The term “Maranao,” “Meranao,” or “Mranao” derives from *ranao* which means “lake” Hence, “Maranao” means “people of the lake.” The Maranao population was 742,000 as of the 1988 census, making them the largest of the Islamic ethnolinguistic group in the Philippines. The traditional home of the Maranao is the area surrounding Lake Lanao, the second largest in the Philippine archipelago next to Laguna de Bay in Luzon. Located in Lanao del Sur near the border of Lanao del Norte, the area is roughly triangular in shape with a 28.8-kilometer-long base. The surface is approximately 780 to 2,300 meters above sea level. This elevation results in a temperature far more pleasant than that in the surrounding areas. On the northern tip of the lake lies Marawi City, the premier urban center of the province of Lanao del Sur. In Basa Iranon (Maranao language), “Marawi” literally means a “place where things are inclined or centered” (Saber 1975:21). The city is bisected by the Agus River, which is the only outlet of the lake to the sea to the north, and which feeds the Maria Cristina Falls, now the major source of hydroelectric power throughout Lanao del Norte and Lanao del Sur.The Maranao language spoken in the Lanao provinces is part of a subgroup of languages called the “Danao languages.” The others include Ilanun (also Ilanum or Iranun), spoken by a group of sea-based people between Lanao and Maguindanao; and Maguindanao, spoken mainly in Maguindanao and North Cotabato (McFarland 1983:96).

History

The earliest Maranao historical records, found in the *salsila* or oral traditions are about the Kingdom of Bumbaran from where came the ancestors of the present-day Maranao. Legend says that when the first Muslim missionaries came to preach Islam, the inhabitants of Bumbaran refused to be converted. The entire kingdom then sank into what is now Lake Lanao. Only four people survived and they became the ancestors of today’s Maranao.

Before Islam, the Maranao were organized into independent and kinship-based political units. These units settled in various parts of the lake, but were organized into four *pengampong* (states or encampments) administered by local *datu* (chieftains); these states were Bayabao, Masiu, Unayan, and Balo-i (Darangen 1980:37).

In the early 16th century, Sharif Muhammad Kabungsuan, an Arab-Malay preacher from the royal house of Malacca, arrived in what is now Malabang, introduced the Islamic faith and customs, settled down with a local princess, and founded a new political order. Indigenous administrative structures persisted under the newly introduced sultanate system. Islam became the catalyst for Maranao political integration, the process of which was frustrated by the rise of the Maguindanao royalty. Maranao leadership had been politically affiliated with the Maguindanao until after the decline of the latter’s power (Che Man 1990:21; *Darangen* 1980:37-38).

With the arrival of the Spaniards came successive expeditions to conquer the

Muslim groups in the South. Called the "Moro Wars," these battles were waged intermittently from 1578 between the Spanish colonial government and the Muslims of Mindanao. In 1578, a Spanish expedition that had been sent against Brunei defeated the Tausug of Sulu. A peace treaty was forged. The victory did not establish Spanish sovereignty over Sulu, as the Tausug abrogated the treaty as soon as the Spaniards had left. In 1579 an expedition sent by Governor Francisco de Sande failed to conquer Maguindanao. In 1596, the Spanish government gave Captain Rodriguez de Figueroa the sole right to colonize Mindanao. He was killed in an ambush, and his troops retreated to an anchorage near Zamboanga. In retaliation, the Muslims raided Visayan towns in Panay, Negros, and Cebu. These were repulsed by Spanish and Visayan forces (Angeles 1974:27-28; Saber 1976:13).

In the early 17th century, the largest alliance composed of the Maranao, Maguindanao, Tausug, and other Muslim groups was formed by Sultan Kudarat or Cachil Corralat of Maguindanao, whose domain extended from the Davao Gulf to Dapitan on the Zamboanga peninsula. Several expeditions sent by the Spanish authorities suffered defeat. In 1635 Captain Juan de Chaves occupied Zamboanga and erected a fort. This led to the defeat of Kudarat's feared admiral, Datu Tagal, who had raided pueblos in the Visayas. In 1637 Governor General Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera personally led an expedition against Kudarat, and triumphed over his forces at Lamitan and Ilian. In 1639 Corcuera sent Captain Francisco de Atienza and Fr. Agustin de San Pedro to explore Lanao. Forming alliances with the Maranao datu, Atienza and San Pedro became the first Europeans to see Lake Lanao and to study the country. The following year, Don Pedro Bermudez de Castro led a campaign to erect a garrison in Lanao, but was beaten back. After de Castro's retreat, the Spaniards did not return to Lanao until after 200 years (Miravite 1976:40; Angeles 1974:28; Saber 1976:13-15; Saber 1975:23).

These wars made the Maranao perfect their own defense through the *kota* or fortification of rock and earth, camouflaged with vegetation. During an attack, Maranao warriors would emerge suddenly from their kota and engage the enemies in hand-to-hand combat. Lake Lanao complemented this defensive strategy; warriors would escape from the shelled kota through the lake and to other fortifications.

This type of warfare prevented the Spanish conquest of the Lanao region. The Spaniards later realized this and in 1848, employed their navy to assist their ground forces. Sulu was conquered by Admiral General Jose Malcampo in 1876. In 1886, General Torrero led an expedition against Datu Uto of Cotabato. Although Torrero was able to destroy the kota in Cotabato, he failed to enforce Spanish sovereignty (Saber 1975:22; Saber 1976:15; Miravite 1976:42).

In 1891, Governor General Valeriano Weyler personally led a campaign against the Maguindanao and Maranao. From Zamboanga he turned his forces against the different kota in Marawi. With 1,242 heavily armed men and four well—equipped transports—the Manila, Cebu, San Quintin, and Marquez de Duero—he seized Fort Marawi from Datu Akadir or Akobar (Amai Pacpac), who managed to escape. Three

days later, the Spanish forces retreated as native warriors laid seige to the fort.

Four years later, Governor General Ramon Blanco and two light gunboats—the *SS General Blanco and SS Lanao*— attacked Marawi and destroyed the Maranao kota. Datu Akadir (Akobar) was killed, and Fort Marawi taken by the Spaniards. With the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution in 1896, Governor General Blanco was forced to transfer his forces from Lanao to Luzon (Saber 1975:23-26; Saber 1976:15; Miravite 1976:42).

During the Philippine-American War, the Americans adopted a policy of noninterference in the Muslim areas, as spelled out in the Bates Agreement of 1899 signed by Brigadier General John Bates and Sultan Jamalul Kiram II of Jolo. The Agreement was a mutual nonaggression pact which obligated the Americans to recognize the authority of the Sultan and other chiefs who, in turn, agreed to fight piracy and crimes against Christians. However, the Muslims did not know that the Treaty of Paris, which had ceded the Philippine archipelago to the Americans, included their land as well.

Although the Bates Agreement had "pacified," to a certain extent, the Sulu Sultanates, the resistance in Lanao continued after the Americans occupied the Islands. The Maranao joined several anti-American uprisings in Lanao. In 1902, Datu Tungul, a Binidayan sultan, led an attack on Camp Vicars. In the same year, Sultans Ganduli and Tanagan of Masiu staged an uprising which claimed 150 to 200 Muslim lives, including their own. From 1903 to 1909, protracted defiance by Ampuanagus of Taraca resulted in the death of 290 Muslims (Che Man 1990:46-47; Isidro 1976:59-61; Tan 1977:Appendix A).

After the Philippine-American War, the Americans established direct rule over the newly formed "Moro province," which consisted of five districts—Zamboanga, Lanao, Cotabato, Davao, and Sulu. Political, social, and economic changes were introduced. These included: the creation of provincial and district institutions; the introduction of the public school system and American-inspired judicial system; the imposition of the *cedula* or head tax; the migration of Christians to Muslim lands encouraged by the colonial government; and the abolition of slavery. These and other factors contributed to Muslim resistance that took 10 years "to pacify" (Che Man 1990:23,47-48).

