



The Islamicity of Lanao Sultanate, Philippines in the 17th Century as a State

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Abstract

The Pat a Pangampong sa Ranao or Lanao Sultanate in the Philippines was founded in the early 17th century after its leaders seceded from the Magindanao Sultanate. The Lanao Sultanate had the traditional laws i.e. the taritib and igma or the Adat Laws, and Shari'ah (Islamic laws). The political structure of Lanao Sultanate consists of council of elders, house of board of advisers, house of bais (ladies), imāms (prayer leaders), kalis (judges), gurus (teachers), askars (army), pananalsilas (genealogy experts), defence units headed by a radia-laut (naval and war commander), and the forty-three sultans who ruled the pagawidan (supported) states and pagawid (supporting) states. The supported states had fifteen sultans who were the executive bodies of the fifteen royal houses of the Lanao Sultanate. The pagawid (supporting) states had twenty-eight governors called m'babaya ko taritib who were also the legislative bodies of the four states of Lanao: Bayabao, Masiu, Unayan, and Baloi. The Islamicity of the Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century as an Islamic state is not represented in literature. This explains why there is a huge research gap on this study. This paper will explore in-depth the Islamicity of Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century using the functions and the characteristics of an Islamic state as parameters according to contemporary Muslim scholars.

Key words: Islamicity; Lanao; Sultanate.

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1. Introduction

The Lanao Sultanate in the Philippines was founded by the Maranao *datus* (chieftains) in the early 17th century. The Maranao *datus* decided to secede from the Magindanao Sultanate during the reign of Sultan Kudarat. According to Sultan Monsing Macabando, the Maranao *datus* of Lanao who founded the Lanao Sultanate were inspired by Qur'ānic teaching on establishing Islamic leadership. The Lanao *datus* quoted this profound words, “*Hay so miyamaratiyaya na onotiniyo so Allāh, onotiniyo so Rasulollah (s.aw.) nago so mga datu iyo. Okaka samok kano nandud kano ko kitabo o Allāh nago so sabdan o Nabi Muhammad (s.a.w.)*.” This means, “O you who believe! Obey Allāh, and obey the Messenger (Muhammad), and those of you (Muslims) who are in authority. (And) If you differ in anything amongst yourselves, refer it to Allāh and His Messenger, if you believe in Allāh and in the Last Day. That is better and most suitable for final determination.” It is clear that the founders of Lanao Sultanate quoted from the Qur'ānic verse i.e. Sūrah An-Nisā, 4:59 [1]. This means that Lanao *datus* who founded the Lanao Sultanate were aware of the mentioned above Qur'ānic verse and its meaning which guided them in establishing the Lanao Sultanate. The question is, what are the characteristics of an Islamic state? What makes a state an Islamic state? What are the functions of an Islamic state? This paper will investigate whether the Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century an Islamic state or not.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

1. What are characteristics of an Islamic state?
2. Are these characteristics correspond to the Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century as a state?

1.2. Objectives of the Study

1. To highlight the characteristics of an Islamic state; and
2. To know whether the Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century as an Islamic state or not.

1.3. Limitations of the Study

The historicity on Lanao Sultanate during the pre-colonial and colonial era is difficult to comprehend due to scarcity of historical documents during those periods. However, a kind of quasi-historical record is found in *salsilas* (chain of transmission of genealogies) of the Muslim rulers in Lanao Sultanate. *Salsila* comes from an Arabic word, *silsilah*, meaning the links of a genealogical or scholarly chain of transmission. It is through such links that the sultans traced their claims to the descent of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) which in turn becomes a consequent qualification in the eyes of orthodox Islam to rule among the Maranao tribe. *Salsila* is written on *karatas* (paper) in Arabic script, called *kirim*, written usually in Maranao language with Malay or Arabic terms. It has been handed down through the generations as jealously guarded secrets by the *pananalsilas* (genealogy experts). As a study, the Islamicity of the Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century is not represented in literature. The Islamicity of the Lanao Sultanate in the said century can be explored by studying in-depth the protocol of the Maranao Royal Court in implementing policies, laws, and the functions of the state, by doing so, it will

highlight the Islamic principles on leadership, thus, it gauges the Islamicity of the Lanao Sultanate as a state in the 17th century.

1.4. Significance of the Study

This study is significant in filling the research gap in literature on the foundation of the Lanao Sultanate in Mindanao in the Southern part of the Philippines in the 17th century with specific emphasis on Islamic governance. It broadens the historical narratives on dominant socio-political forces which took place in the Philippines which led to the inception of Lanao Sultanate. It will contribute to theory building on the evolution of the Maranao *datu-ship* system of governance into Islamic governance which survives to date. This serves as a reference material for the researchers. It will promote open and constructive debates on how applied Islamic governance help developed the civil and religious life of the natives in the Philippines in the 17th century. It will provide inputs for the state policy makers in promoting better Islamic governance in the Muslim regions in the Philippines. This study also contributes to the body of knowledge on Islamic civilization in Southeast Asia as well as on the significance of the Lanao Sultanate to the social, cultural, religious, and political lifeways of the Maranao tribe in Lanao.

1.5. Research Methodology: Qualitative Research

The historical narratives of this research were obtained through library research, government documents and archives. Secondary data sources i.e. books, theses, dissertation, and journals were used. Semi-structured interview was also used in data gathering.

1.6. Expected Results of the Study

Hopefully, the results of this study will (1) show and broaden the historical narratives on the dominant socio-political forces in the Philippines pertaining to the inception of the Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century. (2) Show how applied Islamic governance shaped the civil and religious lifeways of the Maranao tribe in the Philippines in the 17th century. (3) Provide original inputs for the state policy makers for the promotion of better Islamic governance in the Muslim dominated areas in Mindanao. (4) See from this research findings of its relevance to the existing sultanates in Lanao, thus the incumbent sultans may reflect on the research findings in order to enhance their leadership, thus, to affect social, cultural, political and religious consciousness and construct of the Maranaos. This might lead to the cooperation between the sultans and the local government units in Lanao areas.

2. The Foundation of Lanao Sultanate

According to Sultan Monsing Macabando, the Lanao Sultanate in Lanao was founded when it separated from the Magindanao Sultanate during the preparation of the enthronement rites of Sultan Kudarat as sultan of Magindanao [2]. Sultan Monsing does not provide the date of the enthronement rites of Sultan Kudarat. However, according to Ruurdje Laarhoven, Sultan Kudarat began his reign as Sultan of Magindanao in 1616, this date was based on Dutch source [3]. Basing from this source, it is therefore, the Lanao Sultanate was

founded in 1616, respectively.

In this light, let us discuss the foundation of the Lanao Sultanate. Sultan Monsing Macabando explains that when the people of Magindanao and Lanao had accepted Islam as their religion, Sharīf Kabunsuan, an Arab-Malay, introduced the sultanate leadership to his in-laws in Lanao and Magindanao, Mindanao in 1515. During this time the Lanao and Magindanao were still united as a single state. When Sharīf Kabunsuan was very old, he relinquished his title as sultan of Magindanao to his son, Sharīf Makaalang who became the first native Maranao sultan of Magindanao. He was the son of Sharīf Kabunsuan from his Maranao wife, Bae Angintabo from Malabang, Lanao. Sharīf Makaalang was succeeded by his son Sharīf Bangkaya who was later succeeded by his three sons: Dimasangkay Adil, the eldest. He was then succeeded by Gugu Sarikula who was then succeeded by his youngest brother Sultan Laut Buisan [2].

