

Deliberations in communal assemblies avail of the presence of the representations of interested non-titled leaders like the persons called *kalalagan* (wise speech-makers and orators), whose ideas and opinions are often consulted in making decisions toward initiating community actions. Their actuations in the assemblies are also considered as gestures of "support" (*awid*) to the whole *agama* leadership.

Each supporting sub-kinship has some local affairs within its internal system which are independent of the jurisdiction of the

over-all authority. A leading *pegawid* sultan assumes the local role of a *pegawidan* in relation to minor officers and the non-titled members of his smaller sub-Kinship group. The "supported" and the "supporting" relationships occur in different situations depending upon the inter-connections of groups and individuals. Most officers or members of Buadi Sakayo cross-cut the kinship class lines in view of their statuses of part-*pegawidan* and part-*pegawid* as a result of complex exogamous and endogamous relationships.<sup>70</sup>

The ecclesiastical authority is composed of religious officers headed by the *Imam*, a mosque leader or president. Next to him is the *Katib* or *Bilal*, a religious practitioner who opens the mosque prayers. The *Modin* is the substitute for the *Katib* in case of the latter's absence. The former assists the two other religious officers in the performance of burial rites. Besides the three, there is the important office of *Tuan Kali*, an authority on Islamic laws. Because he is equally learned in customary civil laws, he occupies a marginal position between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities as a judge and law consultant.

Other religious practitioners also assume informal leadership roles such as those of the class of *olama* or *tuan*,<sup>71</sup> and *sheik* or *hadji*. The last two acquire their titles for having made pilgrimage to Mecca. *Sheik* is the title of a pilgrimage leader. The majority of religious practitioners come from the datu class. With the exception of *tuan*, all religious titles are of Arab importation. The offices of the *Imam*, *Katib*, *Modin*, and *Tuan Kali* are hereditary in some specific kinships. An aspiring kinsman to religious succession has to study the duties of his office.

Civil and religious officers make joint actions on matters of general interest, but there are ideal rules on the separation of powers. A civil officer like a sultan, for example, cannot legitimately assume a religious duty unless he is at the same time an authority on Quranic laws.

### Agama Laws<sup>72</sup>

Law to the Maranao is called *kokoman* from the Arab *hukum*. The Maranao term is also colloquially applied to the court or the personnel of justice. The laws governing their society are of two general types: (1) The *adat* laws which are customary laws, and

(2) the *kitab* or Islamic laws introduced to the society along with their religion.

*Adat* laws are composed of (a) the *taritib*, which means "ordered ways" or "established ways" and (b) the *igma*, which has approximates the meaning of "ordinance." Often, the three terms are synonymous and interchangeable. But *taritib* applies more specifically to the set of older traditional laws handed down by founding ancestors. It governs the relationship between communities and the different kinship groups, especially with regards to ranks, prestiges and the rights and obligations of each. In formal occasions even the protocol or order to enumerating names of communities and titles of dignitaries are governed by *taritib* protocol. The *igma* are ordinances recently legislated by representative leaders which are approved by the community in their frequent assemblies. When handed down through the generations, they also become traditional laws like the *taritib*.

The Arab-borrowed laws of *kitab* are composed of (a) the *purkan*, meaning "pathway" (i.e., the right path), containing the legal and moral provisions of the Holy Quran; and (b) the *minahad* containing the codes based upon the *purkan* by Prophet Muhammad. The *kitab* laws are more rigid than the *adat* laws. In fact, some inconsistent provisions of the latter may be annulled by the former. The legislation of *igma* (ordinances) are based upon the *kitab* and the *taritib* in order to be valid.

The *kitab* is shared by the Maranao with the rest of the Islamic World. On the other hand, there are provisions of the *taritib* and *igma* which are enforced in all the "Four States" of the Maranao. Still others have very limited application to a *pangampong* or to an *agama* unit. Buadi Sakayo shares with other sister communities the *kitab* laws and much of the general provisions of the *adat* laws.

The civil officers of the Sakayos administer the *adat* laws but when conflicts arise, they consult the *kali* and other learned Muslims to render their opinion or decision which are based upon the *kitab* laws. In the judicial administration, both the leading civil and religious officers sit *en banc* to form a jury. Contesting parties are allowed to present witnesses (*saksi*) and their respective counsels called *wakil*, the counterparts of our modern legal counselors.

A precedent in the settlement of a previous case is called *kias* used by jury as a legal reference. An *agama* has no penitentiary or police officers, although *datus* may legitimately bring an accused to

the *agama* court.