The Department of Mindanao and Sulu replaced the Moro province on 15 December 1913. A "policy of attraction" was introduced, ushering in reforms to encourage Muslim integration into Philippine society. In 1916, after the passage of the Jones Law, which transferred legislative power to a Philippine Senate and House of Representatives, polygyny was made illegal. Provisions were made, however, to allow Muslims time to comply with the new restrictions. "Proxy colonialism" was legalized by the Public Land Act of 1919, invalidating Muslim *pusaka* (inherited property) laws which had applied until then. The Act also granted the state the right to confer land ownership. It was thought that the Muslim would "learn" from the

"more advanced" Christianized Filipinos, and would integrate more easily into mainstream Philippine society (Che Man 1990:23-24. 51-52; Isidro 1976:64-65).

In February 1920, the Philippine Senate and House of Representatives passed Act No. 2878, which abolished the Department of Mindanao and Sulu and transferred its responsibilities to the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes under the Department of the Interior. Muslim dissatisfaction grew as power shifted to the Christianized Filipinos; it was one thing to be administered by the militarily superior Americans, another by their traditional enemies, the Christian Filipinos. Petitions were sent by Muslim leaders in 1921 and 1924 requesting that Mindanao and Sulu be administered directly by the United States. These petitions were not granted. Isolated cases of armed resistance were quickly crushed, among them the skirmish between the followers of Datu Amai of Sisiman and the Philippine Constabulary in 1921, the uprising of the Muslims of Tugaya and Canassi in 1923, and the revolt of Datu Pandak in 1924, whose movement fizzled out when he died (Che Man 1990:52-53; Tan 1977:32-43).

Realizing the futility of armed resistance, some Muslims sought to make the best of the situation. In 1934, Arolas Tulawi of Sulu, Datu Menandang Piang and Datu Blah Sinsuat of Cotabato, and Sultan Alaoya Alonto of Lanao were elected to the 1935 Constitutional Convention. In 1935, two Muslims were elected to the National Assembly.

The Commonwealth years sought to end the privileges that the Muslims had been enjoying under the earlier American administration. Muslim exemptions from some national laws, as expressed in the Administrative Code for Mindanao, and the Muslim right to use their traditional Islamic courts, as expressed in the Moro board, were ended. The Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes was replaced by the Office of Commissioner for Mindanao and Sulu, whose main objective was to tap the full economic potentials of Mindanao not for the Muslims but for the Commonwealth. These "development" efforts resulted in discontent which found expression in the various armed uprisings, mostly in Lanao, from 1936 to 1941 (Che Man 1990:55-56). The Muslims are generally adverse to anything that threatens Islam and their way of life. Che Man (1990:56) believes that they were neither anti-American nor anti-Filipino per se, but simply against any form of foreign encroachment into their traditions and beliefs.

During World War II, the Muslims in general supported the fight against the Japanese, who were less tolerant and harsher to them than the Manila government.

After independence, efforts to integrate the Muslims into the new political order were met with stiff resistance. It was unlikely that the Muslims, who have had a longer cultural history as Muslims than the Christian Filipinos as Christians, would surrender their identity. The conflict between Muslims and Christian Filipinos was exacerbated in 1965 with the "Jabidah Massacre," in which Muslim soldiers were allegedly eliminated because they refused to invade Sabah. This incident contributed to the rise of various separatist movements—the Muslim Independence Movement

(MIM), Ansar El-Islam, and the Union of Islamic Forces and Organizations (Che Man 1990:56-62, 74-75).

In 1969, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) was founded on the concept of a Bangsa Moro Republic by a group of educated young Muslims. The leader of this group, Nur Misuari, regarded the earlier movements as feudal and oppressive, and employed a Marxist framework to analyze the Muslim condition and the general Philippine situation. Except for a brief show of unity during the pre-martial law years, the new movement suffered from internal disunity (Tan 1977:118-122; Che Man 1990:77-78).

In 1976, negotiations between the Philippine government and the MNLF in Tripoli resulted in the Tripoli Agreement, which provided for an autonomous region in Mindanao. Negotiations resumed in 1977, and the following points were agreed upon: the proclamation of a Presidential Decree creating autonomy in 13 provinces; the creation of a provisional government; and the holding of a referendum in the autonomous areas to determine the administration of the government. Nur Misuari was invited to chair the provisional government but he refused. The referendum was boycotted by the Muslims themselves. The talks collapsed, and fighting continued (Che Man 1990:146147).

When Corazon C. Aquino became president, a new constitution, which provided for the creation of autonomous regions in Mindanao and the Cordilleras, was ratified. On 1 August 1989, Republic Act 673 or the Organic Act for Mindanao created the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM), which encompasses Maguindanao, Lanao del Sur, Sulu, and Tawi-Tawi.

Economy

Lake Lanao is the single most important source of livelihood for the Maranao. It provides the major source of protein diet for the Maranao, and supplies their water and energy needs. Economically important species of fish in Lake Lanao include the *aruan* (mudfish), *katipa* (catfish), *popoyo* (climbing perch), kasili (eel), *bongkaong* (carp), *mampawi* (tilapia), *gorami* (plasalit), *tamban* (black bass), *kadurong* (goby), and *bangos* (milkfish). From 1963 to 1964, fish production from Lake Lanao was only 1,986,330, kilograms for the entire lake, while fish consumption of the entire population of Lanao del Sur was 8,132,156.22) kilograms (Villaluz 1975:6-7).

Cheap electric power is provided by the Maria Cristina Falls, the source of which is Lake Lanao, 30 kilometers away. Trade is conducted through the lake, thus avoiding expensive land transport problems (Plagata and Aquino 1976:71).

Around Lake Lanao are forest resources which have been tapped for commercial purposes. During the fiscal year 1973-74, timber harvest around the lake amounted to over 69.5 million board feet for export and domestic markets, with a value of

approximately 65.6 million pesos. (Fernandez 1975:9).

Rice is the main agricultural product of Maranao farms, which average 1-2 hectares. Harvest is once a year. Other produce include corn, fruits such as bananas, jackftuits, *madang*, *durian*, avocado, mangoes, and vegetables such as cabbage, Chinese leaf, onions, carrots, cassava, sweet potato, and potato. The Maranao do not generally engage in commercial agriculture. The carabao is used for work and food. Other animals raised are the goat and, to a much less extent, chicken (Plagata et al. 1976:71-72).

Commercial activities include the *sari-sari* or variety store; weaving, which is a woman's occupation; and metalcraft, e.g., brass making in Tugaya, which has been very lucrative. Maranao retailers monopolize the rice milling business and transportation in Marawi City (Plagata et al. 1976:73-74).

Tradition has handed down the Maranao property law, which is very complex. Land ownership is difficult to assess as property transfer is often contested by traditional claims. Infrastructure for even the most basic services—like water—remains inadequate. Transportation and communication facilities are still wanting, and so are financial and manufacturing establishments. With basically a subsistence economy, the Maranao standard of living has not improved substantially. However, formal education is slowly changing the economic structure, and introducing a new class of professionals (Plagata et al. 1976:72-75).

Political System

The Maranao live in *agama* or hamlets, politically defined by the presence of at least one *torogan* or great house, where community gatherings are held. Every agama is organized into two or more *bangsa* or ambilineal descent lines, each of which owns at least one hereditary title. The actual holder of the major title is considered the representative of the bangsa. Within each agama, one or more title holders belong to a superior political level and are given the title sultan. This larger organization of hamlets is the effective political community, and its strong federal system serves to unite the four Maranao *pengampong* (states or encampments)—Bayabao, Masiu, Unayan, and Baloi—into the *pat-a-pengampong ko ranao* under the *taritib* or ancient order of customs, traditions, and usages observed in the community.

In the past, Maranao society was defined by a three-rank system which included persons having claim to titles, free people with no claim to titles, and bond slaves. Nowadays, with slavery abolished, stratification depends more on wealth and power, and is expressed in the bangsa system. Che Man (1990:116-124) categorizes Muslim leadership into three elite groups: traditional, secular, and religious.