When Sultan Laut Buisan passed away, his son Sultan Kudarat wanted to be crowned as sultan of Magindanao. However, during that time, the leadership of Magindanao Sultanate should be passed on to Lanao by enthroning the Maranao son of Dimasangkay Adil in Lanao. Sultan Kudarat, who was in Magindanao, summoned his relatives in Lanao to come to his place in Noling, Magindanao. The *datus* who came to Noling were Dianatun Naim of Butig, Diwan of Bayang, Balindong B'sar of Masiu, Ottowa and Simbaan Akari of Ramain, Okoda of Lumba-Bayabao, Umbaor of Bansayan, Ibango of Maribo, Digoa of Bacolod, Atoki of Borokot, Aloyodan of Minitepad, Aribo of Rogan, Datu Bimban of Taporog, Palawan of Bansayan, Olok of Ditsaan, Arobero of Pagayawan, and other *datus* from Baloi and Macadar [2]. This means that there was once a centralized leadership in Lanao and Magindanao and the leadership was by rotation technique, i.e. after the leadership of people from Lanao, then the leadership will be passed on to the people of Magindanao and vice-versa. Any centralized head of state would rule both Lanao and Magindanao at the same time. Sultan Monsing Macabando narrates that,

When the *datus* of Lanao arrived in Noling, they were surprised by the *kalilang* (festivals) being held. Dipatuan Kudarat told the *datus* of Magindanao and Lanao, saying: "I have a girlfriend whom I wanted to marry, allow me to propose to all of you, who among you would like to marry her, in case I do not want marry her?" One of the *datus* replied and said, "Let us allow Balindong B'sar to response to your proposal." Then Balindong B'sar said, "Yes, I will marry her if you do not want to marry her so that we would become a couple". Dipatuan Kudarat smiled and said, "My dear fellow how could you take my lady from me; may I ask all of you to stay here for few days while our festivities were going on. In few days from now, I will be enthroned as sultan of Magindanao." Dianaton Naim was dismayed when he heard that Dipatuan Kudarat announced to the crowd that he wanted to become the sultan of Magindanao. Dianaton Naim told Sultan Kudarat, "Oh, are you deceiving us? Indeed you deceived us, if your plan is to become the sultan of Magindanao then, starting from today the Lanao and the Magindanao should be separated, you will rule Magindanao and we will rule Lanao, so, we are going to leave you now"[2].

Sultan Monsing Macabando states that after they left the crowd, they went to Sugod in Parang, Magindanao to get their horses. When they arrived in Sugod, they hopped on their horses and started their travel way back to Butig, Lanao. At their arrival in Butig, they took a rest for a while and then started discussing on establishing a

sultanate in Lanao. Upon the consensus of all *datus*, they had chosen Balindong B'sar to be the sultan of Magindanao in Lanao whose title is *sultan a diagaborola*, which means someone who does not sleep for the sake of enforcing the teachings of Islam. Balindong B'sar said to the crowd of *datus*, "that is a brilliant idea and I would like to express my gratitude to all of you for that but I do not want to be enthroned here in Butig, Lanao. I wish to be enthroned in my birthplace in Taraka, so, we are going back home, after a month let us meet again in Taraka" [2].

Sultan Monsing Macabando narrates that a month later, the *datus* of Lanao were assembled in Taraka, the *datus* from Masiu were all present in the assembly, they were exhausted so they took a rest for a while, then they ate and began discussing. Balindong B'sar said to the *datus*, "We unanimously agreed that we will not have a single Sultanate like that of Magindanao, what we want is to make the four states of Lanao as co-equal in power and authority by creating them into a confederation of sultanates wherein each district of the principalities of Lanao shall enthrone their own sultan respectively... after a month let us all meet in Sawir, Lanao so we shall be closing this meeting" [2].

Sultan Monsing Macabando states that a month later, the Lanao *datus* were assembled in Sawir, Lanao; they followed the agreement which they all agreed in their previous meeting that each district of the *pangampong* (state) shall establish a sultanate. The Pangampong of Unayan which was one of the four states of Lanao was divided into East Unayan and West Unayan. The clan of Dozonan and Matanog took the leadership over the Pangampong of Unayan. The son of Matanaog was enthroned as the sultan of East Unayan, while Dozonan was enthroned as sultan of West Unayan. The Pangampong of Bayabao, Masiu and Baloi also enthroned their respective sultans [2]. Sultan Monsing Macabando narrates that the *datus* of Lanao were assembled again in Taraka. They also drafted the *taritib* and *igma* or *adat* laws of Lanao, after the Lanao *datus* had all unanimously agreed, they made a pact and pledged to the Qur'ān that each of them shall abide and follow their agreement religiously [2]. They spoke a ritual and uttered, "*tinimbakan* (they had gun fire); *linilayan sagui* (they hung hay leaves); *biomboran sa ombi* (they sprinkled ash); *pisaan sa orak a manok* (they broke chicken eggs); *biyotosan sa alad* (they ripped out a fence); *Giyoto i khasowa o minasaon a misogaton pun a giangkaia pat a mala a paninta sa Ranao, inontabo pagayon nayon siran taman ko pkababadan kiran* (that will happen to people who will misuse the *taritib* and *igma* of the ancient people of Lake Lanao and that these curses shall be faced by those people, however, they would be saved if and when they agree among themselves and their descendants to amend the *taritib* and *igma*. The closing ceremony of the said ritual signifies the historic reconfiguration of the leadership in Lanao and Magindanao. This was also the beginning of the separation of leadership of Lanao from Magindanao.

Sultan Monsing Macabando explains that the *taritib* and *igma* of Lanao shall be the bases in governing the states in Lanao. That time, they founded the fifteen *pagawidan* (superordinate) sultanates and the twenty-eight *pagawid* (subordinate) sultanates, they also revived the four states dividing the four states of Lanao and also the state's *barangay* (small villages) divisions. They also categorized and determined the other administrative division of the four states of Lanao such as the '*ulamā*', *imāms*, *gurus*, *bais* (queens or sultanas) and others [2].