Prior to the inception of modern government, retributive vengeance (*saop*) and pillage (*rabai*) were widespread punishments imposed by an aggrieved party. The former custom is still rampant when the modern authority fails to interfere or when the traditional offices lost control of the feuding families. Islam outlaws the sinful acts of vengeance and pillage.

The other penalties are called *kitas* (death penalty by execution), *olol* (enslavement for women convicts of high crimes), *radiam* (stoning of convicts in adultery and incest crimes), and *kapangangawid* ("honorable" settlement with fine and compensation). The first three are no longer practiced except in very rare cases in isolated areas. The fourth is still popular and often tolerated or accepted in the extra-legal settlements by the modern constitutional officers of the law.

Death and enslavement were applied to high crimes of murder, homicide, adultery, and incest. Settlement through arbitration or mediation is commonly practiced. This is done under the terms of *kapangangawid*. A ceremony is observed in which the defendant and his close kin make public apology, regarded as "humbling" repentance on their part to restore the "honor and dignity" of the aggrieved or "disgraced" party. Money and property are paid by the defendant's party to the aggrieved party through the mediators. In this ceremony, the parties become "blood-relatives" by fiction as they both swear over the Holy Quran to forget their differences. Often, this is reinforced by intermarriages between a female of the aggrieved party and a male of the defendant party who is given as a "hostage" to the former. This semblance of "pipe-smoking" settlement occurs in the disputes between parties of the same or different *agamas* who could often trace inter-kinship or inter-*agama* relationships.

As a concession to traditional institutions, government administrators give autonomy to influential *datus* to settle minor disputes, but the government takes interest in high crimes which tend to disturb peace and order. When however, the native settlement fails to maintain equilibrium in cases of killing and physical injury, the aggrieved party often resorts to taking vengeance which at present causes feudal warfares between families, clans, and *agamas*. The relatively slow procedure of the government court, arising from frequent postponement of trials, produces emotional stress and

aggression on the part of the aggrieved party who in many cases takes the law into their own hands.

Uncompromising and dissatisfied parties take their cases to the constitutional court when they believe there will be better settlement. But in many cases, they exert influence on the authority to refer the dispute to the *agama* court, which to them administers satisfactory justice according to traditional values when not disturbed by petty politicians of the new order who at times confuse the settlement.

Despite the accessibility of the city authority, the members of Buadi Sakayo who value their old institutions often bring their minor disputes to the *Sultan*, *Datu*, and *Masiricampo* of Marawi, and the council of civil and religious officers for settlement. Most of the high crimes of murder and homicide go to the constitutional court, although the *agama* has the capacity to settle the case for the satisfaction of the litigants.

#### **Organized Activities.**

The feeling of familism as the bond of village groupness is weakening. This is expressed in the worries of the Sakayo oldsters who look back to their past cooperation. But the *agama* is still rich in collective activities. In the past, the kinship unit bonded together more actively in the work and defense situations. The *datus*, for instance, used to construct and maintain a horse racing track with the collective hands of their kinsmen. But the horse racing pastime became a "dead" custom as a result of the city road which replaced the race track.

The first Sultan sa Bubong, most active patriarchal leader of the Rapitan Kinship, formerly controlled the group labor of families under him who farmed the land now occupied by Camp Keithley. The same group went fishing together in Marawi Bay on Lake Lanao. Under the sultan's leadership, the kinship maintained the historic "Fort Marahui" (in Spanish record). After his death, his warriors and kinsmen collectively defended themselves against the Spanish invaders of 1891 and 1895.

In compliance with the term of alliance among member-units of the "Inter-Datuship Confederation of Marawi" (*Pumaguso pa sa Marawi*), the kinships of the Sultan sa Marawi and the Lima ka amaan contributed their giant cannons for the defense of the fort. Likewise, each other other datuships of Guimba, Madaya, Bacolod,

Toros, and Ibango contributed ten rifles (Spanish muskets) in accordance with the treaty of mutual defense among the different communities. These weapons were placed at the defense disposal of the Rapitan Kinship as a party in the military alliance.

At the coming of the Spaniards and the Americans, the Sakayos maintained a market-place on the lake shore at Camp Keithley where the inhabitants of other communities joined in the exchange of money and commodities. This important function of the old community was taken over by the present government. While the common economic cooperation and the defense activities have been reduced to the minimum, much of the social and religious cooperations of the Sakayos still bind together the structure of their society.