The sultan, datu, and other aristocrats who constitute the traditional elite continue to wield influence in Maranao society. Although stripped of temporal power, they are

nevertheless seen as symbolizing Islam and adat. The highly educated professionals such as academicians, lawyers, doctors, and engineers, belong to the secular elite. Because of their education, they are able to exercise considerable influence in Maranao society. The religious elite consists of the imam, *kali* (religious judge), religious teachers, preachers, and pious men. Combinations are possible: an educated person of noble descent who is also a religious teacher belongs to the three elite groups. Most holders of government positions (regional, provincial, and municipal) belong to one or a combination of these elite groups.

Mednick (1975) claims that the national system has had varied effects on the traditional political structure. At the local level, the role of the mayor is given to those who can deliver votes for the dominant political party, maintain peace and order, and advise provincial and national authorities on municipal matters. The traditional sultan or datu often assumes this role, and in effect becomes the most powerful sultan in the area.

Social Organization and Customs

Maranao social structure can be characterized not so much in terms of exclusive ranks associated with exclusive obligations and privileges, but in terms of the rights and duties accorded to "lines of descent." Each agama, and hence each descent line, is ranked as either *pegawiden* (literally, "the carried") or *pegawid* (literally "the carrier"). Therefore a person's inherited rights, i.e., claims on land, title, and ceremonial payments, depend on descent lines; these privileges only apply in the agama where these rights originate. It is possible for a prestigious person of one agama to have only the privileges and obligations of a slave in another. His personal prestige may be affected in such a case, but his claims and his capacity to give these to his children cannot be touched (Warriner 1975:40-41).

The Maranao associate certain signs with conception and pregnancy. Among these are the wife's desire for rare kinds of food, the incessant crying of a younger sibling at night, and the wife's irritability. A *panday* (midwife) is called to check on these observations. The pregnant wife is accorded a special status; she is allowed to do what she is normally restricted, while the husband becomes more attentive. It is believed that if the wife's wishes are not granted, or if she is made to worry, a miscarriage or a serious illness may follow.

Before childbirth, the panday checks the abdomen to determine if the child is in the correct position and is moving normally; the mother lies on the *lantay* (delivery bed), her legs covered with *malong* (a tubular skirt worn by both sexes). During delivery, the panday's hands work through and within the malong. If the delivery is delayed, the wife is made to drink a ginger mixture. After delivery, the umbilical cord is tied to the nearest base and cut with an *irab* (a bamboo slit). Ashes are applied to the cut portion to stop the bleeding.

Baptismal rites consist of an imam holding the baby while calling the *azan* (Muslim call to prayer), which symbolizes the child's purpose in life—to worship God. In crossing Lake Lanao for the first time with the child, the parents must drop a coin or any metal object into the lake. This gesture is considered an act of respect for the lake's ancestral spirits, who are believed to protect the child.

Physical manifestations of puberty—the development of breasts for women and the growth of beard for men—signal the onset of certain customs. The boys are required to undergo *kapagi-Islam* (circumcision or literally, "becoming Muslim"), in the mosque. The imam cuts the foreskin with the use of a sharp knife, and applies lime, betel nut, and betel leaf to the wound to stop the bleeding.

Kandaonga (courtship) is undertaken through the matchmakers, often in verses exchanged continually until there is an assurance on both sides about the details of the marriage. It even continues until the *kalawi-an* or rites of marriage, a ritual done when the bride visits the place of the groom for the first time. Matrimonial negotiations often take a long time because of these exchanges.

The *kakewing* (wedding proper) is preceded by the *kambitiara*, a public recital by the *pananalsila* of the lineages of both the bride's and the groom's families. One reason for the kambitiara is to make public the "noble" lineages of both families, and hence to affirm that both are of the same class. The kambitiara can also be recited to praise and extol both families.

After the kambitiara, the kakewing proper takes place. This is often dramatic because the groom has to overcome many obstacles before he is able to meet his bride and *batal* or touch her for the first time. The imam recites the wedding rite, and gives advice on the duties and responsibilities involved in married life. After this, the groom searches for his bride; but he cannot just enter the room where she is hidden until he satisfies the demands of the bridal entourage. Very often, the groom and his entourage have to haggle for whatever is demanded, the fulfillment of which allows him to enter the room. Another obstacle awaits him; he has to fulfill the rites of *leka sa gibon* or opening the room. A fee has to be paid by the groom to open the door and dine with his bride.

The kalawian is the last obstacle that the groom must face. The ritual of bringing the bride to the groom's place for the first time entails a price, and this must be paid. Failure to do so can forfeit the wedding.

Certain signs are associated with impending death: dog howls, certain birds singing at night, and shouts from a *mangangasa* and *ko-ro-wao* (a bird). Death is confirmed when the pulse is no longer felt, and is announced by gongs and rifle fire. The body is washed by the imam and wrapped in white cloth before it is brought to the mosque for saltul gaib (prayer for the dead), and then to the grave.

Other social ceremonies of the Maranao include the *tephali* which attends the

construction of a house. The direction of the *naga* (roughly, dragon) must first be established before construction can begin. Usually north to south, the direction is marked by a corner post, above which a cooking jar is placed for two weeks, and on the base of which are placed silver and gold coins. When the family moves into the new house, the relatives come for the semang or housewarming ceremonies, bringing with them palay placed in *tabak* (trays), and a cheerful hope of prosperity for the family.**Religious Beliefs and Practices**

The Maranao are basically Sunni Muslims, although traces of minor Shiite and Sufi influences can also be found. Islamic religious roles include that of the imam or the kali, which are affiliated with bangsa titles. The ceremonial calendar is Islamic (Lebar 1975:39). Tan (1985:3-9) argues that the survival and spread of Islam can be attributed to its ability to accommodate indigenous beliefs and customs. The kind of Islam that arrived in the Philippines had already assimilated various other traditions. Politically, this folk Islam was further indigenized when the local baranganic structure persisted in the sultanate system. Local terms for political leadership show little Islamic influence. For example: *solotan* (judge), *paninin diungan* (past sultan), *datu* (chief), *rajah moda* (sultan's adjutant), *sultan cabugatan* (superior judge), *sancupan* (attorney), *cabugatan* (justice of the peace), *casanguan* (counselor), and *modim*. Islamic influence can be seen in the following terms: *sarip* (keeper of traditions), *alim* (sublime porter), *sherif, shayuk, hadji, imam,* and *calip* or *halip* (Tan 1985:11).

Most Maranao follow standard Islamic beliefs and practices. The Quran is considered by all Muslims as the Words of Allah (God), revealed to the Prophet Muhammad through Archangel Gabriel, and as the source of all Islamic principles and values. Aside from the Quran, other Islamic sources of law include the Sunnah or Hadith (literally, "a way, rule, or manner of acting") which recounts the deeds and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad; and the Ijma and Iftinad, a revisable collection of the opinions of Islamic jurists. The Five Pillars of Islam are faith in one God and the four obligations of praying, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in one's lifetime.

The concept of *jihad* or natural right to self-defense finds expression in holy war, when Muslim land and religion are threatened. Warriors of jihad are guaranteed a place in *sorga* (heaven). The Muslims believe that the world divides into two spheres: Darar-Islam (Islamic Sphere) and Dar-ar-Hard (non-Islamic Sphere). The first subdivides into four territories: forbidden, i.e., Mecca and Medina; reserve, i.e., Iraq, Syria, the Arabian Peninsula, Iran, Egypt, Afghanistan, and other areas controlled by Muslims; canonical, where Muslims are allowed to practice their faith in a non-Islamic country, like the Philippines; and irredentist, of which Muslims had control until they were forced out, e.g., Spain and Israel. Polygyny is allowed; a Muslim man can have up to four wives if he can provide for them. However, this practice is slowly becoming unpopular (Isidro 1976:46-52).

Islam, however, has not totally eradicated the pre-Islamic Maranao cosmology that talks of a seven-layered earth, the first of which is the human world, and the

second, populated by the *karibang* (dwarfs). Angels occupy the sky, which is likewise seven-layered; heaven is found on the final layer. Hell is a deep, dirty, and dark abode for sinners.