Sultan Monsing Macabando says that there was no written agreement between the Lanao and Magindanao

Sultanates on the separation of the four states of Lanao from the Magindanao Sultanate due to the fact that both sultanates' descent lines sprang from Sharīf Kabunsuan [2]. According to Shinzo Hayase, Sharīf Kabunsuan was an Arab-Malay, and Bae Angintabo was a Maranao from Malabang, Lanao [4]. Sharīf Makaalang, an Arab-Malay-Maranao by birth, a son of Sharīf Kabunsuan and Bae Angintabo. Shinzo Hayase (p. 47) states that Sharīf Makaalang reigned as a sultan of Magindanao in 1536 to 1556; he was succeeded by his son Sharīf Bangkaya who reigned in 1556 to 1578; then he was succeeded by his son Dimasangkay Adil who reigned in 1578-1596 [4]. According to Cesar Adib Majul, Dimasangkay Adil was succeeded by Gugu Sarikula who was succeeded by Kapitan Laut Buisan, who was the youngest brother of both Dimasangkay Adil and [Gugu] Sarikula. Kapitan Laut Buisan reigned in 1597 to 1619; then he was succeeded by Sultan Kudarat, a son of Kapitan Laut Buisan, he reigned in [1616] or 1619 to 1671 [5]. Today, the descendants of Sharīf Kabunsuan and Bae Angintabo are the ruling clans of the Lanao Sultanate.

It is interesting to note that the Lanao Sultanate did not separate its naval and military power from the Magindanao Sultanate. According to Sultan Monsing Macabando, the Lanao Sultanate provided Iranons, Maranaos living in the seacoasts of Mindanao, and Maranao men from the Lanao mainland to the Magindanao Sultanate to form a military forces in their naval fleet [2]. He states, "that is the reason why it was said that the Magindanao Sultanate was governed by the Maranao people, and most importantly we can never change our history. It is also correct to say that the Magindanao Sultanate was governed by the Maranao people since the time of Sharīf Makaalang and even today [2]." This claim is acceptable due to the fact that the 1st Maranao-Arab-Malay sultan of Magindanao was Sharīf Makaalang, he was succeeded by his son, Sharīf Bangkaya, who was succeeded by Dimasangkay Adil, who was succeeded by Gugu Sarikula who was succeeded by Kapitan Laut Buisan, who was then succeeded by Sultan Kudarat. Dimasangkay Adil, Gugu Sarikula, and Kapitan Laut Buisan were sons of Sharīf Bangkaya from his three wives. All these sultans were all descendants of Bae Angintabo, a Maranao lady from Malabang, Lanao, who was the wife of Sharīf Kabunsuan, the first Arab-Malay sultan of Magindanao.

Today, the Lanao Sultanate is located in Lanao del Sur in the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao in the Southern part of the Philippines. There are four provinces that surround Lanao del Sur, namely, (1) Lanao del Norte in the northwest, (2) Bukidnon in the east, (3) Magindanao, and (4) Cotabato in the south. Lanao del Sur is bordered by Illana Bay to the southwest. It is teemed with hills and volcanoes, and endowed with green forests, wild life, flora and fauna. Majority of its land area is covered in thick forests. Its area is further divided into production forest and agricultural land (2,540.7 km²), and alienable and disposable land, which include land area for production, protected areas, and land areas for development [6].

2.1. Characteristics of Lanao Sultanate

Sultan Monsing Macabando states that the Lanao Sultanate is a "collective leadership in order to promote unity and strong brotherhood and the equality of the Maranaos. It is also a consultative Monarchy... which is equivalent to Monarchical Democracy..." The Lanao Sultanate was divided into division and each division was then divided into sub-divisions. There were fifteen states or sultanates which were ruled by fifteen *panoroganans*. *Panoroganans* were sultans of the fifteen royal houses in *pagawidan* (supported) states. The

division and sub-divisions of the Lanao Sultanate were ruled by the twenty-eight sultans who were called *m'babaya ko taritib* (houses of peers or policy makers) from the twenty-eight *pagawid* (supporting) states.

The sultans from *pagawidan* and *pagawid* states were inter-dependent on one another based on their *taritib* and *igma* of the Maranao tribe [7].

Sultan Monsing Macabando says that the *panoroganans* assume the authority, powers, control and supervision over their respective state.

The fifteen *panoroganans* of the fifteen royal houses were being assisted by the twenty-eight houses of peers from the twenty-eight *pagawid* states.

The main function of the houses of peers is “to legislate local customs, traditions and laws but subject to the joint concurrence of the royal houses, council of elders and the board of advisers [7].” Sultan Monsing Macabando explains that the council of elders and the boards of advisers are both advisers to the royal houses and houses of peers [7].

The decision-making process in the Lanao Sultanate is not a monopoly of the sultans but it is based on the consensus of the council of elders, the boards of advisers and other traditional leaders.

The chart below shows the confederate states of the Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century until today.

There are four major states of the Lanao Sultanate i.e. Unayan, Masiu, Bayabao and Baloi. The ruling clans of each state traced their line of ancestry from Sharif Kabunsuan who founded the first sultanate in Mindanao.

The state of Bayabao has three districts namely, Poona-Bayabao, Lumba-Bayabao, and Mala-Bayabao. The three districts of the state of Bayabao has nine *panoroganans*/superordinate sultans (executive bodies) and twelve subordinate sultans (legislative bodies).

The Pangamong of Bayabao was the largest state in terms of number of its executive and legislative bodies combined. The state of Masiu was divided into two: East Masiu and West Masiu.

The state of Masiu has only two executive bodies and four legislative bodies. It was the 3rd largest state in terms of number of its executive and legislative bodies combined.

The state of Unayan has two districts namely Butig and Domalondong. It has three executive bodies and eight legislative bodies. It was the 2nd to the largest state in terms of number of its executive and legislative bodies combined. The state of Baloi has no district. It is at the same time a superordinate sultanate which has one executive body and four legislative bodies. It was the smallest state [2]. The legislative bodies refers to the twenty-eight *pagawid* (supporting) sultans from the twenty-eight supporting states. Each of these states has *m'babaya ko taritib* or law-making bodies or houses of peers who were at the same time acting as governors of the twenty-eight supporting states.