Like other agamas, the Sakayos at Marawi Proper pray together inside their mosque where they congregate in a larger group during Islamic holidays. The "Ten Group" residents obligate themselves and their leaders during occasions of mosque construction and repair with their money and labor. Inside this structure they also hold their meetings on matters of general social ceremonial affairs.

In the past, the sound of gongs quickly assembled the Sakayos to activities of merrymaking, funeral, and military emergency. Today, they still assemble during holidays to pray and feast together in the houses of their leading datus. They play the *kolintang* (percussion music) to furnish themselves recreational entertainments during weddings or while giving *despedidas* and *bienvenidas* for important persons and parties. They spend expensively and collectively for decorated vehicles in motorcades to send off or welcome travelling relatives to and from the annual Holy Pilgrimage to Mecca.

In the farm, the Sakayos maintain the practice of exchanging farm hands through the custom of *kasoda-soda*. In Upper Bangon and Saguiaran where farming is the principal occupation, the families unite under this old custom. Among the trader and merchant class, members tend to develop independent and individualistic attitudes in contrast to the old inter-kinship cooperation in farm labor and during the past occasions of military defense.

### **New Interests and Activities**

Some of the older types of activity are weakening while others have been totally forgotten. But in place of forgotten patterns, the

Sakayos develop interest in new activities. Upon the initiation of one of their educated datos, the community took the first interest in the *tilapia* fishpond craze few years ago. The datu who first introduced the fish to the community in 1953 dug the pond near the entrance to the mosque whereby it attracted the interest of the villagers. Seeing the possibility of developing the project, the *Imam* advised his constituent mosque-goers to make their family fishponds. He started constructing his own until the whole community exchanged help of digging more ponds in the idle and uncultivated swamp area around the mosque premises. Subsequently, the inhabitants of other villages in Lake Lanao constructed their own ponds. But the disastrous earthquake of April 1, 1955 depressed the lake shore areas and turned loose the millions of fish into the lake basin resulting in the increase of catches of fishermen who supply the surrounding communities.

The school principal once initiated the organization of a *purok*. A simple election meeting was held whereby the residents unanimously selected their *Masiricampo* as *purok* president along with other titled men for the other *purok* positions. The organization was named "Pompongan a Marawi" Purok (Royal Marawi Purok) in honor of the old traditional institution. It was a name expressive of the community's traditional prestige. It seemed the selection of officers would strengthen the new neighborhood organization due to their traditional leadership, but it failed to actively function. After the organization, there was lack of follow-up on the part of the school representative who had to orient the officers and members on their duties and the usefulness of the *purok*. The Tagalog term *purok* is the same Maranao word for "group." Under the *agama* structure, the Sakayos are already a group and they only need to be taught new functions which their traditional leaders may execute for their community welfare.

Where the oldsters failed to succeed, the youngsters manifested a semblance of success. The latter who were composed of unmarried school youths organized a "junior *purok*" and achieved same projects.

The Sakayos manifest high interest in the achievement of their children in school. During annual closing exercises, families and clans collectively honor graduating youths by giving the latter gifts and flowers. Many actively join the Parents-Teachers Association.

Interest in the government is expressed in the people's desire to be represented in the provincial and city administrations. With the

shared thought that Buadi Sakayo is the traditional "capital" of the whole Marawi, they feel that one of them should be a member of the formerly appointive City Council which has now become elective. The Datu of Marawi had aspired for the mayoralty but he lost during his political party's convention. In the elections of November 10, 1959, two Sakayo members ran for the City Council and won to the satisfaction of their kinsmen who gave them majority votes. They also voted for the winning candidates for governor, vice-governor, and one board member who all have kinship connections with the community.

On one occasion, the Sakayos gathered inside the mosque to assume the role of a "pressure group." Under the joint leadership of the *Sultan*, the *Datu*, and the *Masiricampo*, the assembly moved unanimously to petition the City Council to change the "humble" name "Bangon" (hamlet) to the traditional name "Marawi," so that henceforth the place shall be officially known as Marawi City." One of the literate datus was delegated to draft the petition.

Sakayo members holding government appointments are expected by the community to take active support of communal affairs. Likewise titled men in the traditional system tend to aspire for government jobs to double their prestige and influences. The Sakayo is a typical Maranao social unit which is gradually changing with the blending traits of the *communal* and the *associational* types of society.