Folk medicine expresses the pre-Islamic belief that illnesses are caused by spirits and can only be cured by the *pamomolong* (witch doctor), the *pundarpaan* who can act as a medium to the spirits, or the *pamamantok* who fights black magic (A. Madale 1976:7-13; Lebar 1975:39). The Maranao still believe in pre-Islamic spirits and beings, and the practices associated with them. These include the *kadaolat sa miyatai* (literally, "invitation to the dead"), a rite performed seven days after the death of a Maranao; the *kapamangangai sa tonong* ("inviting the spirits"), which attends various occasions such as deciding to become a farmer, protecting one's rice or corn fields, revenge, and others; the *katao* (amulets); *kaapar*, which dictates the offering of newly harvested rice to the spirits before it is eaten; *saitan* or spirits of the balete tree; invisible beings such as *apo* (tornado spirits), *sakit* (illness-causing spirits), and *inikadowa* (counterego).

It is believed that a lunar eclipse is caused by a giant lion that has swallowed the moon. When this occurs, the Maranao play their gongs and recite: "Arimaonga boka inga so olan ka mbangkitun a doniya" (Lion, please release the moon because the world will come to an end).

Architecture and Community Planning

There are three types of Maranao houses: the *lawig* (small house), *mala-a-walai* (large house), and the *torogan* or ancestral house of the datu. Some Maranao houses have posts which rest on rounded boulders; these "floating foundations" prevent the structures from collapsing during earthquakes (Peralta 1975:28-31).

The mala-a-walai is a single-room and partitionless structure. It stands 30-220 centimeters above the ground and rests on 9 to 12 bamboo or wooden poles. A fenced porch serves as the front of the house; the kitchen, which is 50 centimeters lower than the structure, is at the back. The main body houses the sleeping area, which doubles as a living and working area in the morning. Storage space can be found underneath the main house and the kitchen. The widowed line flooring of the house is of split bamboo tied with rattan.

Carved chests, headboards, or mosquito screens divide the interior into the sleeping and nonsleeping areas. Covered with a *riyara* woven mat, rice-stalk bundles serve as bed mattresses, the head and foot of which are laid out with pillows. Over and beside the bed are the *taritib* canopy and the curtains respectively. The roof of the mala-a-walai is made of thick cogon grass secured on bamboo frames by rattan. Notched bamboo poles serve as the stairs, which are placed at the front and back of the house (Alarcon 1991:65-66).

The finest example of Maranao architecture is the torogan, which showcases the best of Maranao *okir* (literally, "carving"). On the facade there are *panolong* or winglike house beams with a *pako rabong* (fern) or *naga* (serpent) motif. Inside, there are carved panels and the *tinai a walai*, the "intestines" of the house or central beam (Peralta 1975:29). A traditional way of testing the torogan's durability was to have two carabaos fight inside the structure. If it collapsed, it was not deemed worthy to be occupied.

The torogan is a partitionless structure, housing many families. Each is given a "sleeping space," provided with mats and sleeping pads, and separated from one other by cloth partitions. Each sleeping space also serves as the family's living room, working space, and dining room. Visitors are not allowed into the *gibon* or *paga*, the room for the datu's daughter, and the *bilik*, a hiding place at the back of the sultan's headboard. The torogan may also have the *lamin*, a towerlike structure serving as a hideaway for the sultan's daughter. The flooring of the house is of *barimbingan* wood; the walls of *gisuk* wooden panels, profuse with okir; and the roof, of cogon grass secured on bamboo frames by rattan (Alarcon 1991:65-66).

Maranao architecture also includes the *masjid* (mosque) inspired by West Asian architecture. There are two types of mosque. The first is the *ranggar*, a small Muslim house of prayer and worship made to accommodate a few individuals for the daily prayers, built in the rural areas for the Muslim masses, and more similar in design to Southeast Asian prayer houses (Tan 1985:14). The second is the *masjid*, a bigger, permanent structure which comes in various architectural designs, most of which are simple and decorated with okir.

One outstanding example is the pagodalike three-tiered mosque in Taraka, Lanao del Sur. The interior of the mosque is laid out according to the nature of *salat* (Islamic prayer), which is announced from tall minarets. The direction of Mecca, which the congregation faces, is marked by a *mihrab* or niche/recess in the wall. Sermons are said by the preacher standing on the mimbar (staired pulpit), which is of okir-carved wood. Wudu or places of ablutions are located near the mosque (Majul 1977:780-784).

Very little is known of the early architectural designs of the Maranao mosque, because: (1) many of the earlier mosques used temporary materials like wood, bamboo, and cogon; (2) the remaining earlier types were either demolished, destroyed by fire or earthquake, or remodeled according to West Asian designs; (3) the yearly sojourn to Mecca influenced and eventually changed all earlier types; and (4) very little has been written on the subject (A. Madale 1976:13).

Visual Arts and Crafts

Maranao visual arts include weaving (mats, textiles, baskets), carving (wood, stone, bamboo, horn, and ivory), and casting (brass and iron, silver, gold). One underlying feature of Maranao visual art—be it brass, silver, textile, wood—is the okir.

The term refers to both the technique of carving and types of motif found in the art of Lanao and Sulu.

Basic okir motifs are the: (1) *birdo*, the motif of growing vines or crawling plants, often etched on a horizontal rectangular panel, but also on the vertical or oblique; (2) *magoyada*, the motif dominated by the naga or serpent figure, and complemented by other leaf motifs; (3) pako rabong, the motif of a fern growing in an upward direction, usually from a central point where all other designs emanate; (4) *niaga*, the motif dominated by the naga plus leaves, vines, and flowers; (5) *armalis*, the motif combining designs of fern, leaf, and the bud; (6) *obid-obid* or *tiali-tali*, the coiled ropelike motif often used as border designs on practically all compositions; (7) *potiok*, the bud motif; matilak, the circle motif; (9) *dapal*, the leaf motif; (10) todi, the flower motif; (11) *saragonting*, the crosslike motif; (12) *binitoon*, the starlike motif; (13) *pinatola*, the adjacent squares motif; (14) *biangon*, the rectangle motif; (15) *pinagapat*, the motif consisting of any four-sided design in series; (16) *olan-olan*, the artificial moon motif; (17) *pialang*, the square motif; and (18) *katiambang*, the diamond motif. What is discernible in the okir is that the work of women are generally more geometric, while that of the men, more floral (Saber and Orellana 1963).

The visual arts of the Maranao are also exemplified by the elusive bird of art, the *sarimanok* or, literally, *"artificial bird"* (see logo of this article) or the *papanok*, its female counterpart.

The Islamic dislike for realistic representations of human or animal forms resulted in nature being abstracted into sophisticated symbolic forms. Exceptions include the *burrak* (literally, "the bright one"), the horse with a human face on which the Prophet Muhammad is believed to have ascended to Heaven. The burrak appears on carpets, paintings, and sequined cloth panels.

Maranao mat weaving designs are purely geometric, and motifs have specific names: binitoon (starlike), *onsod* (pyramid), matilak (circle), saragonting (crosslike), and others. The mats are woven from local tikug called *sesed*, which is gathered, dried under the sun, cooked, and dyed with different colors called *atar*. It is redried and flattened, after which it is ready for weaving.

The size of the mat is determined by the number of *da-ir* (panels) which, in turn, are determined by the length of the sesed. Weaving is usually done in flat areas, as these make the process easier. Early morning or late afternoon is the best time to weave, as the cooler temperature not only provides for the personal comfort of the weavers, but also avoids making the sesed brittle. It takes approximately 2 to 3 weeks to weave a mat, which is then taken to the market and bought by a comprador. The price is determined by the size, workmanship, and patterns used. The finer the patterns and the more subdued the colors, the higher the price.

