

## CHAPTER II

### THE PENGAMPONG : ITS GROWTH, FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT

The most inclusive and most important type of historical interpretation today is the relatively recent synthetic, eclectic, pluralistic or "collective psychological" theory. This theory holds that no single category of causes is sufficient to explain all phases and periods of historical development and that only the collective psychology of any period is strong enough to dominate the attendant historical development. The new history, therefore, is necessarily eclectic in approach and interpretation in contrast to the older, conventional history which overstresses political causation or holds that historical development is entirely arbitrary.

Contrary to common notion, history is never static; it is dynamic. It implies as well as emphasizes evolution, growth, formation and development. In the light of this concept, it is necessary to see Lanao history from the viewpoint of the Maranaos themselves. They view their history to be very exclusive, a case of extreme ethnocentric historiography.

Generally, the Maranaos have no historical sense. First, they do not write down their own history (*totolan*); and second, their genealogical accounts contain meager historical data, that is, no dates are given and the descent line of personages and their respective names were given more emphasis rather than the events surrounding them. This unhistorical sense of the Maranaos may explain why they are not development-oriented. The theory in history that great personalities are taken only as an interaction point of great social movements does not apply in Lanao. Maranaos do not perceive their history that way. What they have is a society of royalties. Their history is genealogical in nature, which includes folklore, especially the Radia Indarapatra narrative and the Darangen epic poem. In short, history for them is nothing more than a mixture of genealogy and folklore.

The history of the Maranaos, as perceived by themselves, may be divided into four: 1) the Radia Indarapatra period; 2) the Darangen period; 3) the Pengampong period; and 4) the Islamization period.

### The Radia Indarapatra Period

So far, the most extensive study on Radia Indarapatra is Nagasura T. Madale's Ph. D. dissertation, "A Socio-Cultural Analysis of Radia Indarapatra: A Maranao Folk Narrative" (1981). Madale claims that the narrative contains the origin or beginning (*po-onan*) of Maranao genealogy, hence, a Maranao history. The narrative as a genealogy (*salsila*) is one of the two basic references in tracing one's own descent line. In Maranao, this is what is called "*sa dorog a bangensa*" (one chain of royal descent line).<sup>1</sup> In other words, the narrative is the earliest oral account of the ancestors (*apo*) of the Maranaos, which serves as a link between the present and the past. In addition, the narrative also serves as a "validating mechanism" for one who legitimately claims any royal title (*grar*) in the traditional social and political hierarchy.

To a certain degree, the narrative as an oral literature reflects some Maranao norms, conduct as well as behavior. The Maranaos believe that the events mentioned in the narrative had actually happened and, at present, any event or ceremony has a justification in the past. In this respect, the narrative is *anonén a rawaten*, "height of emulation." This could mean that the historical consciousness of the past is ever-present in the present.

Aside from the events which were believed to have actually happened, the narrative is also etiological in character. It accounts for the origins of places and names, evidenced by landmarks such as rocks, islets, etc. These are living testimonies that events mentioned in the narrative did actually happen. These highly valued landmarks serve as links between the present and the past.

Activities and festivities mentioned in the text are revived or replayed during the significant social gatherings and occasions as

are believed to have happened in the past. As such, these gatherings and occasions are based (*riyawat*) on the narrative. Further, it shows that a good number of beliefs, practices and rituals (now being discouraged by the religious) have their beginnings in the past as reflected in the narrative. However, despite the Islamization of the area and the current resurgence of Islam here, some of the beliefs, practices and rituals which may be pre-Islamic or un-Islamic still persist or are still observed to this day because they are considered *andang sa muna* (or "the ways of the ancestors") — all are derived from, based on or believed to have their origin in the narrative.

It is important to point out here that the Radia Indarapatra narrative as an etiology is also the study of the peopling of the Lake Lanao region.

Radia<sup>2</sup> Indarapatra was the son of Solotan Nabi and Tuan Potri Manalo Tihaya and a half brother of Radia Solaiman whose mother was Boyang, the slave of Tihaya. In response to the cry for help of the indigenes of Lanao, Solaiman came but he was killed by the giant Omaca-an. The failure of Solaiman to return home to Mantapoli led Indarapatra to come over to Lanao to look for him. But nobody was around to provide him the necessary information: everybody was hiding from Omaca-an and the Tarabusao who were cannibals.

Under the balete (*nonok*) tree in Calocan, Marawi, while he was pretending to cook, he heard a female voice telling him directly what information he was looking for regarding his brother. From Bai a Salindagao, the spirit (*tonong*) of that tree, Indarapatra learned of the death of his brother, of Omaca-an and the cannibals roaming the region. He was also told how to kill the giant and where to find him. The two finally met between Timbangalan and Calocan, fought and Omaca-an was killed. Symbolically, Radiya Indarapatra moved around the area eliminating cannibals and telling the inhabitants that it was already safe to come out of their hiding places.

After wiping out the dangers in the area, he returned to the Bai a Salindagao to thank her and asked her where he could find

someone to marry. He was told that there was a water nymph (locally called *karibang* but known also as Raina Laut) who used to sunbathe at the Titay o Balindong (“Bridge of Balindong”) across the lake between the present-day municipalities of Taraka in the south and Balindong (then Wato) in the north. He married and brought her to Poona Masiu (now Sawir) and built a house there beside the Masiu river. The place since then has been called Mimbalai (literally means “had built a house”). Out of the union between Indarapatra and Raina Laut came the ancestors of Bembaran, one of the kingdoms in the Darangen epic poem.<sup>3</sup> Diwata Tanda o Gibon, the seventh (7th) generation from Indarapatra, became the founding father of Bembaran. The seven generations are as follows:

Radiya Indarapatra — Potre Raina Laut

|

Aya Diwata Mokom sa Kiniyalonod sa Ig

|

Aya Diwata Mokom sa Kaadiyonga Lupa

|

Aya Diwata Mokom sa Kaadiyonga Langit

|

Aya Diwata Mokom sa Kinirinding a Gibon

|

Aya Diwata Mokom sa Kiyaloyana Gabon

|

Diwata Tanda o Gibon sa Iliyan sa Bembaran

Oral authors differ sometimes in their genealogical accounts. Some names are missing in one or present in another. The above account is a compromised reconstruction from interviews with Datu Campong of Calocan and Kaka-i Aragasi of Marinaut. However, in one version of the narrative, Indarapatra was married to Potri Sandori Salam the daughter of a certain datu named Sultan Radia Laut. They had twins: Rinamentao (male) and Rinayong (female). These twins were the ancestors of all the datus and sultans around the Lake Lanao region. In another tradition, the children of Aya Diwata Mokom sa Kiyaloyana Gabon were the

children of Aya Diwata Mokom sa Kiyaloyonod a Ig. Moreover, the ten children of Kiyaloyana Gabon were divided into two: one-half belonged to heaven and ruled that region and the other half to the ocean or earth. Diwata Tanda o Gibon belonged to the latter. It is said that among the twelve children of Diwata Tanda o Gibon, only two were said to be males: Mangondaya and Tomina-man sa Rogong. The rest were all females, one each from everyone of the other wives.