Figure 1: The Lanao Sultanate Geo-Political Divisions

1. PANGAMPONG/STATE OF BAYABAO					
District	Founding Ancestors	The 15 superordinate sultanates/ <i>pagawidan</i> / executive bodies	Current Locations	The 28 subordinate sultanates / <i>pagawid</i> /governors/legislative bodies/ <i>m'babaya ko taritib</i>	Current Locations
a. Poona-Bayabao	a. Uмбаor	1. Bansayan of sultan Umparo 2. Taporog of sultan Amiddunol 3. Rogan of sultan Aribo	Poona-Bayabao	1. Talagian of sultan Sheik 2. Bubong of sultan Omilang 3. Bualan of sultan Onawal 4. Lumbak-a-inged, Sisianun of sultan Ayong	a.Poona-Bayabao
b. Lumba-Bayabao	a. Apha b. Okoda c. Ibango d. Digoa	4. Borocot of sultan Apha 5. Minitupad of sultan Okoda 6. Maribo of sultan Ibango 7. Bacolod of sultan Digoa	Lumba-Bayabao	5. Galawan of sultan Domaraag 6. Botod of sultan Dikaizadan 7. Taluan of sultan Alapang 8. Maguing of sultan Mamintal	a.Lumba-Bayabao, b.Wao
c. Mala-Bayabao	a. Ottawa	8. Ramin of sultan Akari 9. Ditsaan of sultan Olok	Ramin-Ditsaan	9. Marawi of sultan Gomisa 10. Marantao of sultan Gomising 11. Buadipuso-Buntong of sultan Macadiar 12. Antanga-Didagun of sultan Mayaman	a. Marawi b. Marantao c. Ramin-Ditsaan d. Saguiaran
2. PANGAMPONG/STATE OF UNAYAN					
a. Butig	a. Barakat	10. Butig-East Unayan of sultan Barakat	a.Butig	13. Ragayan of sultan Didaitun 14. Timbab of sultan Subor 15. Malalis of sultan Labiolan 16. Dolangan of sultan Ditucalan	a. Butig
b.Domalondong	b. Borowa	11. Pagayawan-West Unayan of sultan Arobiro 12. Bayang-West Unayan of sultan Diwan	a.Pagayawan, West Unayan, b.Tatariken, c.Bayang	17. Binidayan of sultan Baudi 18. Pualas of sultan Lawango 19. Padas of sultan Sandab II 20. Boribid of sultan Matanog II	a. Binidayan b. Pualas c. Tubaran d. Tatariken
3. PANGAMPONG/STATE OF MASIU					
a. East Masiu & West Masiu	a. Balindong B'sar	13.Sultan sa Masiu of sultan Racmatullah 14.Datu-a-Kabugatan sa Masiu of sultan Dialaloden, brother of sultan Racmatullah	Taraka	21. Lumasa of sultan Cadayon 22. Malungun of sultan Madayao 23. Pitakes of sultan Abagat 24. Lima-inged/five county: (a) Wato, (b) Tugaya, (c) Kalawi-Bacolod, (d) Madalum, and (e) Madamba of sultan Pondag.	a. Bacolod b. Taraka c. Balindong d. Madalum
4. PANGAMPONG/STATE OF BALOI					
a. Baloi	a. Alanak	15. Baloi of sultan Alanak	Baloi	25. Basagad of sultan Papas Anas 26. Matampay of sultan Radiali 27. Kabasagan of sultan Atongao 28. Lumbak of Bae-sa-Lumbak	a. Baloi b. Matung-gao c. Baloi d. Baloi

According to Sultan Monsing Macabando, the Lanao Sultanate has also the house of 'ulamā' (Muslim scholars or clerics). These scholars were the legal and religious advisers and judges of the Lanao Sultanate. The Lanao

Sultanate has the house of the four landmark sultanates, the house of the ladies (*bai, bai-a-labi* and *potri-maamor*). It also has *gurus* (teachers), *imāms* (prayer leaders), and *pananalsilas* (genealogists) who kept the genealogy of the Lanao ruling clans. During the Spanish colonization period in the Philippines. The Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century had *askars* (army) who maintain peace and order in Lanao. It had also military and naval fleet which then regularly joining the naval fleet of the Magindanao and Sulu Sultanate. These joint fleet were intended for military expeditions against the Spanish forces and military bases in the Islands of Visayas in the central part of the Philippines and Luzon in the Northern part of the Philippines. The Spanish forces were composed of Spanish men and Christianized Filipinos from the Islands of Visayas and Luzon. The Spanish leaders used the Christianised Filipinos in their policy of wars against the Muslim people in Mindanao whom they called Moros [2].

The Christianized Filipinos were used by the Spanish to invade the territories of the Maranaos tribe. According to Mamitua Saber, the Spaniards colonial forces pursued military, and spiritual campaigns towards the Maranao tribe in the shores of Lake Lanao. It was in April 4, 1639, when a Spanish conquistador Corcuera sent the first Spanish expedition to the Maranao inhabitants of Lake Lanao areas. This expedition was composed of Spaniards and hundreds of troops of Boholanos who were native people from the island of Bohol in Visayas. These campaigns were jointly commanded by Captain Francisco de Atienza and a Portuguese Recollect missionary, Fray Agustin de San Pedro. Atienza and San Pedro managed to entering alliance with some of the *datus* in Lanao.

In 1640, Corcuera sent Don Pedro Bermudes Castro to Lake Lanao. Don Pedro Bermudes Castro established garrison to establish the Spanish sovereignty in the areas of the Maranao people in Lanao. Later on, the Maranaos became suspicious and were alarmed by the threat of subjugation, hence, they drove back the Spaniards to the coastal areas in Mindanao. They also burned the Spanish installations in Lake Lanao. After this incident, the Spanish forces never return to the Maranao areas in Lake Lanao for over 250 years. According to Mamitua Saber, the Maranao tribe maintained their independent states under the confederate states of Lanao Sultanate which was free from European domination [8].

When the Americans came to the Philippines during World War II, they fought against the Spanish authorities in the Philippines for political control and power over the Philippines. According to Helen R. Tubangui et al., the war between the United States and Spain ended under the Treaty of Paris which was signed in December 10, 1898. Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States which it paid \$20,000,000 to Spain [9].

In the 19th century, the Maranaos were again struggling to resist another superior force, the Americans, and then later, the Japanese who came during the Word War II. If these superior forces did not come to the Philippines, it is likely that the fate of the Maranaos would be still under the sultanate system of government.

2.2. The Socio-Political and Religious Structure of the People of Lanao Sultanate

According to Mamitua Saber and Mauyag M. Tamano, “some tentative formulations might be stated about the narrow gaps between ranks and prestiges for their significance in behavioural relationships. Although an

individual generally derives his prestige from his kin-group status, there is a categorical ladder of individual ranks [10].” These ranks can be observed within the Lanao Sultanate’s communities as follows:

1. A *pagawidan* sultan: a highest rank, even higher than *pagawid* sultan.
2. A minor *pagawidan*: a titled man, a rank higher than a minor *pagawid* titled man.
3. A *pagawidan* non-titled man, a social rank higher than a *pagawid* non-titled man.
4. The rank of male enjoys is higher than that of the female.
5. The rank of adults is higher than children.
6. The rank of slaves is the lowest rank [10].

This categorical ladder of individual ranks in Maranao societies in Lanao Sultanate shows that there was a social hierarchy between individuals in terms of social status, age, gender, ancestral origin or descent lines, particularly in terms of whether a person is from the *pagawidan* and *pagawid* clans or not. Nagasura T. Madale points out that the *pagawidan* sultans and their followers occupied fifteen *pagawidan* (supported) states, and the *pagawid* sultans and their followers occupied twenty-eight *pagawid* (supporting) states. At that time, there were also *lipongans*, the lowest organizational stratum in Lanao Sultanate [11]. Mamitua Saber and Mauyag M. Tamano state that, “with the Moriatao Balindong as the capital, the Taraka District territory (where the sultan of Masiu still maintains his influence even after the succession of communities in West Masiu)” has been divided into *lipongan* groups.” The class of the members of *lipongan* was lower compared to that of the members of Moriatao Balindong. Individuals or groups who established a separate mosque gained an autonomous status. In the past, the *lipongans* in Taraka were called *agamas* (county). Mamitua Saber and Mauyag M. Tamano (pp. 62-63) explain that in Taraka, each community rendered service to the ruling class in the following manners: Lipongan A- which refused to be regarded as a *lipongan* due to a relatively better social status, “voluntarily” answered the utility needs of the two ruling classes. In times of war they gave military protections for the sultanate. They were a warrior class. Lipongan B- also of better status, kept the yellow and green royal flags of the sultan and his heir-apparent. Lipongan C- of relatively lower status, was composed of fishermen and land tillers who gave tributes out of their produce to the rulers and their families. They also served as warriors. Lipongan D- were carpenters and artisans charged with the construction and repair of the royal houses and the furnishing of a royal litter called *osonan* during enthronement, wedding, and funeral ceremonies. Lipongan E- were “light-keepers” who illuminated the royal houses during social and ceremonial gatherings. Lipongan F- maintained the environmental arrangement and sanitary conditions of the royal houses’ premises. Lipongan G- were charged with the work of replacing the worn out or termite-eaten huge posts of the royal houses. Lipongan H- kept the fishing equipments of the sultan and his heir-apparent. Lipongan I- carried the *osonan* litter during royal funerals [10]. The sultanate of Taraka was the capital state of the Pangampong of Masiu (State of Masiu), which was one of the four states of Lanao Sultanate. The different *lipongans* in Taraka assumed various functions and roles, respectively. The different functions of the state of Taraka were delegated to people based on their social status. We see different levels of hierarchy among the citizens of the state. The