Maranao textiles can be classified into *landap*, *andon*, and *karangkali*. The most innovative malong makes use of the sewing machine. The landap type of malong is a

lakban (vertical woven strip) sewn into the entire length of the body of the malong. Ranging from 10-17.5 centimeters in length, the vertical strip comes in alizarine red base inwoven with multicolored motifs ranging from the strictly geometric and the curvilinear to the leaf and vine. Crisscrossing the strip at two points are two horizontal strips which are smaller and simpler in design. These horizontal strips are called *tubiran*; all three strips are collectively referred to as *langki*t. Additional designs called *borda*, adapted from traditional okir motifs, are embroidered on the malong.

The andon type of malong is made by applying the tie-dye process on the thread. The undyed portion results in the motif. Andon subtypes include the *katiambang* or complete tie-dye design; the *sinalapa* or enclosed designs; and *patola* or vertical and geometric designs (Baradas 1977a:672).

The *karangkali* type of malong is an assortment of patterns which can be combined with tie-dye patterns. These include plaids, stripes, checks. Mixed with tie-dye type patterns, the type is called *babalodan* (Baradas 1977a:672).

Muslim basketry consists of small hand baskets, carrying baskets, storage baskets, trays, and fishing baskets. Materials include bamboo, rattan, bust, pandanus, and others. Motifs are produced in various ways, e.g. weaving black over white or "one-square-over-another." Cylindrical baskets are made with the radial arrangement of the spokes. Square baskets, e.g., fish baskets, are done with the "over-one, under-one, parallel-open-weave" method (De los Reyes 1977:215-217).

Kapangokir or carving can be found in different media, such as wood, stone, bamboo, horn, and ivory. The best examples of wood carving are done for the panolong (house beam), *arko* (arches), musical instruments such as the *kutyapi* (lute), *lansa* (motor outboards), house tools, kitchen utensils, agricultural implements, and grave markers. The Maranao tinai a walai or central beam is also intricately carved with okir designs. The *kaban* (chest) may be carved or inlaid with bone or mother-of-pearl.

One outstanding example of Maranao wood carving is found in the *galingan* (spinning wheel), whose base is a solid wood block, and whose sides are carved in the magoyada motif. From the base rise two lengths of wood from either side, intricately carved in the armalis motif.

The arko also displays different okir motifs. Some of the most significant show the burrak and naga. In big weddings, the *kulintang*, a musical instrument consisting of eight graduated gongs laid horizontally on a stand called *langkongan*, is played on top of an arko. The lansa also has the naga in the prow and stern, and the birdo on both panels of the lansa.

The most common stone carvings include hollow blocks using okir motifs for house decor, and grave markers which are not as elaborately carved as those of Sulu.

An example of bamboo carving is found in the *kubing* or jew's harp, a musical instrument used traditionally for courtship and ordinary communication. The *lakub* (tobacco container) is another fine example of bamboo craft. The complicated lakub dye technique includes covering portions of the container while dipping the others in dye. Bold primary and secondary colors are used—violet, yellow, dull red, and dull green (Baradas 1977b:1046; Imao 1977b:862).

A medium used by the Maranao for carving is the horn. Commonly fashioned items include the horn sarimanok, which is smaller than the usual sarimanok, and the *gukum* or mortar-shaped wax container. From ivory, the Maranao carve dagger or kris handles into mythical creatures, snakes, or leaves (A. Madale 1976:43-44).

The Maranao and the Maguindanao are famous for their brassware. The reason is that yellow and gold, the colors of nobility, are approximated by this alloy. Maranao brassware include the *talam* (tray with stand), *panalogadan* (vase with stand or holders), *sakdo* (ladle), *pangolain* (sieve), *salapa* (betel box), *lotoan* (silver inlaid betel box), pots such as the *batidor* and *kandi*, *lantaka* (canon), and ceremonial and decorative vessels such as the *gador*, *niana, langguay, baong,* and *kabo*.

One outstanding example of Maranao metalwork is the silver-inlaid brass sarimanok piece from Taraka. The piece, which is used as a wax container, uses silver coins. To date, this is the only known sarimanok piece made from the silver inlaid process.

There are three methods of brass making: the *batak* or hammering process, *garaoang/kapanabas* or cutout process, and the *kapanowang* or casting process. The first process is composed of two subprocesses: *pamokpok* or plain hammering, and the stamping process, where embossed designs are hammered into the article. The first two processes are simpler and take less time.

The Maranao employ a modified wax-mold method for kapanowang or brass casting. Okir designs are done with the strip method. To form a waxy substance, paraffin is mixed with almaciga and beeswax. The shape is formed by pressing the substance around a wooden model, after which the mold is removed. Small spaghettilike strips of wax are made separately, formed into various okir designs and laid together with the mold. The encasement is then made by applying a mixture of bamboo charcoal and muddy soil on and inside the wax mold. Melted wax is poured out and molten brass paired in. The finishing process is done by professionals like engravers, silver inlayers, and polishers (Imao 1977a:679-682).

Kakelaya-layang or kite making is an activity enjoyed when the wind is strong and the weather fine. Other occasions for kite making include the sprouting of palay grains, and the bearing of fruits from the local *nonang* tree, the fruits of which are used as paste in kite making. On a bamboo framework, Manila paper and *papel de japon* are pasted to create the kite's "wings." Tied to the head of the kite is a nipa leaf which vibrates and produces *romeging*, a sound similar to the drone of an airplane. The kite makers compete when it comes to the size, color, and stability of their kites.

The motifs used range from the most traditional (*paruparu* or the butterfly motif) to the most modern (*ariplano/kagangkagang* or airplane motif). Primary colors are preferred. The so-called "fighter kites" (kites made to fight in midair) are also popular with the Maranao.**Literary Arts**

Maranao literary tradition can be classified into pre-Islamic and Islamic-inspired literature. Pre-Islamic literature consists of the *antoka* (riddles), *pananaroon* (verbs), *tubad-tubad* (short love poems), verses recited during kandaonga (courtship), *tutul* (folktales), *pilandok* tales, and the epics *Darangen* and *Raja Indarapatra*.

The antoka display Maranao wit and wisdom, and portray various aspects of their psyche:

Ilelebeng da matai
Bangkai baraniyawa (Riya).

Buried but alive
A corpse with a life (Mouse).

Ladia sa kalasan
A di ketanglan sa ig (Salag).

A cup from the forest
That holds no water (Nest).

Proverbs are recited to reprimand a child, to make a point, or to ridicule or belittle another person. They convey messages in poetic form, which often make more impact than direct confrontation. A pananaroon called *kapangilat*, aimed at someone else, indicates that size does not necessarily mean strength:

Ba den mala so dalog
a pekelilid ko lapad
na da a kapadal iyan.

It's nothing
but a tasteless big rolling rootcrop
on a plate.

A pananaroon may also admonish or promote right conduct even in the privacy of one's home. A metaphor used for this purpose is the "small hole," which is associated with the people looking through it. Observe proper behavior, for someone may be looking.

Maia ka pen sa ilag.

Be ashamed of small holes.

A Maranao expresses his love indirectly through tubad-tubad or short love poems, which are often reserved in tone, and employ metaphors and allusions. Here is an example (A. Madale 1976:50-5l):

Pupulayog so paspas ka pupumagaspas apas
Ka tulaki kon ko banog
Na diron pukatalakin
Ka daon kasakriti

Kanogon si kanogon nakanogon ni ladan ko
A pukurasai mamikir a ana palandong a dar
Na di akun mapukangud a bologong ko sa gugao
Ka oman akun ipantao na pasulakapan a ig
O matao kandalia.

Bangkadun tatangkudun i papanok ka sa nori
Ka apan so sambur iyan
Na dangka kasampiroti

Ino ko di tungkudun
A papanok ko so nori
A sasowar o didapo
Kago di kasampiroti.

Flying hard, the swift is
Trying to catch up with the hawk
But he cannot equal him
Because he is far too small.

Woe, woe unto me
Worried, thinking of a loved one.
And I cannot let my feelings prevail,
express my love.

Because every time I want to reveal it
Water gets in its way.