### The Darangen Period

As in the Radiya Indarapatra story, the Darangen characters were also believed to have existed as evidenced by the continuity of the genealogy and the events said to have actually happened. This period lasted only four generations from Diwata Tanda o Gibon (the founder and first ruler of Bembaran) to Botowanen Kalinan who fled to Lanao as a result of the destruction of the kingdom and whose descendants became the founding fathers of the Pengampong. The four generations are as follows:

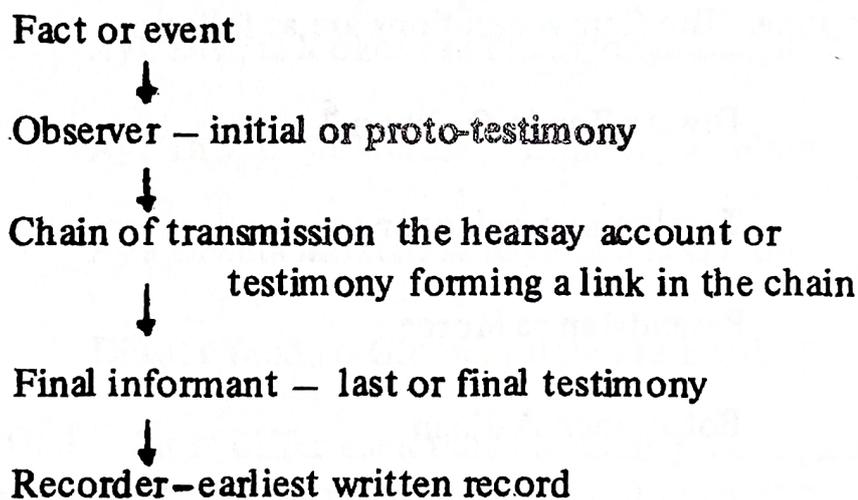
Diwata Tanda O Gibon <sup>4</sup>  
 |  
 Tominaman sa Rogong.  
 |  
 Pasaidalan sa Morog  
 |  
 Botowanen Kalinan

Oral literature, a field of folklore, consists of epics, folktales, fables, folksongs, legends, proverbs, riddles and the like. According to folklorist William R. Bascom, there are four functions of folklore: first, for entertainment; second, for validating culture in “justifying its rituals and institutions to those who perform and observe them”; third, for its role in “education, particularly, but not exclusively, in non-literate societies”; and fourth, for “maintaining conformity to the accepted patterns of behavior” (in

Manuel : 1976, 17).

It is within this context that Bascom said, "Folklore, like language, is a mirror of culture, and incorporates descriptions of the details of ceremonies, institutions and technology, as well as the expression of beliefs and attitudes." Then, he goes on to say that "It is, in a very real sense, their ethnography which, if systematized by the student, gives a penetrating picture of their way of life" (in Manuel: 1976, 16-17).

The Darangen, a Maranao epic poem, functionally fits this view. In fact, an epic "can play a major role in the writing of history because it is, first of all, a historical narrative which shows popular perception of events, institutions, movements, personalities, etc.; it also contains a certain amount of social data and thereby serves, to a limited extent, as a vehicle of history" (Jose: 1978, 4-5). In relating folklore to history, it would be interesting to cite Jan Vansina's (1965: 25) model for oral historical methodology as far as the historical consciousness of a given people is concerned:



From a particular fact or event to the recorder, both the people's actual experience and the narrator's fertile imagination are injected (or deleted) in the course of time, particularly in the way events, perceptions, ideas, etc. are orally transmitted from one generation to another. In other words, what may remain in the minds of the people is the historical consciousness of an actual event that may have occurred in time but is now embellished with

fantasy, and finally becomes myth or legend. This is probably the reason why, in the words of Juan R. Francisco, the history of peoples, "as individual ethnic groups, is woven in their legends and myths—ancient or even contemporary—for these are manifestations of a growing culture, a dynamic culture, not enveloped in statism" (Francisco: 1980, 1-5).

Ernesto Constantino tells us that, in general, "our oral literature is more closely related to and oriented towards our pre-historic and pre-colonial life and culture from which it must have developed." He continues to say that "our written literature developed as a result of the colonization of our country and is consequently more closely related to and oriented towards our colonial and past-colonial life and culture." Consequently, our oral literature "is more traditional or authentic and more ancient or original than our written literature" (Constantino: 1980, 3).

Referring in particular to Maranao literature (oral or written), Mamitua Saber, the first Maranao sociologist, states that it "represents the Maranao's intellectual treasure—a part of their glorious history. Along with history, literature is a potent influence in the formation of ideas, values and attitudes which, when held in common, forge harmony among the people and their institutions" (Saber: 1980, 2).

In his survey of Philippine folk epics, Arsenio Manuel remarks that epics embody or validate the people's beliefs, customs or life values (Manuel: 1983, 3). Even the Indarapatra narrative as a document, according to Madale, validates their (Maranao's) very existence as a group in the Maranao social structure.

The pre-Islamic character and nature in terms of the chronological period of the Darangen has been explained in my papers, (1980) and (1983). The Darangen was also considered by Francisco as a pre-Islamic oral literature. Writing in 1977, he said:

Centuries before the introduction of Islam in the area, the Maranao had been in contact though indirectly with the great traditions, like the Indian and the Chinese. Hence, as we look into the deeper cultural life of the

Maranao, we can see a blending of all the results of these inter-cultural encounters. The pre-contact culture, however, predominates assimilating all these foreign elements to a point where these have become unrecognizable. This blending, particularly with the Arab-Islam, is further seen in the renaissance in present social interactions among the Maranao themselves, and between Maranao and non-Maranao . . . The Darangen, a non-Islamic epic, though now profoundly Islamized, is the source of many themes of popular non-religious entertainment. The pre-contact literature is the major sources of wisdom and life models among the Maranao (Francisco: 1977: 655-656).

Francisco goes on to say that the epic, at least before the Qur'an was introduced as a foundation of a new faith, was "the primary source of wisdom, an article of faith which validated all actions of the society. It still functions as a social control, and at the same time a record of all that is to be emulated by the society . . ." (Francisco: 1977, 656).

In short, the Darangen is viewed as an embodiment of beliefs, practices, norms, behavior, thinking, ritual and other activities, which may be social, political, cultural, religious, intellectual, etc. In general, the Darangen has greatly shaped Maranao history, society, culture and institutions. For instance, the concept of datuism which revolves chiefly in political, social and economic aspects of this institution is believed to have originated from the Darangen. Mauyag Tamano, a former president of Mindanao State University in Marawi City, stated that "In the past, the datu's power, authority and rank in the (Maranao) society constituted a style of life based on the legendary culture of the lost civilization of the city-state of Bembaran, the pre-Islamic Kingdom from which Maranao royalty is believed to have sprung" (Tamano: 1969, 64).

Mamitua Saber points out that the Darangen as an ancient document "includes evidence, though obscure and difficult to interpret, of the history of the Moros and other Filipino. As a

popular folk-literature appealing to the emotions and ideas of the present-day Moros, it is an evidence of the ideals and ideology that guides Moro behavior" (Saber: 1961, 327). Earlier, Saber wrote in *The Maranao Progress* (capitol organ of public information in Marawi City) dated April 30, 1960 that the Darangen was

an interesting document to study the life and culture of the people during a period of a thousand years or more. Social psychologists could explain past and present behavior of the people through evaluating the ancient morality taught by the epic.

Students of literature could also appreciate the sharp imagination of Maranao epic singers by observing the beautiful poetic imagery of the classical *Iranun* language. To modern moralists, however, a great part of the entire composition bears lusty or warlike themes which are inconsistent with the modern desire for a tranquil and peaceful order of life.

Let me quote Francisco once more who says that:

In traditional societies, like the Maranao, the literature—both oral and written—functions in various ways. The Darangen as a body of tradition, apart from the story that it presents, has more or less functioned as a bond that has stabilized Maranao society through the vicissitudes that it underwent in its history. It serves as a bible in which faith in their continuity was anchored, for it was and is still respected as a record of *andang sa muna*, "the ways of the ancestors." At present, the epic stands side by side with the Koran as the rock-foundation of Maranao culture (Francisco : 1969, 188).