Some time in 1954, three political leaders composed of two former city officials and the Datu of Marawi invited the 28 *pegawidan* sultans and datus to a meeting at the *torogan* of the Sultan sa Marawi. The purpose was to survey the possibility of reorganizing the ranking sultans and datus into an active group in order to revitalize their social power which was seen to be weakening. They all agreed to organize in order to "revive and strengthen" their weakening influence represented by government personnel. It was agreed that the society be named "The All-Sultans Association of Marawi." They met in a number of weekly meetings to promulgate their constitution and by-laws. Sensing, however, the political motives of the three "initiators," who they thought would utilize the group during elections, the sultans discontinued the organizational plant at its embryonic stage.

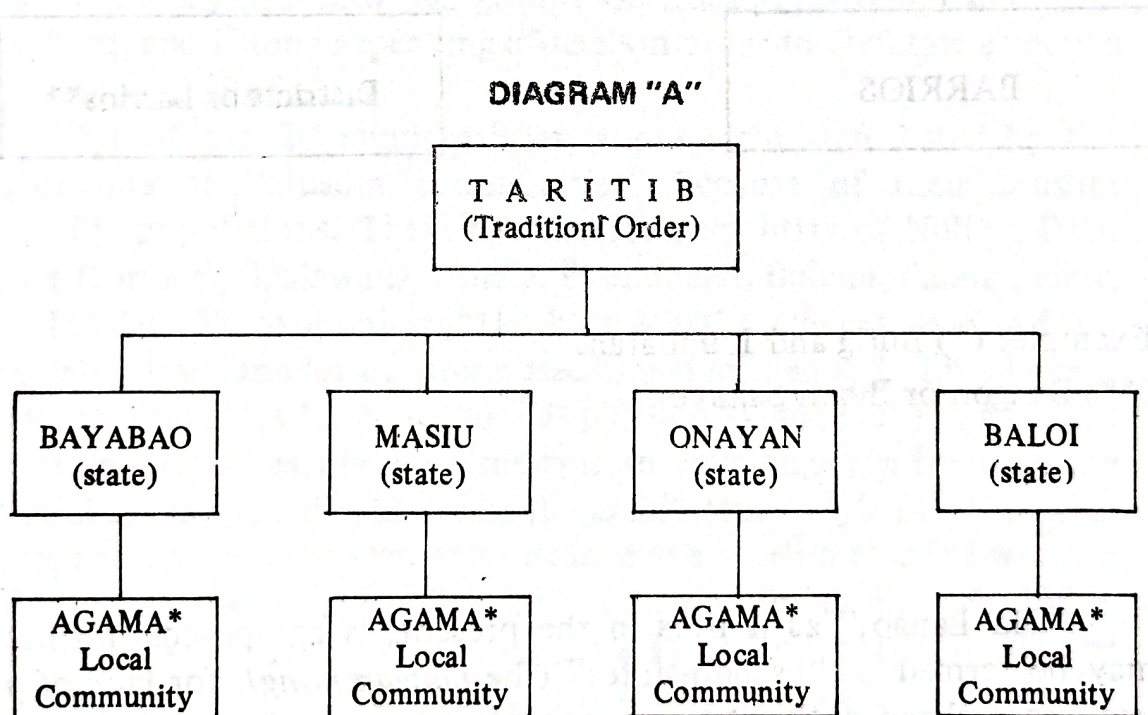
It was presumed that the proposal would bring real benefits to the government and the *agama* communities due to the influence

and capacity of the sultans to lead their people, but better still if a plan were developed to organize an association or federation of *agamas* to activate each community together with its leadership structure.