How could you own that parrot
When trapped? You haven't
Even the wind that its wings stir?

Why shouldn't I say
That the parrot is mine
When only if in flight;
Can I not trap it?

During kandaonga or courtship, the matchmakers recite verses to stress certain points, as in:

Ino mangadai ladan
o mamola kami saya
sa kaio pat a mering
di mangadai mandedas
o pakibonsodi ami
sa kaio pat a romaging?

Suppose we plant
four mering trees here
will it not wither
once it is fenced
with four mering trees?

To tap the possibility of a marriage, the boy's matchmaker asks whether the girl is betrothed. The phrase "planting a mering tree and fencing it" signifies the boy's desire to marry.

To these verses, the girl's spokesperson will probably indicate, after a series of exchanges, that the boy must exert more effort because like a bird, the girl can alight and build a nest of her own.

Bangka den tatangkeden
papanok ka so Nori
apai so samber iyan
da ngka kasampiroti.

You want to be sure
the bird Nori is yours
which in flight
you cannot catch.

Maranao tutul (folktales) can be divided into *tutul sa pakapoon* (legends), *tutul a pangangayaman* (fables), *tutul o mnga suda ago papanok* (stories of birds and fishes), and *tutul a piya kakuyakayad* (funny stories) such as Pilandok tales (A. Madale 1976:45-46).

An example of a tutul sa pakapoon is the legend of Lake Lanao, which displays Islamic influence: Once there was no Lake Lanao. Instead these was the sultanate of Mantapoli, which, under the reign of Sultan Abdara Radawi, the great grandfather of Raja Indarapatra, expanded its power and population. The world then was held in equilibrium by two regions: Sebanyan (East) where Mantapoli was located, and Sedpan (West). Because of its increasing population and power, Mantapoli was

threatening the very equilibrium of the world. This was noted by the archangel Diabarail (Gabriel to the Christians) who reported the matter to Allah. As a solution, the Sohara (Voice of Allah) commanded Diabarail to gather all the angels, and with them, to move Mantapoli to the center of the earth. All of these would be accomplished in the darkness of a *barahana* (solar eclipse). And so it happened. What had been Mantapoli became Lake Lanao. The overflowing waters of the lake began to threaten Mantapoli. Sohara commanded Diabarail to call on the Four Winds of the World—Angin-Taupan, Angin-Besar, Angin-Darat, and Angin-Sarsar—to create an outlet for the lake. This was done and the outlet is the present Agus River (Zaide and Saber 1975:1-3).

Some of the animals which populate Maranao fables are the dog, the cat, the monkey, the deer, the fox, the heron, and the lion. The most popular of these animal characters is the monkey, who can transform himself into a handsome prince. The kindest is the deer. Below is the story of "The Dog and the Lion":

The alleged king of the jungle, the lion, walks hungry on a muddy road one day. He chances upon a dog, who naturally becomes terrified but composes himself instead. The lion wants to eat the dog, but stops when the dog warns him: "Lion, you cannot eat me, because if you do, all the lions the dogs have captured will be killed." The lion laughs in disbelief, so the dog takes the king of the jungle to look into the pools of clear water where, he claims, the lions are incarcerated. In every pool of water, the lion sees a lion and a dog. Not knowing reflection from reality, the lion walks away, outsmarted by a clever dog (A. Madale 1976:48-49).

In Maranao stories, fishes, birds, shrimps, and sparrows often play the protagonists.

A sparrow falls in love with a shrimp and eventually marries her. Married life proves to be difficult as the shrimp needs the water to survive, while the sparrow finds itself drowning in the water. An arrangement is made whereby the married couple will alternate daily between land and water. But the shrimp dies in the end. In grief the sparrow promises never to leave her. One day the forest is set afire by a farmer. The sparrow tries to get his wife's carcass to a safe place but is unable to do so. The sparrow perishes in the fire with his dead wife (A. Madale 1976:49).

Juan Francisco has identified over 30 Pilandok tales, while N. Madale has classified 18. These are claimed to originate from the tales known as "Kalilah and Dimnah" which are related to the tales of the *Arabian Nights*. Azizan Abdulrazak claims that they were brought to southern Philippines through Malaya and Malacca from Arabia. The original character in the earliest collection is a clever fox perpetually playing tricks on the sultan. Another view is that these tales are indigenous, although influenced by external factors such as trade and Islam.

Pilandok plays different, versatile, and even ambivalent roles. It is at once a hero and a villain, bridging two worlds, the natural and the supernatural, the human

and the nonhuman; it cheats and is cheated; it is a fool but a clever person too. When caught red-handed, it assumes another personality and eventually gets off the hook. It exchanges lies for truths, truths for lies, the unreal for the real; it amuses, ridicules, criticizes its adversaries, plays tricks on them, but always wins out in the end. As a person, it claims to be the son of a sultan of Bandiar Masir, but criticizes and ridicules the sultan and his men. Nevertheless, it wants a share of the sultan's property when he dies. Here is a typical Pilandok story:

On the orders of the sultan, Pilandok is imprisoned in a cage and dropped in the middle of the sea. Several days later, the sultan is surprised to see a healthy Pilandok in court, and inquires how it managed to escape. Pilandok answers that at the bottom of the sea rests a kingdom where gold and silver abound. The sultan becomes very interested in this kingdom and asks Pilandok to take him there. Pilandok refuses and says that the sultan needs to go alone in a cage. The sultan obliges and appoints Pilandok temporary sultan; he lends Pilandok his magic ring, crown, and sword. The sultan does not return and Pilandok rules the kingdom for many years (A. Madale 1976:75-76).

An important prose narrative of the Maranao is the "Maharadia Lawana," the Maranao version of certain episodes and characters in the *Ramayana*. In the Maranao story, Rama is known as Radia Mangandiri. The episodes in the narrative include: the winning of Tuwan Tihaya's hand by Mangandiri who is able to kick the rattan ball called *sipa* to the penthouse of the princess; the abduction of the princess by Maharadia Lawana who takes the form of a golden goat; the rescue of the princess by Mangandiri and his brother, Laksamana, a monkey prince conceived by Potre Langaui when the latter swallowed one of the testicles which Mangandiri lost (Francisco 1969).

Darangen is an epic, composed of several narratives, whose verses are chanted by the *onor* (singer). Handed down by word of mouth for many generations, the epic has about 25 known episodes, of which there are many variations. Showcasing Maranao moral values and traditions, the Darangen is basically a genealogical account, highlighting the adventures of prominent figures. Darangen antedates the advent of Islam, but later versions have incorporated Islamic elements; some collections have been edited to include Allah instead of the *tonong* or traditional spirits (*Darangen* 1986).

The Folklore Division of the University Research Center of Mindanao State University lists 17 episodes of the Darangen (*Darangen* 1986:16). The first episode "Paganay Kiyandato o Diwata Ndaw Gibon" (The first ruler, Diwata Ndaw Gibon) of the epic *Darangen* recounts the genealogy of the epic heroes. It begins with the kingdom of Diwata Ndaw Gibon, who was at that time still a bachelor. His kingdom is Bumbaran. The different datu of Bumbaran meet one day, and express concern about the unmarried state of their datu. A suitable wife must be found. The Sama chief gives his choice: the beautiful princess Aya Paganay Bai of Minagoaw a Ragong. So Datu Gibon sails off in the magic boat of Bumbaran, finds the beautiful princess, and marries her. For several years, he stays with his wife and his brother-in-law Miyangondaya

Linog in their kingdom. Two sons are born to the couple. One day Datu Gibon decides to return to Bumbaran and tells his brother-in-law about it. Miyangondaya Linog is sympathetic, and before the family leaves, he names his eldest nephew, Tominaman sa Rogong, and his younger one, Mangondaya Boisan. He advises his sister not to turn against her husband and to help bring glory and fame to Bumbaran. In Bumbaran, after some time, Datu Gibon decides to take other wives and make his kingdom great. The first wife painfully agrees and even helps in the bridewealth needed. Thus the ladies Kadarangan a Lena, Lombayoan a Lena, Bagombayan a Lena, Songgiring a Dinar, and Minisalawo Canding are married to Datu Gibon. In time they bear him several daughters and the family lives harmoniously. Years pass and Datu Gibon grows old. He names his eldest son his successor and gives his final counsel to his two sons—to keep the nobility pure, to be just and fair, to keep the magic boat as an heirloom, and to be clean. After his death, the other datu endorses the datuship of Gibon's eldest son, and allows the other wives to return to their homes. Gibon's widow, now old, expresses her desire to return to her birthplace. Her wish is granted and she eventually dies in Minangoaw a Rogong.