According to Batua Macaraya, since the Maranaos believe that the Darangen characters were their ancestors, a claim supported by their genealogy, the Darangen *per se* serves as a source

material of their history, culture and society (see Macaraya: 1977, 14 pp).

Credit is due to Juan R. Francisco and Nagasura T. Madale in raising two Maranao concepts of *andang sa muna* and *anonen a rawaten*. *Andang sa muna* (*andang*, old; *muna*, first) means “the ways of the ancestors.” The word “ancestors” here refers to the characters in the Indarapatra narrative, in the Darangen epic, as well as the founding fathers of the Pengampong. The claim that their ancestors did really exist and the events actually happened is supported by their genealogy or chain of descent lines which links the present generation of Maranaos to the characters in the narrative and the epic on one hand and Sarips Kabungsuan and Alawi on the other hand.

*Anonen a rawaten* means “the height of emulation.” Literally, *anonen* means “harmony.” When there is harmony, there is organization (as in the case of the *pengampong*, the traditional or indigenous socio-political organization and territorial division of Lanao); when there is organization, there is order (as in the case of *taritib* or *atoran* which binds the entire *pengampong*); when there is order, there is unity (as in the case of Maranao homogeneity and brotherhood in Islam). *Rawaten* means “model” or “that which is to be emulated.” In this context, the ways of the ancestors of the Maranaos from Radia Indarapatra through the characters in the Darangen, the founding fathers of the *pengampong*, to the Muslim missionaries are all *anonen a rawaten*. In this light, the literature is also referred to as anthropological concept of “charter.” Literature, charter or *anonen a rawaten* is a reflection of *andang sa muna* or the ways of the ancestors. In short, there is a continuity of historical consciousness from Indarapatra to the present.

Nobody seems to understand the Maranao mentality, but to understand it is to understand their literature which embodies their laws, norms, conduct and behavior, values, origins, beliefs and practices and rituals which accordingly date back to the pre-Islamic period. It is a charter, the basic reference to explain events and social activities and festivities believed to be the legacies of

the past. Saber has a final word to this effect:

These themes and actions to which the Maranao today respond provide important clues to the understanding of Maranao behavior, for they are crystallizations or symbolic representations of the underlying imagery and ideology of Maranao society. As we observe and understand those things at which men applaud, those characters of the heroes after which the children pattern themselves — as we see what these are, we learn about the kinds of themes which we can use in speaking to the Maranao (Saber: 1961, 329).

Before going to the next period, it would be quite interesting to present here what the late Sultan Marmai Rasuman, a former Sultan of Balindong, said in an interview (October 1979) about Bembaran's territorial sphere of influence. He named and identified places/principalities (or possibly vassal states) directly or indirectly ruled by Bembaran before the arrival of the Spaniards. They were Komedegedeg a Ig (Cebu), Dagowatan sa Orai (Panay), Madarab a Kalinan (Leyte), Lowakatan a 'Ndao (Samar), Bagumbayan a Lena (Luzon), Natengkopan a Ragat (Mindoro), Minilalan-sai a Lena (Palawan), Solog (Sulu), Guindolongan a Marogong (Borneo), Bogabong a Komara (Formosa), and Diondian a Tina (China).

The sultan seemed to have no basis for identifying those places except, perhaps, their geographical location and description. His common knowledge of things may not necessarily be factual, but these places were what he believed them to be, to the best of his knowledge. On the other hand, Francisco called this a game-guessing theory. But at least somebody for the first time has tried to identify those places and his attempt in doing so poses scholars a challenge.

Another interesting point Sultan Rasuman had raised were the names of the months in the Darangen. They are as follows: Nagoinid (January), Sialin (February), Dagankahoy (March),

Daganluan (April), Kilin (May), Inanapon (June), Kanai (July), Tagalain (August), Irarapon (September), Manaholsol (October), Diraohan (November), and Katimogan (December).

The sultan further said that those were their months of the year and they had disappeared when the Spaniards came and changed them into Enero, Febrero, Marso, etc. Because Mindanao and Sulu were not ruled by the Spaniards the Sarips changed these terms to Islamic ones: Muharam, Sapar, Rabiowal, etc.

Loarca's "Relation of the Filipinas Islands" in Blair & Robertson (Vol. 5, 165) made mention of the lunar calendar of the Pintados and the names of their months had some similarity to that of the sultan's. They were Ulalen, Dagancahuy, Daganenan tulan, Elquilin, Ynabuyan, Cavoy, Yrarapun, Manalulsul, etc. How they happened to be similar is difficult to explain. Probably, the sultan read Loarca's "Relation" because he used to go to Manila, accompanying former Senator Alawiya Alonto during the American period as well as during the Commonwealth period. The sultan might not have bothered himself going over Blair and Robertson either. He did not know that there was this monumental 55-volume work. In the interview conducted at his home in Dansalan, Marawi City, he claimed he was 90 years old and had no higher formal education. He was a traveller, businessman and storyteller.

If myths are rationalizations of one's own existence, then they must have some elements of historical truth. In this connection, the sultan said the people of Bembaran originated (descended) from the primitive ancestors. They had one *bangensa*<sup>6</sup> (social rank or status) from Radia Indarapatra who sailed from Hindu Mantapoli (probably in India), his country of origin, and another *bangensa* (Muslim *bagensa*) from Sarip Makhdum, Sarip Alawi, Sarip Kabunguan, Sarip Bong, Sarip Katiladupo, and Sarip Ali (Majul: 1978, 1-78). He said that Sarip Katiladupo was the ancestor of the Tagalogs and Sarip Bong, the ancestor of the Borneans. The people of Tagoloan in Misamis Oriental trace their *bangensa* from Sarip Alawi and the *bengensa* of the Maguindanaons and the

Maranaos is traced to Sarip Kabungsuwan.

Since the Maranaos are relatively neglected in past and current historical studies and historical circumstances seemed to have bypassed them due mainly to their geographical isolation, they as a result have compensated for their lack of historical time depth by having produced a body of literature and art considered to be part of their history.

### The Pengampong Period

In his discussion of causation in history, Edward H. Carr, quoting Henri Poincare, wrote that history advances simultaneously in a contradictory process, that is, "towards variety and complexity" and "towards unity and simplicity" (Carr: 1961, 90). Although this observation refers to the explanation of causes, it can also be applied to the Pengampong which is complex, perhaps federal, in structure but centralized and simplified by the *taritib*. In the traditional Lake Lanao region, what we frequently hear in any gathering (be it social, religious, etc.) are abstract terms like *taritib*, *pengampong*,<sup>7</sup> *salsila*, *adat*, *igma*, *agama*, *maratabat* and the like. Literally, *pengampong* means "principality," or "encampment" and the subject has been studied by Mamitua Saber (sociologist), Melvin Mednick (anthropologist), David Baradas (anthropologist), and Nagasura T. Madale (anthropologist); *taritib* ("order," "sequence," "arrangement" or "protocol") by Mednick and Abdelmajeed D. Ansano (Ustadj/Islamic Studies instructor); *salsila* (chain, link, genealogy) by Najeeb Saleeby (M.D., educator, historian), Cesar A. Majul (historian, philosopher, political scientist) and Michael O. Mastura (lawyer, historian); *adat* (customary laws) by the members of the Presidential Task Force Committee on the Codification of Islamic and Muslim Personal Laws and the participants and speakers of the Sixth Annual Seminar on Islam in the Philippines and Asia held at the Ateneo de Davao in Davao City on September 20-22, 1973; *igma/ijma* (consensus of community opinions) by Ansano, Musib M. Buat (lawyer) and others who cited this *passim* in their works; *agama* (communities) by

Saber, Mednick, Baradas, Madale and Buat; and *maratabat* (honor, self esteem, pride, loss of face) by Carlton Reimer (Lutheran missionary), Saber, Mednick, Baradas, Madale, Ismail P. Disoma (sociologist), etc. (see Bibliography).