**Conclusion: Bond of Traditional Order.**

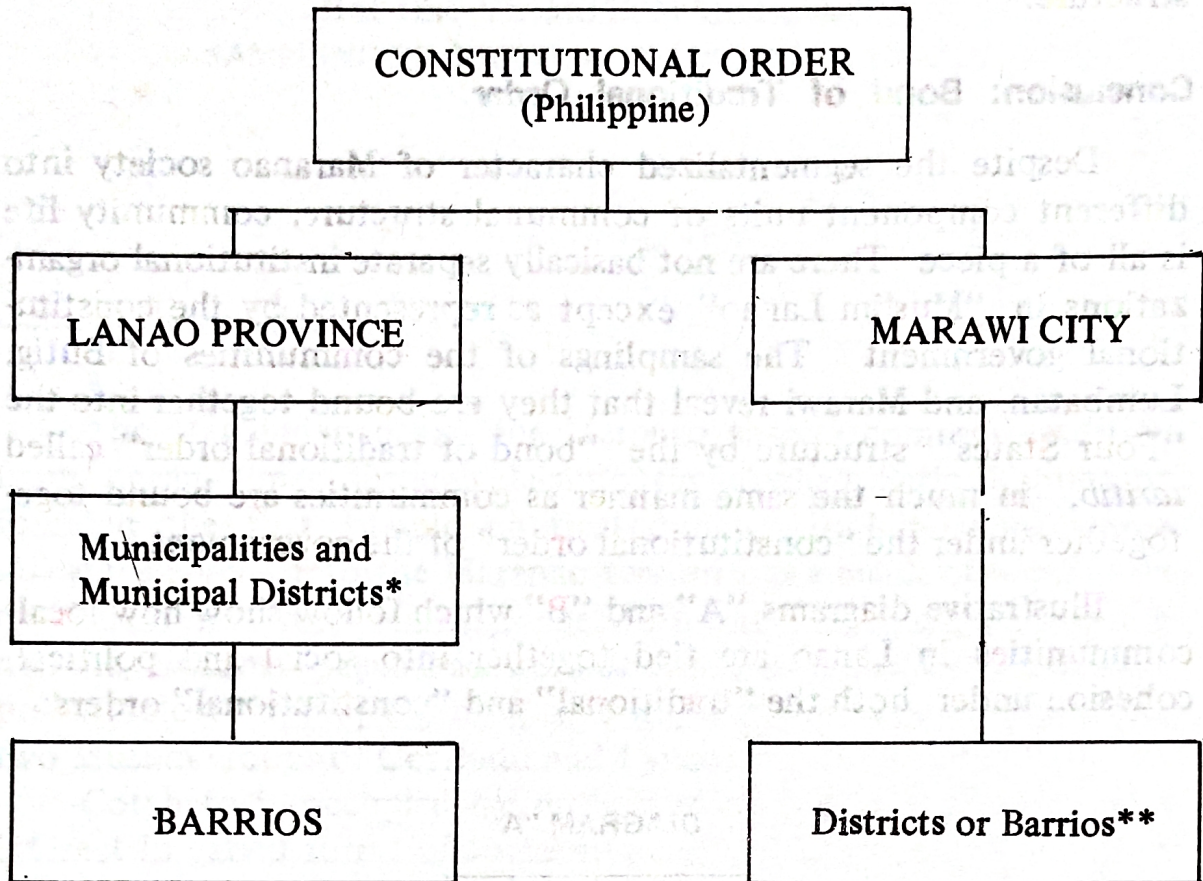
Despite the segmentalized character of Maranao society into different component units of communal structure, community life is all of a piece. There are not basically separate institutional organizations in "Muslim Lanao" except as represented by the constitutional government. The samplings of the communities of Butig, Lumbatan, and Marawi reveal that they are bound together into the "Four States" structure by the "bond of traditional order" called *taritib*, in much the same manner as communities are bound together under the "constitutional order" of the government.

Illustrative diagrams "A" and "B" which follow show how local communities in Lanao are tied together into social and political cohesion under both the "traditional" and "constitutional" orders:



(\* Examples: (1) Dianaton in Butig, (2) Bandara in Lumbatan, and (3) Sakayo in Marawi.

DIAGRAM "B"



Example: (\*) Butig and Lumbatan.

(\*\*) Bangon or Buadi Sakayo

“Old Lanao,” as it lives in the present, is composed of what may be termed “pseudo-states” (the *pangampong*), for lack of a truly centralized authority or agency to correspond to a provincial government. In their weakening state, the four “states” of Bayabao, Masiu, Onayan, and Baloi hold no authoritarian control over their smaller components. The “traditional order” is seen minimized as a

result of contact and rivalry with the "constitutional order." What remains of the strength of the older order lies not in the total structure but in its smaller local units (*agamas*) where blood-bond and territorial interest strongly maintain communal solidarity.

The Sultanates of Butig, Lombayanagui (Lumbatan), and Marawi still maintain theoretical powers over their respective inhabitants and territories, but their structure and functions have considerably weakened. On the other hand, their component *agama* communities such as Dianaton in Butig, Bandara in Lombayanagui (Lumbatan), and Sakayo in Marawi are relatively enjoying today stronger powers whereby their social organizations are capable of concerted actions.

It is known in this socio-political exploration of existing conditions that the "traditional" and "constitutional" authorities overlap in interest in the general affairs of the Maranao community. A formalized working relationships on matters of common interest may resolve the conflict to bring closer the communal structure of Maranao society into the *associational* form to be the result of conscious "administered" or "directed" change.