fifteen *pagawidan* clans, and the twenty-eight *pagawid* clans were the ruling clans of the Lanao Sultanate.

2.3. The Descent Line Divisions and Hierarchies in the Four States of Lanao along with the Divisions of their Right to Place and Titles

The Figure 2 below illustrates the descent line divisions and hierarchies in the four states of Lanao along with the divisions of their right to place and titles. Figure 2 shows that the four *datus* who were brothers who founded the archaic *Pat a Pangampong sa Ranao* namely Dimaampao Kalinan, the founder of Unayan/Marogong, Batara Di-kilaten, the founder of Masiu/Maganding, Butuanen Kalinan, the founder of Bayabao/Dagodob, and Amerogong Topaan, the founder of Baloi/Mimbisa. These *datus* were descendants of Raja Indrapatra of Sumatra. Other *datus* namely Pascan of Unayan, Amiyalongan Simban of Masiu, and Popawan of Bayabao created the boundaries of the four states of Lanao as part of its *taritib* (order). The descendants of these *datus* had intermarried with the descendants of Sharif Kabunsuan and Sharif Alawi. The descendants of Pascan were Dozonan of East Unayan and Matanog of West Unayan. The descendants of Dozonan were Dianaton Naim of Butig and Domalondong. The descendants of Matanog were Arobiro of Pagayawan and Diwan of Bayang. Butig and Domalondong of East Unayan had four Law-Makers composed of four clans while Pagayawan and Bayang of West Unayan had four Law Makers composed of four clans as well. The descendant of Amiyalongan Simban of Pangampong of Masiu was Balindong B'sar. Masiu had four law makers. The descendants of Popawan of Pangampong of Bayabao were Borawasan of Mala-Bayabao, Gimbaolan of Poona-Bayabao, and Maniri of Lumba-Bayabao. Simbaan Akari of Rmain and Datu Olok of Ditsaan were descendants of Borawasan of Mala-Bayabao. Rmain and Ditsaan of Mala-Bayabao had four law makers. The descendants of Gimbaolan of Poona-Bayabao were Datu Palawan of Bansayan, Datu Aribo of Rogan, and Datu Benol of Taporog. Bansayan, Rogan and Taporog of Poona-Bayabao had four law makers. The descendants of Maniri of Lumba-Bayabao were Okoda of Minitupad, Ibango of Maribo, Digoa of Bacolod, and Apha of Borokot. Minitupad, Maribo, Bacolod and Apha of Lumba-Bayabao had four law makers. The descendant of Butuanun Kalinan of Pangampong of Bayabao was Alanak who founded the Pangampong of Baloi, of which, it had four law makers. Figure 2 also shows the relationship between elders, the *datus* and *bais* governed the *agamas* (smaller villages). The elders guarded and organized the descent lines, the distribution of titles and its creation. Figure 2 shows the social network of the *agamas*, the national and political and administrative system of four states of Lanao, its actual title holders, the economic status of the people, the population and marriages. Figure 2 indicates the fifteen *pagawidan* sultans and the twenty-eight *pagawid* sultans. Birte Brecht-Drouart states that, "the elders choose new titleholders, not only on the ground of their genealogical connections [12]." This means that the desired traits and characteristics of prospect leaders were scrutinized by the elders before they elect him to assume a certain rank.