For the Maranaos, the word *pengampong*<sup>8</sup> refers to the traditional, indigenous socio-political organization and territorial division of Lanao strictly bound together by, or governed under, the social order called *taritib*. The *pengampong* can be singly or collectively applied to the four states, principalities or encampments in Lanao known as the *Pat a Pengampong Ko Ranao*<sup>9</sup> into which the Maranaos divide themselves territorially into Bayabao, Masiu, Unayan and Balo-i and socio-politically into superordinate (*pegawidan*) and subordinate (*pegawid*) rank systems.

Except for Balo-i, each of the other three *pengampong* is territorially divided into *suku* (districts): Bayabao into three, namely; Poona Bayabao, Lumba Bayabao and Mala a Bayabao; Masiu into East and West; and Unayan also into East and West. Each of these *suku* is subdivided into a total of 43 *inged* (townships), *inged* into several hundred *agama* (communities), *agama* into *bangon* (composed of 2 to 5 families) and *bangon* into *isa ka iga-an* (literally, "one sleeping place"). Per data gathered, Balo-i is reported to have no *suku* but it has *inged*, *agama*, etc. Its territorial claim includes what is now Lanao del Norte as far as Tagoloan in Misamis Oriental because Sarip Alawi was said to have first introduced Islam in northern and central Mindanao. From the *pengampong* down to the *agama* are all the sultanates, each independent but at the same time inter-dependent with one another.

Socio-politically, there are fifteen superordinate sultanates known as *Sapolo ago Lima a Pagawidan sa Ranao* and twenty-eight subordinate sultanates known as *Duwapolo ago Walo a Inged a Mbabaya Ko Taritib*. The former assume both executive and judicial functions and the latter, the legislative. These two categories of rank system have well defined functions, rights and obligations. Under each category are townships with their own respective seats "of higher power and prestige attributed to local 'ruling houses' called *panoroganan* headed by a higher rank-

ing sultan" (Saber and Madale: 1975, 72). This can also be said of each of the *agama*.

The absence of historical records and archaeological evidences points to one certain fact: The founding of the Pengampong can never probably be scientifically dated. On the other hand, one thing certain is that the Pengampong antedated the coming of Islam in the Lake Lanao region. Two basic reasons are in order here. First, the absence of Arabic names, Islamic concepts and institutions. Nowhere in the few succeeding generations from the founding fathers of the Pengampong did Arabic names or terms appear, neither have Islamic concepts/institutions such as the title "Sultan" been used. It is only recently, especially with the resurgence of Islamic consciousness in the late 1960's, that genealogists have tended to inject or introduce some Islamic elements like "Sarip" (from "Shariff") in the same manner that some Indrapatras narrators or Darangen chanters/singers attempt deliberately to Islamize either or both the narrative and the epic. Francisco mentioned that the Darangen as a non-Islamic epic is now profoundly Islamized (1977, 656). In addition, the proper names used are very indigenous. It was only when the Maranaos were Islamized that they began to adopt Arabic names and titles.

The second reason is the use, genealogically, of generational computation (see Henige: 1974, 121-144). All throughout the Pengampong of Lanao, whether one traces a genealogy from Bayabao, Masiu, Unayan and Balo-i, the computation comes out with 16 to 18 generations from Sarip Kabungsuan who was responsible for the introduction of Islam in Mindanao. The average then is 17. *The New Webster Collegiate Dictionary* has it that the average number of years per generation is 33. If we take *Webster*, then the founding of the Pengampong would be 1426:  $33 \times 17 = 561$ ;  $1987 - 561 = 1426$ . Kabungsuan arrived in Mindanao 1515. Unfortunately, however, we do not have a standard average-years-per-generation acceptable to everyone; neither do we have a specific study on the Maranaos regarding this particular problem.

For probability of inclusion or accuracy, let us assume that the average number of years per generation is between 25 and 30.

Twenty-five by 17 is 425; 1987 minus 425 is 1562. Thirty by 17 is 510; 1987 minus 510 is 1477. The average between 25 and 30 is 27.5 and between 1562 and 1477 is 1519.5. The arrival of Kabungsuwan in 1515 did not mean that Islam spread immediately or that there was an instant mass acceptance of it by the natives. Obviously, the conversion of the people in the Lake region took decades after his landing. In short, the probability of inclusion is greater but the probability of accuracy is lesser.

Cesar Majul (1978: chs. 1-2) says that the gap between Alawi and Kabungsuwan was two generations and this means that Alawi must have been in Mindanao either in Tagoloan, Misamis Oriental, or in Maguindanao in the 1450's or 1460's. A genealogy, for instance, from the Pengampong of Bayabao shows that Alawi was a contemporary of Dimaampao or his son Makaampao whose three children were the founding fathers of the Pengampong. If this were the case, then this coincided with the arrival of Kabungsuwan and the founding of the Pengampong.

*Webster's* average number of years per generation is Western but Asians in general and Filipino in particular tend to marry earlier than Westerners. Taking the extremes, let us say, Maranaos marry at 16 years old and have an average life expectancy of 80. Eighty minus 16 is 64. Sixty-four divided by 2 is 32. The other extreme is Maranaos marrying at 25 years old, with an average life expectancy of 70. Seventy minus 25 is 45. Forty-five by 2 is 22.5. Thirty-two plus 22.5 is 54.5. Fifty-four and a half by 2 is 27. Maranaos can still have an average of 27 years per generation even if we reverse the life expectancy; that is 16: 70 and 25: 80. Twenty-seven x 17 = 459. The present year minus 459 is 1528.

The result of the preceding analysis gives us four probable choices of dates: 1426, 1477, 1528, and 1562. Between 1426 and 1562, the average is 1494 or the average of the four choices of dates is 1498. Around the end of the 15th century would then be our tentative founding of the Pengampong.

Earlier, we presented a number of generations for the Indrapatra period and another for the Darangen period a total of ten generations from Indrapatra himself to Botowanen Kalinan.

According to traditions, Botowanen was out hunting deer with his companions, especially Kalogologod, Kalalanaga and Kaririwarai. During their absence in Bembaran,<sup>10</sup> the forty *auliya* (Muslim missionaries) arrived there preaching the gospel of Islam but the people who were pagans/animists did not listen to them or refused to accept Islam. Consequently, Bembaran was burned down. It was at the time that Botowanen and his companions were returning home when they saw the kingdom on fire.<sup>11</sup> They proceeded to Lanao. When they arrived at a river in Didaagun in the present-day municipality of Bubong and took their bath, Kaririwarai and Kalalanaga were "enchanted" and turned into stones. Also when Kalogologod leaned against a tree to rest, he was trapped inside it. Botowanen immediately cut it down. It fell into the river. Kalogologod turned into a *tonong* (water spirit) which, since that time, was considered by the people of the lake as the ancestors of the present *tonong* in the lake.

When Botowanen saw them enchanted, he left them and went to Basingan where he met and married Anaki Mondarasa (Anak Inondaria). Out of the union of these two came the founding fathers of the *pengampong*.

Botowanen Kalinan = Anaki Mondarasa

I

Dimaampao

I

Makaampao = Dangaolan

I

Popawan of  
Bayabao

Paskan of  
Unayan

Amialongan  
Simban of  
Masiu<sup>12</sup>

These were the founding fathers of the *pengampong* who met around the end of the 15th century at Sawir in Masiu, divided the Lake Lanao region and laid down the boundary lines for each Pengampong (see map of Pengampong.)