The opening lines of the epic are (Darangen 1986: 21):

> *Na sa alongan imanto*
> *na matorak so mongangen*
> *na mainot peloba'an*
> *so mata'o sa rantapan.*
>
> In these our dark and confused times
> Well-informed men are hard to find,
> For very few would know all things,
> Good and bad or just anything.

A variant of the folk narrative, *Raja Indarapatra* tells the story behind the birth of the hero Raja Indarapatra. Sultan Nabi of Mantapoli, the hero's father did not teach the art of singing to his cousin, a woman accomplished in the art of black magic. She decides to play a trick on the sultan. She has a statue of a golden bird made, and with magic words has one of her leper slaves enter this bird. The bird flies to the kingdom of Mantapoli and destroys all its trees, including those in the garden of the sultan. The bird is eventually caught and placed on the sultan's window. At night, the sultan dreams of making love to a woman transformed from the golden bird; and in his dream the woman becomes pregnant and gives birth to a child who is named Raja Solaiman. Much later, the sultan discovers his cousin's trick. He then sails to her kingdom and proposes marriage. The two are married and a boy, Raja Indarapatra, is born to them.

Two types of Islamic-inspired literature are the *salsila* (genealogical accounts) and the religious *kissa* or stories of a moral nature. The study of the salsila is usually reserved for the *maongangun* (wise men and women). Nevertheless, the average Maranao has an idea of what they are all about. The accounts tell the history of Lanao

and the Maranao. The following example narrates and explains the division of Lanao into four states or encampments:

Four brothers—Butuanon, Dimaampao, Batara sa Kilatun, and Batolacongon—from the land of Bumbaran journey to the Lake Lanao region, which was then a jungle. They continue their trek until they find a place which is claimed by Butuanon, and named Bayabao (literally, "I am the one who chose first"). Butuanon marries Baisa Kisali sa Miyakarang. The three remaining brothers go on and eventually find a place which they call Masiu (literally, "a place where Lanao's royal bloods meet"). Batara Sa Kilatun made the place his own and later marries Nomonao sa Raginai. In the coastal region of Lanao, Batolacongon finds his place called Baloi. Dimaampao goes on alone and settles in Unayan, so called because of a tree that has imprisoned his bride. The four brothers create the four sultanates which survive to this day (A. Madale 1976:5253).

Religious kissa are stories written in Arabic, and are used by the imam and guru to teach Islam to children (A. Madale 1976:55). An example of a religious quiza is the "Izra-wal-Miraj," which tells the story of why Muslims pray five times a day. The Prophet Muhammad is awakened one night by the angel Diabarail. The Prophet then rides on a burrak and travels by night from Mecca to Masjid-el-Aqsa (in Jerusalem) where he sees a bright light that leads him to heaven. Each layer of heaven has a different color and is guarded by an angel. On the seventh layer, he hears the voice of God, and has a glimpse of heaven and hell. On the way down, he was asked by Moses if he has asked God for any request. The Prophet Muhammad answers in the negative. Moses then tells him to return and to ask God that the number of prayers be reduced from 50 to 5 times daily. This he does, and his request is granted. It is believed that if God did not grant Muhammad's request, the Muslims today would have to pray 50 times a day.

Another example of the kissa is the story of the duck: In a battle against the tribes, the Prophet Muhammad and his followers find themselves surrounded. They discover that their supply of food and water has almost been depleted. One day, the Prophet calls on a duck to fetch water from a source kilometers away. The duck flies off but does not return with the promised water. Instead it enjoys itself in the pond. A dove is then sent to find out what happened to the duck. The dove is surprised to discover the duck enjoying the waters; but, instead of reprimanding the duck, the dove collects the amount of water it can carry and brings it to the Prophet. The latter curses the duck upon learning of its laziness. The curse endures, and that is why when one touches a duck today it becomes "all squeezed in" (A. Madale 1976:55-56).

Other types of Islamic-inspired literature that are more concerned with religion include the *khutba* (sermons), Quranic exegeses, and explicatory statements about Islam.**Performing Arts**

Maranao music forms can be classified into two: *boni-boniyan* or instrumental and *kaplogo* or vocal. Maranao boni-boniyan applies to the whole range of the

instrumental repertoire produced by various musical instruments. One of these musical ensemble is the *isa ka daradiat,* a *kulintang* ensemble composed of a pair of big gongs with a buzzle called *mamales,* eight graduated gongs laid horizontally on a stand called langkongan, the *debakan* or a drum made from goat or deer skin, and *babendir,* a small flat gong.

Other musical instruments include the *gandingan* or horizontal war drum; *tabo* or a "call to prayer" drum hung horizontally in the mosque; a very small kulintang called *alotang* but known as *saronai* if manufactured from metal; a bamboo instrument scraped and struck called *tagotok,* also called *sirong a ganding* when plucked and beaten; *insi* or end-blown lute; kubing or jew's harp; and *oni-oniya* or rice stalk resembling an oboe.

Maranao kulintang melodies can be classified into *inandang* (classical), *binalig* or those borrowed from other groups, and *bargo* (modern). The melodies represent several themes, among them the *palagoy ka saladung* ("run deer run"); *kapromayas* ("a place"); *mamayog* ("love"); *sinolog* ("from Sulu"); *kasegorongan* ("characterized by a rising and falling melody"); *kapmagarib* ("sunset"); and *katitik panday,* derived from *tintik* (beating); and *panday* (creative). This last piece is said to originate from a woman, who during a quarrel with her husband, "creatively" played the kulintang to summon the neighbors to intercede. The most popular and artistic way of playing the kulintang is the *kapagonor,* where the various styles of holding the *basal*— decorated sticks used in beating the kulintang pieces—are shown.

The word *kaplogo,* from *logo,* which means "sound," refers to the vocal music repertoire classified according to the themes/subjects, and the manner in which these songs are chanted. Common among the themes/subjects are *kandarangen,* which is derived from the *Darangen* epic, and characterized as rhythmically fast accompanied by *tintik*; *kambayoka,* which refers to the love songs that utilize episodes from the epic; *kandikir,* derived from the Arabic dekr, which originally referred to any recitation praising God, but now refers to praises sung to the Maranao dead; *kapranon,* which refers to sentimental and nostalgic songs that are more melismatic than the *Darangen*; and *kaprongrong,* which refers to personal love songs sung to entertain oneself.

Vocal music differs from instrumental in at least the following respects: the onor or professional singers are *pembalbegan* or hired for weddings, funerals and wakes, or any festive occasions; appreciation of vocal music requires knowledge of a special language and forms; and the pedagogy of kaplogo is based on the guru or teacher system.

Mga ida-ida wata or children's songs are also part of the vocal music repertoire. The texts are essentially children's rhymes. An example (N. Madale 1975:56):

Dayo, dayo capitan
Dayo somonta sa ig
Dayo di akoron sung

ana ikuluk akun
A bubaruka a nipai
Dingun, ding a diawa
Busalangka sa agong
Ka an manug a datu
A magogop a mamuntong
A pud a panarakayo
A pumbalain a barit
A walai a datu oto
Ago giya bai aya.

Friend, friend, captain
Playmate, to the river,
Friend, I won't go,
For afraid am I
Of multicolored snakes and striped crocodiles
Beat, beat, oh drummer,
Beat hard the gong
To inform the datu
Who will help cut bamboos
And fell big trees
For building a palace
For the datu
And his lady.