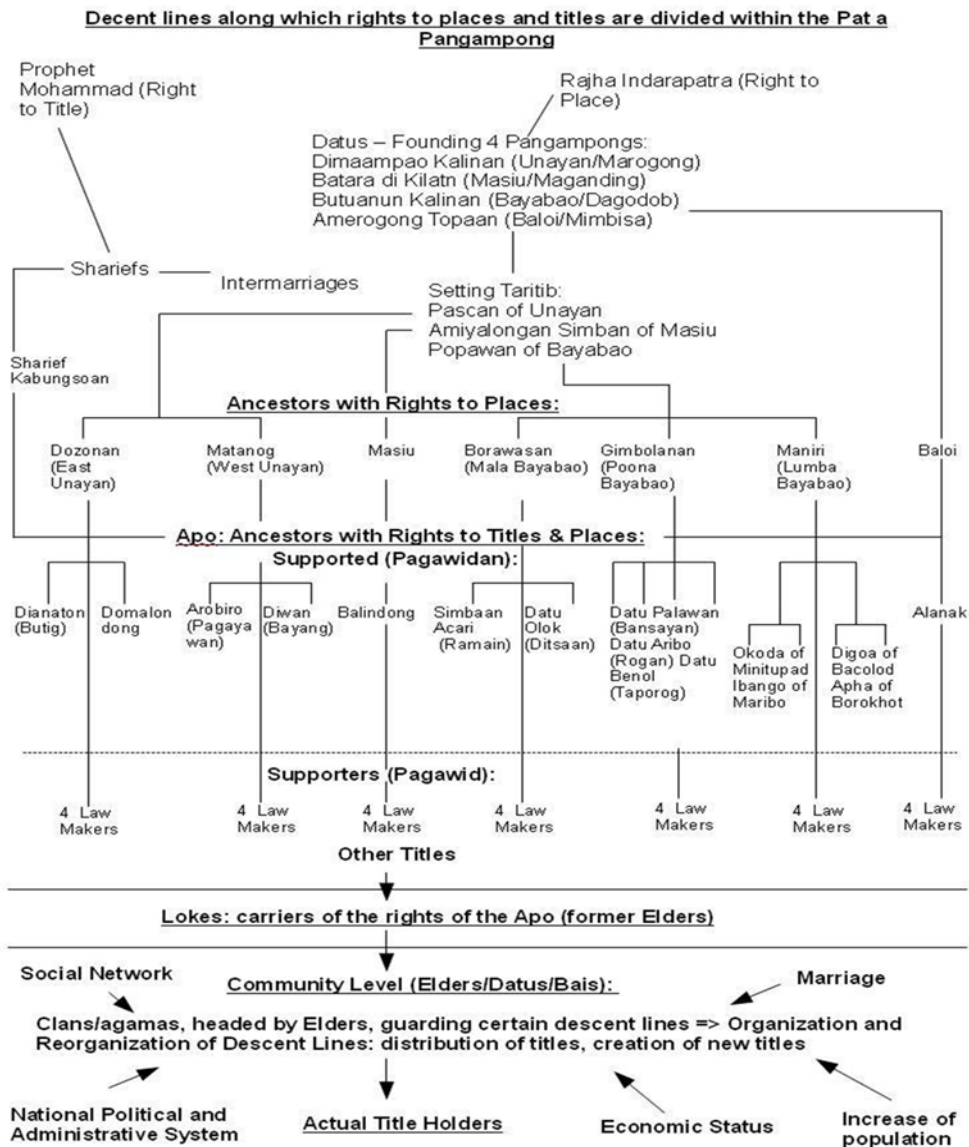


Figure 2: Descent Line Divisions and Hierarchies in the Pat a Pangampong sa Ranao (Four States of Lanao) along with the divisions of their right to place and titles [12].

Figure 3 shows the structural chart of the four states of Lanao. Birte Brecht-Drouart (p. 213) quotes Sultan Monsing Macabando, the political structure of the four states of Lanao is like the political structure of the Philippines government which has executive branch, legislative branch, and judiciary branch. The fifteen royal houses of the royal sultans were the chiefs of the executive powers of the four states of Lanao, and the twenty-eight houses of peers or the *duwa pulo ago walo a m'babaya ko taritib* were the policy makers or law makers or the legislative bodies of the four states of Lanao. The house of the 'ulamās' constitutes the judiciary powers of the four states of Lanao. The four states of Lanao had the house of the council of elders equivalent to an executive secretary and judiciary, the house of four landmark sultanates, the house of the ladies, and the house of board of advisers [12]. Birte Brecht-Drouart (p. 181) explains that the four landmark sultanates were the places of intersection and demarcation of the Lanao Sultanate, known as the *pat a inged a kiasosoludaan o*

bangsa o pat a pangampong sa Ranao[12]. Birte Brecht-Drouart (p. 214) says, the house of the ladies were the titled ladies i.e. *bai-a-labi*, *potri-[maamor]*, *paramata* (princesses), *bai-a-labi-a-gaus*. *Bai-a-labi* was the highest ranking title among the royal titles for ladies. Birte Brecht-Drouart states (p. 213), “The ‘*ulamā*’ were classified into three groups: *imāms*, *kalis*, and *gurus* [12].” The *imāms*, *kalis*, and *gurus* officiate the spiritual, social and religious affairs of the Four States of Lanao. They were also the religious and spiritual leaders of the community [2].

According to Sultan Monsing Macabando, the four states of Lanao had *askars* and army or warriors [2]. They were the military units and the peace keeping forces of the four states of Lanao. Nagasura T. Madale says that the four states of Lanao have *pananalsilas* (reciters, writers and keepers of genealogy) [11]. This genealogy was known as *salsila*. The *pananalsilas* memorized the content of the genealogy and they recite the lines of lineage in the genealogy during the crowning ceremony of the royalties and during royal wedding ceremony of the royalties. The members of the ruling clans and the commoners refer to their *salsila* to trace up the roots of lineage and the blood-line connections of a prospect bride and groom.

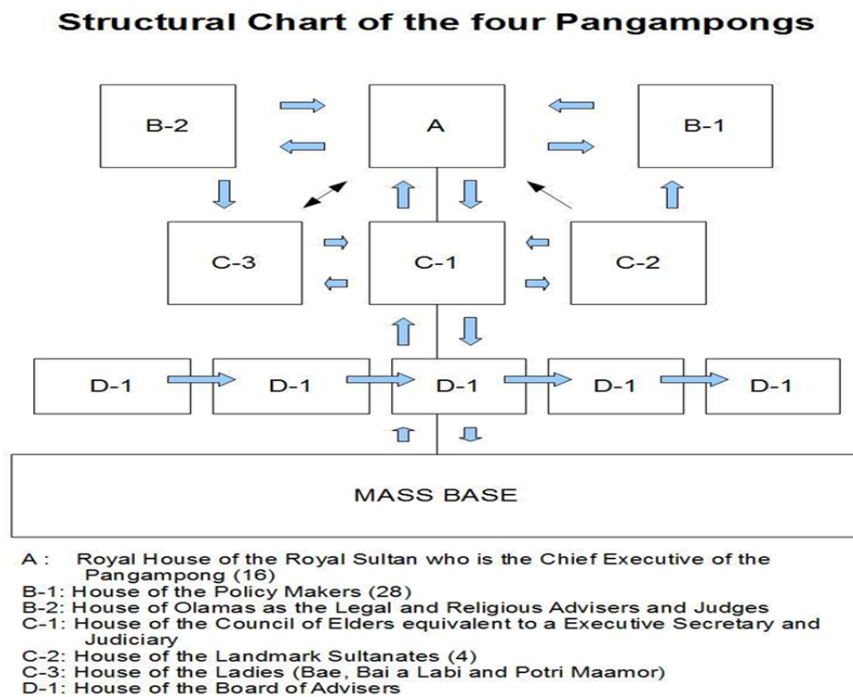


Figure 3: Structural Chart of the *Pat a Pangampong sa Ranao* (Four States of Lanao). Source: Sultan Monsing Macabando, Chairman of the Marawi Sultanate League, 2017. Marinaut, Marawi City.

3. The Traditional Laws and Islamic Laws of the Lanao Sultanate

The Agama Court of the Maranaos in the Philippines in the 17th century and today differs from the Sharī’ah Court in other countries where Sharī’ah (Islamic Law) is enforced. The Agama Court of the Maranaos applied both the customary laws and Islamic Laws in settling judicial cases. The sultans and the *datus* administered the Agama Court. Usually, the sultan appoints a deputy such as *radia-muda* (minister) and *datu-kali* or *kali* (judge)

to assist him in settling judicial matters [13].

Musib M. Buat (p. 99) says the procedure before Agama Court was rather simple to follow. The complainant may either file his case orally or in writing. If the *kali* found sufficient cause for action, the *kali* called the defendant to appear before the Agama Court so that he will be asked to answer the complaint filed against him. Trial and hearing were marked by simplicity. The plaintiff will be asked to state his case and present evidence. In any case, if the plaintiff cannot produce any witness or evidence to support his claim, then the defendant, if he denied the claim will be required to take an oath [13]. Musib M. Buat (p. 100) explains that in the olden days, on judgement and execution, the *datu* or *kali* executed judgement due to their power and influence. If and when the decision of the Agama Court was contrary to the law and custom. Appeal may be lobbied by the defendant to higher *datu*, and sultan [13].