The evidence of this meeting is the existence of the *telo a dibarosan* (three big elongated/oblong stones/rocks) in Masiu to stand for the three brothers who met there. Any resident of Masiu can point to this evidence which is still there. This meeting, according to the informants, was recorded. In other words, the 13th generation from Indarapatra entered into social contract or forged a common agreement which, according to David Baradas, was "finally etched in copper plates." This became the basis of the *taritib*, which refers to "the ordering or formal structuring of the society."

But where was the fourth founding father of the Balo-i Pengampong? According to tradition, Bato Lakongan of Balo-i was absent in this meeting because he was at that time in Maguindanao (Kotawato or Cotabato). Bato Lakongan was a son of Radia Indarapatra from another woman. Because of his long stay in Lanao, Indarapatra thought of going home to Mantapoli but he had a little son named Bato Lakongan. Instead of taking him home, he left him on a boulder with his sword.

At this time, the Sultan<sup>13</sup> of Maguindanao, Sultan Kawasa was on a hunting game. Accidentally, he found the baby, brought him home, cared for him and adopted him as his son. He named him Bato Lakongan (literally means "stone boulder") because he was found on top of a boulder. When he grew up, he was endowed with unusual/exceptional skill in swordmanship because he was a son of Indarapatra. As a spoiled son, he insulted and tyrannized the people who in turn reported him to his "father," Sultan Kawasa. When Bato Lakongan learned of this report, he repented, felt sad and lonely and finally left for Balo-i and founded that area. According to one tradition, Balo-i was a separate state equal in territorial and political status with that of Sulog (Sulu) and Maguindanao. When Popawan, Paskan and Amialongan Simban learned that Bato Lakongan founded a territory in Balo-i and that he was a son of Indarapatra, they invited him to formally divide Lanao as far as Tagoloan in Misamis Oriental into four states and set up boundaries for each of them.<sup>14</sup>

From this meeting, a brief historical development of the Pengampong could then be theoretically but tentatively reconstructed from fragmentary bits of information gathered from interviews and some printed materials. First, we have to take into consideration that at a time when Radia Indarapatra arrived from Mantapoli (according to Sultan Rasuman, it was Hindu Mantapoli, thus placing/locating Mantapoli to be India) to Lanao, there was no name given to what is now Lanao. Some Maranaos, therefore, used the name Mantapoli for the area. In the municipality of Marantao, the first municipality west of Marawi City, there is a barrio there called Mantapoli.

Second, the name Mimbalai was used for Lanao when Indarapatra married Potri Raina Laut and brought her to Masiu. There Indarapatra built a house for them and that particular place in Masiu was called Mimbalai which literally means "had built a house." Even today, that name is retained by the people of that place to remind them of their earliest ancestors.

Third, according to one oral tradition, when Botowanen Kalinan and his companions arrived in the area after fleeing from the destruction of Bembaran, they named the place where they first set foot "Batangan" to refer to the Lake Lanao region. There is a place called Batangan in the present-day municipality of Bubong, the second municipality east of Marawi City.

Fourth, we have to bear in mind that the name "Lanao" is derived from a Maranao word *ranao* which means "Lake." When Popawan, Paskan and Amialongan Simban met in Sawir, they called the area *ranao* because of the presence of a big body of fresh water. This is according to Kaka-i Aragasi, one of the noted genealogists (*pananalsila*) and singers (*pababayok*). Again, this has had some relation to the story of Indarapatra in Masiu when he felt lonely and homesick, which in Maranao terminology is called *pekeranon*. The root word is *ranon* ("loneliness"). This word may have also come from another Maranao word *iranaonen* ("one who is from *ranao*") which in turn became contracted into *iranon* ("feeling lonely").<sup>15</sup>

In the course of time, this *iranon* became probably *ranon* which in turn took its final form or usage as *ranao* which now refers to the lake. In Maranao poetry, Lanao is referred to as *Imnun Katenggawan* ("Cold Region of Lanao" or "A Lonely Cold Area of Lanao").

Fifth, the first time that genealogists made references to the territorial division of Lanao was when they mentioned the phrase *Telo a Bawangen* (or *Telo a Datula*) to stand for the three founding fathers of the lake region. This name is most likely derived from the story of Indarapatra when he cooked under the *nonok* (balete) tree in Calocan in Marawi City using one of his knees to complete a three-stone stove. The term *bawangen* means a stone large enough to be used for a cooking stove. He had to use this trick because when he arrived in Lanao looking for his half-brother, Radia Solaiman (who was killed by the giant Omaca-an), he had no one to inquire from. However, he may have already a knowledge that there was always a spirit living in a balete tree because every time his knee got hurt and automatically withdrew it from the fire, spilling out the food from the pot, the balete (which still stands today in Calocan) spirit named Bai a Salindagao laughed at him. According to Datu Didayan Ginar of Calocan, from her Indarapatra got the information regarding the fate of Solaiman, the giant Omaca-an, the water nymph, etc.

Sixth, this *Telo a Bawangen* was later changed into *Telo a Minibit (Binibit) sa Kampong* ("Three Carriers/Handlers of the States") which still refers to the three founding fathers of the lake region. When Bato Lakongan of Baloi was invited and officially joined the group they changed the name to *Telo a Minibit sa Kampong a Ika Pat a Balo-i* ("Three Handlers of the States plus Balo-i") and later to *Telo a Pengampong a Ika Pat a Balo-i* ("Three Confederated States plus Balo-i").

Since the last two names for the entire Lanao were quite long and since the original inhabitants of what is now Lanao del Norte which includes the seat of the Pengampong of Balo-i were Maranao speakers, it was finally decided by the later generations of Maranaos to officially declare the place the *Pat a Pengampong Ko Ranao* ("The Four States/Principalities/Encampments of

Lanao”). In 1971 there was a proposal to divide the Pengampong into six, for political and territorial considerations. But this proposal did not materialize because it was a violation of the provisions entered into or agreed upon by the founding fathers of the Pengampong of Bayabao, Masiu, Unayan and Balo-i. If the plan was pushed through, the other three *pengampong* would have been the *suku* of Bayabao, namely: Poona Bayabao, Lumba Bayabao and Mala a Bayabao.

The *taritib* cannot be divorced from any discussion of the Pengampong. The concept is also as old as the Pengampong itself. It is widely believed that *taritib* is derived from the Arabic word *tartib*, which means “order, arrangement, sequence.” Specifically, this Arabic term refers to the order of praying from ablution to the last stage of prayer. Generally, it means the order of things. In teleology, there is the presence of order in this universe and that there is a source of that order. The source of that order may be God Himself. The Muslims believe that the entire universe is Muslim because it submits itself to this order. In a country, there is the presence of order: the constitution itself. The source of that constitution is the people themselves. In Lanao, there is also that presence of order which is the *taritib* and the source of that order is the people themselves (Mednick: 1965, 328-329).

From the Maranao point of view, *taritib* means the social order, protocol, or charter. It defines the order of things concerning the relationship of people and the legitimate succession to and claim for power, status and rank; it defines the relationship between people and communities; it also defines the relationship between or among communities and between communities and the *Pengampong*. In general, it defines, binds and governs the entire socio-political organization and territorial division of Lanao. It is an all-encompassing social and political order and territorial organization. Baradas affirmed that “The basic rights and obligations (of the Maranaos) derive its legitimacy from the *taritib* which defines in very precise terms all the primary rules that govern the entire social system. The *taritib* . . . refers to the total ordering of

the formal structure of the society" (Baradas: 1977, 191).