Maranao dance forms can be classified into those which are reenactments of some episodes in the epic *Darangen*, and those which are adaptations from the epic. Examples of the former are *kaganat sa darangen*, *sagayan*, and *sadoratan*, and of the latter, *kapamalomalong*. Other types include those which deal with life cycle rituals, and in particular, with spirits or souls of the dead. One example of this last type is the *kadaolat sa miatai* ("invitation to the dead").

The dance forms are extremely formal. Unlike other ethnic groups, Maranao dancers do not smile; this is considered a form of flirtation which is frowned upon in the culture. The dancers may employ other paraphernalia like a *mosala* or kerchief, a fan or bamboo sticks, shield, kris, and others. The presentation can be either on stage or in a *lama* (yard). The dancers, trained early in their careers, are professionals.

Kaganat sa darangen, literally, "to stand from the darangen," is an attempt by the performer to interpret and reenact, in song and dance, the journey of Prince Lomna to propose marriage in behalf of his father, Bantingen. It is the second and most popular episode in the epic. It requires a very talented performer, someone who can perform the intricate steps with ease, poise, and finesse. Body movements are calculated to convey something—the fingers, the sway of the hips, and every step. The performer must be single, with a beautiful and supple body. There is much swishing of the fan and swaying of the hips as the performer reenacts the adventures of Prince Lomna.

Sagayan or war dance also originates from the epic. It is a reenactment of

Prince Bantugan's preparation for battle. This particular episode, "Kailid a Dempas," describes in minute detail all the movements of the warrior. The manner of holding the *kampilan* (cutlass) and the logistics of warfare are all depicted:

First, the hero takes his *kapasti* or headdress with embedded mirrors. He then puts on his clothes which have the colors of the rainbow. He takes his *klong* or shield made of the hardest wood and from which small bells hang. Finally, he gets his shining kampilan which is as blinding as the sun when it glitters. Very slowly, he moves to the left then to the right, then moves around very gracefully. Each step and movement he makes is accompanied by a recitation invoking the guidance and support of the unseen benevolent spirits. When the hero removes his kampilan halfway from its scabbard, half of his enemies are killed. At the height of the war, the hero is not able to see his enemies; hence, he depends only on the sound of the rattling shields.

In the reenactment dance *karatong*, three dancers interact with one another. One dancer beats the karatong, while the other holds it. Depending solely on the sound of the drum, the third dancer, armed with shield and sword, pursues the first two dancers.

Sadoratan is another dance which is a reenactment of the "Paramata Gandingan" episode of the epic. Here, the princess Paramata Gandingan is abducted and asked to walk in the middle of two strings laid out parallel to each other, to test whether she belongs to the nobility.

The dance kapamalomalong was popularized in modern times by the Mindanao State University Darangen Dance Troupe. The dance, which illustrates the various uses of the malong, eventually became an integral part of the Maranao dance repertoire.

One very popular dance whose origin is unclear is the royal bamboo dance called *singkil*. Some claim that the dance is derived from one of the episodes of the *Darangen*. In the "Natangkopan a Ragat" (Enchantment of Prince Bantugan), the prince was made to walk between two crushing rocks, which in the singkil dance is represented by the clashing shields, while the princess had to jump between the stones, represented in the dance by the clashing bamboos. The use of the umbrella to shelter the dancing princess is a modern innovation.

In the most common version of the dance, four bamboos are placed in a crisscross position and the *pasisingkil* or dancer inserts her feet in between the rapping and clicking bamboos. The point is to dance in and out of these bamboos without being caught between them. Grace and agility are matched by the rhythm of the rapping bamboos, which becomes faster and more frenzied. Finally, the dancer is borne on the bamboo poles and carried away.

Kadaolat sa miatai is "an invitation to the dead" dance. On the seventh day after the death of a Maranao, 4 to 6 *padidikir* (chanters) are called to perform the

dance. Four dancers form two lines which lead to the dead person's grave. They are garbed in Maranao finery complete with kerchief and *tobao* (turban) tied around the head, with one end pointing stiffly upwards. On top or in front of the grave is a chair bedecked with colorful Maranao textile.

The lead performer starts chanting the *dikir* or dirge song and, upon reaching a high note, stops, and allows the person next to him to continue. This is done until all four chanters have performed. Later, believing that the soul of the dead person has accepted the invitation, the chanters carry the chair to the bereaved family's house. The relatives bid farewell to the soul about to enter heaven or hell.

Maranao theater can be classified into those dances which are considered reenactments from specific episodes of the epic or from the narrative *Raja Indarapatra*, and those which are adaptations but not necessarily derived from these episodes. These include the kaganat sa darangen, the sagayan, the sadoratan, and singkil.

The *kashawing* (rice ritual) can be traced to the narrative. The hero, Raja Indarapatra, had two sons from a water nymph called Karibang. One son revealed himself and became the ancestor of the Maranao. The other did not reveal himself and became the ancestor of all unseen spirits the Maranao invoke. Both brothers made a covenant to protect each other; the seen/living ancestor was asked to care for *itotoro*, a white-feathered totem bird with yellow beak and feet. In the ritual proper, there is a reenactment of the meeting between the two brothers, symbolized by red and yellow flags. This ritual is performed just before dawn to seek a bountiful harvest from the benevolent spirits.

Another ritual related to the kashawing is the *kazeriringan*, which is dedicated to the spirits the community invokes to ensure the protection of the people and crops from illness and pestilence. The ritual involves various rites similar to those found in the kashawing.

A specific episode in the epic which deals with public speaking is the *kaplomna*, derived from the name of one of the sons of the hero Bantugan. This son is sent at an early age to another kingdom to propose marriage in behalf of his father. His tales and travails, including his prowess in composition and public speaking, are well recounted. During public gatherings where these episodes are reenacted, the public is enjoined to exchange poetic verses.

The word kambayoka derives from *bayok* which means "love song," and refers to the repertoire where two or more onor (professional singers) engage in a poetical joust. The theme of the bayok depends on the occasion or event, including weddings, *diaga-an* (towards the end of a vigil), and *kalilang* (festivity). Once the theme has been decided, the singers interpret their own compositions, aided by literary embellishments called *irmas* and accompanied by bodily movements.

Other theater forms like the *diabro* and *onta* revolve around the combat between the devil and a good spirit near the seashore. The onta is similar to the Chinese dragon dance, but involves a camel instead (A. Madale 1976:54).

Reenactments of the lives of religious personages are part of Maranao theater. Two favorite examples are the *Nabiola Ibrahim* or story of the Prophet Abraham and the *Maulud-en-Nabi* or birth of the Prophet Muhammad.

Nabiola Ibrahim is the story of the Prophet Abraham and the dream he had about sacrificing his son Ismael in order to build the house of God called Kaaba. The childless Abraham had vowed to God that should he have a son, he would sacrifice the child to God. Ismael was born to him. One day, the boy Ismael was approached by Satan who warned him not to go to his father for he will be sacrificed. Ismael did not believe the devil. Satan then warned Ismael's mother, but nothing came of that either. When Abraham was about to kill his son, the angel Gabriel appeared, and instantly a sacrificial lamb was substituted.

This event is reenacted as one of the rites performed during the yearly pilgrimage to Mecca. On Eid-el-Adha or the day of sacrifice, every pilgrim who can afford it must sacrifice an animal to reenact the event. Three stones must be thrown at a specific place where Satan is believed to have stayed.

The Maulud-en-Nabi is celebrated on Rabi-al-Awwal or the 12th night of the third lunar calendar. In the Philippines, the celebration falls on the same day as the Morod a datu, a feast hosted by the local datu in his community. During the festivities, the imam will recount the life of the Prophet: his boyhood, the sacrifices he made, how he was able to spread Islam to neighboring countries, the battles he fought, his return to Mecca, and his last pilgrimage. In the celebration, the *Maulud* is sung. A play depicts the boyhood of the Prophet. N. Madale and G.E.P. Cheng/ Reviewed by S.K. Tan

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