According to Mamitua Saber and Mauyag T. Tamano (pp. 116-117), there are two laws governing the Maranao society: “(i) The *adat* laws which are customary laws, and (ii) the *kitab* or Islamic Laws [Sharī’ah] introduced to the society along with their religion [10].” *Adat* laws are composed of *taritib* and *igma* (Arabic, *ijmā*). Mamitua Saber and Mauyag M. Tamano (p.117) defined *taritib* as “ordered ways” or “established ways” while *igma* as “ordinance.” *Adat* laws, *taritib* and *ijmā* are synonymous and interchangeable [10]. Collectively, both *taritib* and *igma* refers to the *adat* laws which govern the social, political, and cultural aspects of the Maranaos. The *adat* laws also define the social and cultural relation of different villages.

Mamitua Saber and Mauyag M. Tamano (p.117) explain that *kitab* are composed of “(i) the *purkan* meaning “pathway” (i.e. the right way) containing the legal and moral provisions of the holy Qur’ān; and (ii) the *minahad* containing the codes based upon the *purkan* by Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). The *kitab* is shared by the Maranaos with the rest of the Islamic World [10].” In this respect, *kitab* refers to the divine teachings of Allāh (swt). Sharī’ah is a universal law which guides the social, moral and spiritual aspects of the Muslims. Mamitua Saber and Mauyag M. Tamano (p.117) state that “there are provisions of the *taritib* and *igma* which are enforced in all the four states of [Lanao] of the Maranaos. Still others have very limited application to a *pangampong* or state or to an *agama* unit [10].”

The four states of Lanao refer to Bayabao, Unayan, Masiu, and Baloi where the provisions of *taritib* and *igma* and being enforced. Mamitua Saber and Mauyag M. Tamano explain that the jury used *kias* as their legal reference in settlement of case. *Kias* refers to a precedent in the settlement of a previous case. In the past, the ruling *datu*s may legitimately requested an accused to come the Agama Court for the investigation of the case which the accused was involved. Prior to the inception of modern government, the widespread punishment imposed by an aggrieved party were: *saop* (vengeance); and *rabai* (pillage). Mamitua Saber and Mauyag M. Tamano (p. 118) explain that “the former” [i.e. vengeance] is still rampant when the modern authority failed to interfere or when the traditional offices lost control of the feuding families. Islam outlaws the sinful acts of vengeance and pillage [10].”

3.1. Penalties for Crimes and Penalties for Fornication

Mamitua Saber and Mauyag M. Tamano (p. 118) state that in the past, penalties imposed for crimes and fornication were:

1. *Kitas* (death penalty by execution);
2. *Olol* (enslavement for women convicts of high crimes);
3. *Radium* (stoning of convicts in adultery and incest crimes); and
4. *Kapangangawid* (“honourable” settlement with fine and compensation) [10].

The penalty for *zina* or fornication and incest is *radiam* (stoning to death). However, *kitas*, *olol* and *radiam* are no longer practiced “except in very rare cases in isolated areas.” While, *kapangangawid* “is still popular and often tolerated or accepted in the extra-legal settlements by the modern constitutional officers of the law [10].”

It is likely that *kitas*, *olol*, and *radiam* were used as punishments for specific crimes since the inception of the Lanao Sultanate, these punishments were no longer in used when the modern government was introduced in the Philippines during the American regime in the Philippines. According to Musib M. Buat (p. 100),

...During the American regime effort had been made to codify Muslim Law [Sharī’ah] and Adat Law of the Philippines. Act 787 which is the organic Act of the Moro province provided for the codification of Muslim Law and Custom (July 1, 1903). Act No. 1283 has also provided for the enactment of law to amend the substantial application of Philippines civil law and criminal law so as to modify and suit its application in accordance with the customary laws of the Muslims (June 13, 1905). Act No. 2520 also provided for the modification of the application of laws whenever the parties were Muslims. The provision of these Acts are not carried out. The new Civil Code Act 78, merely exempts the Muslims from the requirements of law such as solemnization of marriage. The only substantive law which recognizes Muslim Customary Law is Republic Act No. 394 which recognizes Muslim divorce for a period of twenty years (June 18, 1948) [13].

The new Civil Code Act 78 exempts the Muslim Filipinos from the requirements of the Philippines Constitution law on solemnization of marriage because of Islamic injunctions on polygamous marriages which was allowed in Islamic Law.

3.2. Code of Muslim Personal Law of the Philippines P.D. 1083

Azizan Abdul Razak explains about the book of Michael O. Mastura, in the introduction of his book Code of Muslim Personal Law of the Philippines.

The Code of Muslim Personal Law of the Philippines P.D. 1083 is the first Muslim law recognized by the Philippine Legal system. The process of the codification of this law started in 1973 when the Memorandum Order No. 370 was issued to create a research staff for the codification of the Philippines Muslim Personal Law. On April 1974, the Draft Code for the Administration of Muslim Law was presented to President Marcos. It was

recommended that a Presidential Code Commission would review the draft and submit the substantive aspect of Muslim Personal Law. On April 22, 1974, the Judiciary Code Committee of the Supreme Court invited the research staff to discuss the matter. On December 23, 1974, the Presidential Code Commission was created under Executive Order No. 442. The Office of the Research Staff was directed to serve as a commission secretariat [14].

In 1973, the Philippines President, Ferdinand Marcos catered the special needs of the Muslim Filipinos in the Southern Philippines. This was one of the great achievements of President Ferdinand Marcos during his regime despite of his being portrayed by his political enemies as dictator and tyrant.

Azizan Abdul Razak (p. 5) states that “after four years working, the Code P.D. 1083 was officially published in the Official Gazette Vol. 73, no. 20, 1977. Its date of effectivity was February 4, 1977. And the code had never been implemented until October 1985 [14].” The Code P.D. 1083 was implemented in 1985. It is likely that the Lanao Sultanate’s Sharī’ah Laws and *adat* (traditional) laws continue to operate until 1985. It was only in the 20th century when finally this code was in used in the Philippines.

According to Azizan Abdul Razak (p. 6), the contents of P.D. 1083 are: Provisions on Marriage and Divorce; Provisions on Succession; Provisions on Wills; Provisions on the Sharī’ah Court; Provisions on the Agama Arbitration Council; Provisions on Jurisconsult in Islamic Law; Provisions on Muslim Holidays; Provisions on Communal Property; Provisions on Customary Contract; Provisions on Conversions; Provisions on Bigamy; and Provisions on some offenses committed by Muslims [14]. Azizan Abdul Razak (p. 5) quotes Michael Mastura,

[The] compilation of Muslim Personal Law of the Philippines has underwent various challenges and opposition of both Muslim and Christian groups. The Philippines as the only Roman Catholic state in Southeast Asia and the Pacific cannot easily recognize Islamic Legal Institution in its own territory, in which the concept of separation of church and state is upholding. While a Filipino Muslim is not very happy with the kind of law going to be introduced because it only deals with the Muslim family relation and inheritance [14].