*Taritib* is *atoran* in Maranao but because the Maranaos have a greater tendency to Arabize or Islamize what is indigenous, the Arabic *taritib*<sup>16</sup> had replaced the Maranao *atoran*. This is more pronounced in Lanao than anywhere else in Island Southeast Asia. The Maranaos give more emphasis and value to it than any Muslim ethnolinguistic group in the Philippines. This can probably be explained by the acceptance-rejection theory (or the process of selection theory).

Historically, the Maranaos were the last to be Islamized among the three major Muslim groups (the other two are the Maguindanaons of Cotabato and the Tausugs of Sulu), who constitute more than 90% of the combined population of the 13 Muslim ethnolinguistic groups. In the Islamization process, what had been accepted and later on rejected or given less emphasis in Indonesia, Malaysia, Sulu and Cotabato had been retained, preserved or modified in Lanao. Perhaps the cultural differences, vis-a-vis values and orientations among these Muslim ethnolinguistic groups had led to the retention or modification of some elements of the *taritib* as they fitted into the individual cultural matrix. Otherwise, as an Arabic word, the term should have become part of the everyday Indonesian and Malaysian linguistic usages or in Maguindanaon and Tausug usages.

For the Maranaos, under the *taritib* are the *adat* (customary laws including personal laws) and *igma* (from Arabic *ijma* which means "consensus of the community.") *Adat* and *igma* are limited in scope and application and may vary from one community to another. In short, *adat* and Muslim personal laws are well-emphasized in Indonesia, Malaysia, Sulu and Cotabato. In addition, Sulu has the Sulu Code and Cotabato the Luwaran (see *Mindanao Journal*: 1977, Vol. III, Nos. 3-4). On top of all these is the fact that Lanao has been operating since time immemorial on a multi-centric power system. This will be explained in the next chapter.

Another notion that sheds light on the understanding of the *taritib* and the Pengampong as inseparable is the *salsila* (genealo-

gy). By analogy, genealogy is the skeleton, whereas the *taritib* provides the flesh and blood. This simply means that genealogy being a written document is basically individual-based, whereas *taritib* is people-and/or community-based. Genealogy has very meager historical significance without the *taritib*. Historically, genealogy is a dependent variable. It is historically insignificant without the *taritib*. This makes the *taritib*, though oral as a source of oral history, more historical than the *salsila*. *Taritib* can exist without the genealogy. In short, *taritib* is an independent variable.

Strictly speaking, the basic purpose of *salsila* is for one to legitimately or rightfully claim traditional power, status and rank. But one cannot claim them without the *taritib* that defines the legitimacy of that claim. As alluded to earlier, *taritib* not only defines the relationship between the superordinate and subordinate rank systems, but also the entire socio-political organization of the people and territorial division of the area. It serves then as a raw source material for the history of communities as territorial units and of communities as people. Briefly stated, *salsila* is "solid" (fixed); *taritib* fluid; and the Pengampong, an abstract organization (see Appendix D for the illustration of the brief foregoing discussion).

Legitimate succession to power, status and rank from one generation to another (not necessarily the individual person) may be looked at as chronological in nature and therefore makes a historical sense. The growth and development of communities as well as the Pengampong are obviously historical. All these in one way or another were defined and bound together by the *taritib*. The history of succession and the growth and development of communities and the Pengampong are mainly the realm of the *taritib*. Largely, the basis of oral history of the people is provided for by the unwritten *taritib*, not by the written *salsila*. And finally, without the *taritib* the *salsila* would historically be rendered useless, the people confused, the communities in chaos, and the Pengampong would disintegrate.

## The Islamization Period

The coming of Islam in the Philippines has been discussed extensively by Majul and other scholars, including Datumanong Sarangani in his preliminary study, "Islamic Penetration in Mindanao and Sulu" (Sarangani: 1977, 29-53). Their works have one common denominator: that Sulu was islamized first before Mindanao; and in Mindanao the Maguindanaons were islamized first in the 16th century before the Maranaos. This supports the claim that the Maranaos were the last to be Islamized among the three major Muslim groups. Unfortunately, however, we know very little about the Islamization or the spread of Islam around the Lake region. The reason is very clear. The Spaniards did not largely occupy the region from the time they arrived to the time they left. Naturally, the Spaniards did not have any records or documents about the Lake Lanao region. We can only trace logically the spread of Islam to the region through the history of the Maguindanaons, their kinship and linguistic and trade relations with the Iranuns and with the Maranaos and through geographical contiguity. But within the Lake Lanao region, we have to rely on oral traditions.

According to oral traditions, the first sign of the introduction of Islam was the attempt of the forty *auliya* (holy men/Muslim missionaries) to convert the people of Bembaran (wherever that place was). The refusal of the people to accept Islam resulted in the destruction of the kingdom. The second attempt was the arrival of Sarip Alawi who was believed to have introduced Islam in Tagoloan in what is now Misamis Oriental.<sup>17</sup> But because of the arrival of the Spaniards in Misamis Oriental, particularly in Cagayan de Oro, the Sarip left the place and was claimed to have returned to Borneo or Johore. One tradition indicates that the Sarip had not gone to the Lanao area. However, another tradition states that he came only as far as Balo-i. A former Lanao del Sur governor once mentioned that the Sarip went to the shore of Ramin-Ditsaan via Bukidnon. But as gleaned from bits of information, Sarip Alawi was not credited for the introduction of Islam

and the sultanates in the area. Otherwise, he must have gone to the Lake region.

Some traditions are difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile regarding the arrival of Sarip Alawi: some say that he came later. These traditions also speak of Kabungsuwan and Alawi as “brothers,” the latter being younger. It should be the reverse because the word *Kabungsuwan* means “Young” or “Younger.” Majul confirmed this when he said that Alawi was two generations ahead of Kabungsuwan. The word “brothers” here does not actually mean biological brothers but brothers in Islam. Nevertheless, the fact that historians and students of history give credit to Kabungsuwan as the one responsible for the introduction of Islam but not necessarily to the sultanates in Mindanao, indicates that Alawi came first to the island, but failed to introduce Islam and the sultanates in Lanao. Otherwise, his descendants or his converts would have adopted the title “sultan.” This is still a problem in Lanao because the Maranao have no sense of the chronology of events and the reasons for this are not difficult to postulate: First, they do not recognize the importance of dates and therefore confusion is expected. Second, what is important to them is that there exists a historical consciousness of events that had actually happened, regardless of their sequences.

A *salsila* from Mala a Bayabao states that Sarip Alawi was the contemporary of Dimaampao, a son of Botowanen. Dimaampao's son Macaampao and Asinalo had three sons: Popawan, Paskan and Amialongan Simban. This indicates two things: 1) That Asinalo and Dangaolan referred to the same person because another tradition also states that Macaampao's wife was Dangaolan who also had three sons, with the same names, and 2) that the Sarip may have been to the Lake region. At any rate, Popawan of Bayabao had three children who divided Bayabao into Poona Bayabao, Lumba Bayabao and Mala a Bayabao. Similar things happened to Paskan's and Amialongan Simban's children in Unayan and Masiu, respectively. The descendants still carried at this time the Bembaran title of Ayonan (“leader”), not the title of sultan.

In one of the interviews, it was said that Sarip Kabungsuwan.

first landed in Malabang, went to Maguindanao (Cotabato) then to Butig, to Mala a Bayabao and finally to Bembaran. (This account is confirmed as true historically.) Here, Bembaran could be Malabang. Malabang ("Sabanilla" in Spanish) is a municipality in Lanao del Sur, located 75 kms. west of Marawi City and along the Illana Bay. It is derived from two Maranao words: *mala* means "big" and *bang* means "call to prayer," thus "loud call to prayer" meaning the introduction of Islam in the area (Madale: 1980, 2).

In addition, it claimed that Kabungsuan had gone to the interior of the Lake Lanao region. Historically, the Sarip himself had not gone to the area in person but the implication is clear: that Islam spread to the area by means of trade, political and marriage alliances as accepted by scholars or authorities on Muslim history, society and culture (Majul: 1978, 35-78). Robert D. McAmis, who had stayed in the Lake Lanao region for several years, theorized that Islam spread from Malabang first and then Maguindanao through Butig, the *basak* (lowland) municipalities in the south and east of the lake to Ramain-Ditsaan. There, the spread of Islam from Malabang met with the spread of Islam from Tagoloan and from there, it spread through Marawi northward through Saguwaran to Lanao del Norte and westward to the *gilopa* (upland) municipalities in the north and west of the lake.

While it is true as reported by the Spanish and other documents that in the 17th century only the datus and leaders were Muslim for political, social, economic and religious reasons (that is, to perpetuate themselves in power), in the 19th century practically all Maranaos became Muslims. While it may be true also as far as traditions are concerned that their title was originally "Ayonan," the datus and leaders assumed the title "Sultan" when they became Muslims.

Now we have just seen the way the Maranaos perceive their own history and not the way we see it. Their history is for themselves only. It is an extreme Maranao-centric historiography. Their genealogy and folklore do not include or speak of the Spaniards, the Americans and other groups of Filipino people. This is the

reason why it is difficult, if not impossible, to match or reconcile their history with Spanish and American documents.

The use of linguistic approach to determine the spread of Islam in the Lake region cannot be wholly relied upon because of the tendency of the genealogists and the *pananaritib* (those who are experts in *taritib*) to Islamicize or Arabicize what was indigenous. The phrase “to Islamicize” or “to Arabicize” as used here simply means, to introduce Islamic concepts and Arabic names/words. Chronologically, these attempts have been noted in the discussion of the Indarapatra and the Darangen periods. Genealogically, if these attempts could be accepted, it is not only reversing the historical role of international trade route which the Arab, Indian and Chinese Muslims controlled and followed for centuries but it is also an outright fact-twisting or plain historical distortion. In spite of its weakness, this approach has helped shed light to some historical accounts.

A more reliable attempt to determine the arrival or presence of Islam in the area is to consider the mosque (Arabic, *masjid*; Maranao, *masgit*) as one of the unifying physical symbols of the *agama*. The mosque symbolizes the centralized power and authority of the sultan in addition to its being both the political and religious center within the community. Together with the sultan and the *agama*, the mosque will be discussed more under the “Triple One” concept in a chapter dealing on the analysis for the mushrooming of Lanao sultanates.

Abdulsiddik Abbahil in his study on the Maranao mosque (Annahil: 1980, 85-105) stated, on the basis of two traditions from the Bayabao Pengampong, that the first and oldest mosque in Lanao was located in Ditsaan in the present municipality of Raman-Ditsaan. This was built by the descendants of Alao (Buadi Alao). He said that the mosque “may have had its beginning three or four centuries ago for it is widely regarded in Lanao as the pioneer mosque” (Abbahil: 1980, 100). This estimate puts the existence of the mosque between the 17th and 18th century. This implies also that the coming of Islam to the area dates back to the

17th or 18th century. However, in the Masiu Pengampong, it is claimed that the Babo Rahman ("Door of Mercy") mosque in Taraka was the first and oldest in the region. This was built by Apo Balindong. There may be more claims to have their respective mosques being the first, pioneer or oldest in the region. On the basis of these claims, we can infer that since the Maranaos lack the necessary sense of historical dates, the pioneering mosques may have been built simultaneously or constructed within the same century.

By logic, the construction of a mosque followed after the acceptance of Islam in the area. This is evidenced by two traditions from the Bayabao Pengampong. Though they differ in versions, both mentioned the coming of Islam to Lanao and the construction of the mosque. The first version, from an elderly man, Sheik Busar Mangumpia of Ditsaan-Ramain, indicates that:

Sarip Ali of Mecca married the daughter of the Sultan of Baghdad. The marriage bore four sons and all of them were called Sarip (Sharif). The youngest among four was Sarip Kabungsuan. Later, Sarip Ali and his sons went to Johore. Sarip Kabungsuan continued the journey farther east and landed in Mindanao. When he reached Lanao (in Mindanao) he married the native princess Masawang of Bayabao. The marriage bore three sons: Otowa, Imbol, and Ongkai. Bayabao was then divided into three districts among the three brothers for each to control. Imbol was assigned to Poona-Bayabao, Ongkai in Lumba a Bayabao and Otowa at Mala a Bayabao.<sup>18</sup> Otowa chose Ditsaan as his residence and built the Ditsaan Mosque. His descendants in Ditsaan are those who are titled "Amerol" and "Sultan" (quoted in Abbahil 1980: 87-88).

According to Majul, Sarip Kabungsuwan was not a full-blood Arab. He was an Arab-Malay. His father was Arab and the mother a Malay from Johore. When he arrived in Malabang, he married Angintabu, a daughter of an Iranun chief. After that, he went to Cotabato (Majul: 1978, 25-27). To the Maranaos, the accuracy or inaccuracy of historical facts is not as important as the historical consciousness of an event. That is, they recognize that an event had actually happened but this recognition becomes symbolic in nature as articulated orally. Even today, the Maranao are still in the listening stage and yet not in the reading and writing stages. In other words, the beauty of the language is given more emphasis and value than facts. Regardless, therefore, of whether chronology is in order or not, whether the Sarip was pure Arab or half-Arab, whether he came to the Lake region or not, whether their oral traditions compliment or contradict one another, etc., what is significant to the Maranao mind is that Islam arrived in Lanao and that a mosque was built.

The first version speaks of a line of descent traced directly to the Prophet through Sarip Kabungsuwan. Hence, the Islamic-Arabic heritage. The second emphasizes the patronage given to a pre-Islamic Maranao ruler (Botowanen Kalinan) whose descendants like Alao offered some support for the period of Islam in the area by inviting a Sarip and provided him with a mosque. The second version provided by a former Sultan of Bubong, Datu Panomblayan Pengampong, is as follows:

Butuanen Kalinan, a prince from Mantapoli, came to Ranao for adventure. There he married the daughter of the King Tonong (i.e., the Chief of the Spirit) of the Lake. The marriage bore three children: Popawan, Paskan and Amialongan Simban. Ranao was then divided into three for the children to reside in and control. Unayan was given to Paskan, Masiu to Amialongan Simban and Bayabao to Popawan. When Popawan died, his youngest son Batara controlled the whole "súku" (dis-

trict) of Mala a Bayabao. Batara's brothers and sisters swore their loyalty to him and vowed that they and their descendants would forever be "pegawid" (supporters) of Batara and their descendants would forever be "pegawid" (supporters) of Batara and his descendants. Batara had two sons: Bungcag and Lakongan. Then Batara divided his residential area to two "inged" (townships): Ditsaan for Bungcag and Rmain for Lakongan. Bungcag had three sons: Alao, Olok and Poso, and one daughter Agai. Alao and Olok stayed in Ditsaan, Poso moved to Buntong and Agai married a cousin in Rmain and lived there. Alao contacted a Muslim Sarip and invited him to stay in Ditsaan. Alao then built the Ditsaan Mosque. Olok married the daughter of the Sultan of Maguindanao. The descendants of Olok are today given the title Sultan while the descendants of Alao are given the title Amerol (quoted in Abbahil: 1980, 88).

The genealogy of a well-known, prominent family from Bayabao helps clarify the issue on the establishment of Islam in the area. The preceding tradition omits two generations between Popawan and Batara. They are Borawasan and Dibago. Batara had two sons: Lakongan who married Gabon, a grand-daughter of Sarip Kabungsuwan and Bungcag. Between Bungcag and Olok two generations have been omitted also. They are Pagayaon who married a certain Bai (Princess) from Malabang and Otowa who married the daughter of Arogong and Layagun. Layagun was a "daughter"<sup>19</sup> of Sarip Kabungsuwan. Otowa (cf. first version above) had two children: son Olok and daughter Agai. Olok married Danding, a princess from Maguindanao. Agai was married to Akari, a great grandson of Lakongan. Otowa, the son of Akari and Agai, became probably the first Sultan of Rmain because this was the first time that the title "Sultan" was used. On the other hand, Sarip Batua, the grandson of Olok and Danding, may have been the first Sultan of Ditsaan for the same reason. Note also the use of the new term "Sarip." In short, the use of these Islamic or Arabic titles indicates the Islamization of the area.<sup>20</sup>

However, it does not necessarily mean that when one assumed Islamic-Arabic titles and names, that was also the time when Islam was established/accepted. The sequence is the arrival of Islam first, followed by the conversion of the people coupled with the adoption and the use of Islamic-Arabic titles and names and finally, the construction of a mosque. The recitation of genealogies proves this pattern. For instance, a genealogy from the Unayan Pengampong shows that in Cotabato, three brothers belonging to the second generation descendants of Sarip Kabungsuwan and wife Potre Tomanina had assumed the title "Sultan." They were Itema Datu as Sultan of Bagumbayan, Sultan Kawasa of Maguindanao and Patimata as Sultan of Kabuntalan. In Lanao, Arobiro, a seventh generation descendant of Sarip Kabungsuwan, was considered the first Sultan of Pagayawan of the Pengampong of Unayan. But in another Unayan genealogy, Arobiro, as the first Sultan of Pagayawan, was a sixth generation descendant of Sarip Kabungsuwan and wife Angintabu (see Tawano: 1979, 45). On the other hand, the genealogy of a well-known family from the Pengampong of Bayabao cited earlier shows that Sarip Batowaan, eighth generation descendant of Sarip Kabungsuwan, was probably the first Sultan of Ditsaan because he was the first in a series of sultans down to the present. In Ramin, Otowa, a ninth generation from Popawan, may probably be also the first Sultan of Ramin for the same reason.

Briefly, the sequence is: first, the introduction of Islam to the area; second, contact with Islam and the converted; third, acceptance of Islam through marriage alliance or through trade contact; fourth, adoption/use of Islamic-Arabic titles and names; and sixth, the construction of a mosque. This pattern seems to have been the logical imperative followed by one community after another. Hence, the Islamization pattern of the region. But to determine the exact date of the Islamization of the region is a herculean task for the students of history to perform. In his study of the Spanish military and spiritual aggression in northern Mindanao from the 16th to the 18th centuries, David L. Hamm provided an answer. He wrote:

The degree of Islamization, for many of the Lake Lanao people, was very slight at this time [i.e., towards the middle of the 17th century.] The chronicles of the period characterize the Moros as Muslims *en masse*, but speak of Moro converts in ways which indicate that some of them were not Muslim. [Casimiro] Diaz reports about Lake Lanao: "Its shores are thickly settled by several tribes, some Mohamedans and others heathen (although all of them are vassals of Corralat . . .)." Today the Maranaos are the most cohesive group in the Philippines, and retain most strongly their own distinctive culture, but in the mid-17th century they were not as well defined as Muslims. The ancestors of some of the present Iligan natives were Maranaos who had been slightly affected by Islam, and who accepted Christianity as early as 1639-40 (Hamun: 1980, 177).

For geographical consideration, Islam was already felt in the Lake region after the arrival of Sarip Kabungsuwan in the Malabang area and later in Maguindanao. A commentary was advanced that, in the early stages of the presence of Islam in the region, only the leaders and the immediate members of their respective families embraced the new religion both for political and economic reasons. As leaders, possession of a new religious knowledge added to their already well-established power and authority over their people. Since practically everything seemed to be inherited from one generation to another, this new knowledge ought to be inherited and shared only with immediate members of the family.

This can be supported by two familiar observations: first, possession of a knowledge on family genealogy which is jealously guarded by the keeper of family genealogy. Only members of the family have access to it. Seldom can one find a family genealogy open to the public. And second, generally the *pananalsila* and *pananaritib* do not wish to share their knowledge with anybody. In other words, possession of knowledge especially on indigenous traditions and Islamic-Arabic heritage is a license to respect and prominence in a traditionally conservative society.

The spread of Islam around the Lake region was accelerated at the coming of the Spaniards. The presence of the Spaniards in Mindanao during the 16th century was already felt by the Maranaos, through the Maguindanaos and the Iranuns in the west along the Ilana Bay and through their relatives in Iligan and the Panguil Bay in the north. In short, the Lake region was located between two Spanish bastions: Malabang in the west and Iligan in the north. These were the only two major outlets of the Maranaos to the outside world and were also the only routes to penetrate them in the interior upland (Hamm: 1980, 169-187).

The presence of the Spaniards in these bastions threatened the very existence of Islam in the region and if the Maranaos would not do something to preserve it and maintain their love of freedom and independence from Spanish colonial rule Islam could easily be uprooted from its foundation there. This Spanish presence, aside from strengthening Islam in the region, may have also been a contributory factor for the leaders to release or share their selfish possession of knowledge to their fellow Maranaos. By the 18th century, there were already some sultanates in existence in the region (Forrest: 1969, 276 and B and R: Vol. 51, 86, n. 45).

In the 17th century, the acceleration of the spread of Islam was further initiated and implicitly encouraged by Sultan Kudarat (Corralat in Spanish) of Maguindanao in his speech to the Lanao datus. He said:

What have you done? Do you realize what subjection would reduce you to? A toilsome slavery under the Spaniards! Turn your eyes to the subject nations and look at the misery to which such glorious nations had been reduced to. Look at the Tagalogs and Visayans! Are you better than they? Do you think that the Spaniards consider you better stuff? Have you not seen how the Spaniards trample them under their feet? Do you not see every day how they are obliged to work at the oars and the factories with all their vigors? Can you tolerate anyone with a little Spanish blood to beat

you up and grasp the fruits of your labor? Allow yourselves to be subjects (today) and tomorrow you will be at the oars. I, at least will be a pilot, the biggest favor they will allow a chief. Do not let their sweet words deceive you; their promises facilitate their deceits, which, little by little, enable them to control everything. Reflect on how even the minor promises to the chiefs of other nations were not honored until they become masters of them all. See now what is being done to these chiefs and how they are being led by a rod (quoted in Majul: 1978, 141).

By the 17th century, there were already some rajahships and sultanates in existence in the region (Forrest: 1969, 276 and B and R: vol. 51, 86, n. 45). These rajahships were elevated to the status of sultanates today. Since then, the number of sultanates continued to increase to the present.

It is important to note at this point that the Maranaos perceive the past as being rolled into the present. In terms of the time dimension in history, there seems to be no difference between the past and the present; that is, the past is with the present and the present is with the past. To the Maranao mind, historical continuity and change in-between the past and the present are not important, significant or relevant. This answers the question why oral authorities, genealogies and the *taritib* cannot provide us the necessary information on what took place in-between. This problem is coupled with the Spanish failure to permanently occupy the Lake region. Their attempts to penetrate the region during the 17th and 19th centuries produced practically nothing relevant to our subject under investigation.

The past-present principle involves an attitudinal knowledge, that it is enough to know that the Pengampong was founded and that relevantly it continues to exist today. What happened between its founding and its present existence no longer concerns the individual Maranao. This is presently supported by a general observation on the individuals in relation to their own family origin and present identity.