Criminal punishment such as *radiam* (stoning to death) for people who were proven guilty of adultery is not part of the provisions of P.D. 1083. Criminal Law is death with under Philippines Constitution. Overall, P.D. 1083 only deals with the Muslim family relation and inheritance as mentioned. Mamitua Saber and Mauyag M. Tamano (p. 162) says, on settling criminal cases before the introduction of Philippines government, the Agama Court of the Maranaos has officials, “they practice trial-by-jury composed of a council of *datus*, one of whom is a law-consultant called *kali*, and the contesting parties are represented by counsels called *wakils* [10].” This means that the Maranaos had established an institution where it settles criminal cases and disputes.

4. Results, Findings and Analysis

This paper primary concern is to explore the Islamicity of Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century. Thus, it is imperative to know whether the Lanao Sultanate was an Islamic state in the 17th century or not. According to Amir Hassan Siddiqi, to constitute a state, four elements are essential: territory, population, organization, and sovereignty. He explains further that, “Islamic state differs fundamentally from all other states” when it comes

to the 4th element of state which is sovereignty. He further explains that, “no state can be termed independent state unless it enjoys sovereignty [15].” In this respect, according to Sultan Monsing Macabando (pp. 19-20), the Lanao Sultanate were sovereign states. They had ancient traditional laws such as *taritib* and *igma* which guide their socio-political affairs [7].

In this view, Sultan Monsing Macabando (p. 18) says, the territories of Lanao Sultanate comprises of four states i.e. Unayan, Masiu, Bayabao, and Baloi [7]. Sultan Monsing Macabando (p. 19) explains, the socio-political organization of the Lanao Sultanate consists of “fifteen royal houses whose leaders assume the authority, powers, control and supervise over their respective state. The fifteen royal houses are assisted by the twenty-eight houses of peers or policy makers whose duties and responsibilities is to legislate local customs, traditions, and laws subject to the joint concurrence of the royal houses, council of elders and board of advisers [7].” Thus, the Lanao Sultanate met the requirements to form an Islamic state as explain above respectively.

According to Jastaniah Abdulaziz Saddiq (p. 1), “the Islamic state can be defined as a state in which authorities, organizations, individuals, and groups accept Islam as their religion and enforce its instructions in all aspects of life [16].” Based on this definition, the authorities and the citizens of the Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century were Muslims, however, the Lanao Sultanate in the said century had non-Muslim citizens who were the slave classes who were under the protection of their masters. These slaves converted to Islam by marrying Muslims [17]. In this view, Jastaniah Abdulaziz Saddiq (p. 1) argues,

The Islamic state can also be defined as the state of Allāh (swt) on earth, because the state’s leadership, authorities, and people believe first, that Allāh is the one and only one who is to be worshipped, obeyed, and followed; and secondly, Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) is Allāh’s servant and messenger. He was sent to all people on earth to inform them about the oneness of Allāh; to ask them to submit themselves to the will of Allāh; and to teach them how to worship, obey, and please Allāh (swt) as avoid his displeasure. He taught them how to govern and be governed; and how to build, direct, and guide their relations with other [16].

The oneness of Allāh is mentioned in the Qur’ān, when Allāh said: “*Your God is One God; there is no God save Him, the Beneficent, the Merciful* [18].” He also says: “*Lo! We have sent thee (O Muhammad) as a witness and a bearer of good tidings and a warner* [19].” These verses mentioned-above clearly indicate that there is only one God, and His commandments written in the holy scripture, the Qur’ān, and the Prophet Muhammad’s (pbuh) instructions are to be obeyed by Muslims at all times in every facet of their lives. Muslims were reminded by God to recognize their God and Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) who conveys good tidings and guides people to the right path. In this respect, Allāh says in the Holy Qur’ān: “*O, Ye who believe! Obey the messenger, and render not your actions vain* [20].” Abdulhamid Mitwally says,

The Qur’ān and the Sunnah contain the basic principles and the general guidelines concerning all aspects of life (social, economic, political, cultural, administrative as well as religious). These principles and guidelines must be both enforced and followed in the Islamic state. Further, details about the various aspects of life are determined in accordance with the need of Muslims to meet requirements of place and time as long as these details do not violate the essential directions of the Qur’ān and the Sunnah [21].

This means that the social, economical, political, cultural, administrative, and religious aspects of *Ummah* (Muslims community) must be in conformity with the teachings of Qur'ān and Sunnah of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). The Qur'ān and Sunnah guide the way of life of Muslims. According to Sultan Monsing Macabando, the establishment of the Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century was guided by the Qur'ān and the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) [1]. Sultan Monsing Macabando (p. 68) explains,

‘...Sabab sa so manga tao sa Magindanao ago sa Ranao na diran kalayaman so kadato a sultaniya na aya den piyakandato iran na so Sharīf Kabunsuan a pagam-paganay a sultan sa Magindanao. Ini pangenda-onian pun so ka-a-ator o kapag-inged a taritib ago igma, ago ini pasodian ko kataro o Allāhutaala, ‘Hay manga manusia mata-an inaden ko sekano sa phoon a mama ago babay go bialoyaken sekano am’bara-barang a bangsa ago pithikaloksan ka ankano maka khikilalai, sa mataan a aya lebi a seselaan rekano sii ko Allāh na sa maaleken rekano ka mataan a so Allāh i matao ago Kaip.’ Isa pen a katharo o Allāh, ‘Hay sekano wa miamaratiyaya onotinio so Allāh goso manga Nabi ago so kiyaopakatan rekano a pedio a ini diniyo ron sa kadatu.’ Giya duwa ini a katharo o Allāhutaala i piasonan o manga apo tano ko kiamba-ali ran ko taritib ago igma a ini tanor iran ko kaphaginged ago so kiapaka tindeg o manga kadatu iran sa Ranao. Orian nian a so kiyasuwa-a o manga datu sa Magindanao ago sa inged a Ranao ko kadatu a sultaniya, na so Sharīf Kabunsuan na liowasian so sultan sa Magindanao ko wata iyan a so Saripada Makaalang a wata iyan ko Bae Angintabo a Meranao na gioto i-aya paganay a miya sulutan sa Magindanao na Meranao ka so Saripada Makaalang na aya ina iyan na so Bae Angintabo a Meranao na aya ama iyan naso Sharīf Kabunsuan a Arab-Malayo... [1]’

The above explanation is in Maranao language, here its English translation,

...The people of Magindanao and Lanao were not familiar with the sultanate system of leadership, so, because of this, they asked Sharīf Kabunsuan to become the Sultan of Magindanao-Lanao. Sharīf Kabunsuan taught them how to organize the state based on the *taritib* and *igma*, and based on the words of Allāh, “*O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female and made you into nations and tribes that ye may know each other (not that ye may despise each other). Verily the most honoured of you in the sight of Allāh is (he who is) the most righteous among you. And Allāh has full knowledge and is well acquainted (with all things)* [22].” Another word of Allāh [verse in the Qur'ān] is, “*O you who believe! Obey Allāh and obey the Messenger, and those of you who are in authority* [23].” These are the two [Qur'ānic verses which are] words of Allāh which our ancestors [the Maranaos] referred to when they framed the *taritib* and *igma* of Lanao, and when they organized their state [Lanao], and the various ranks of people who possessed authority during the time they founded the sultanate system in Lanao. Finally, when the people of Magindanao and Lanao learned the sultanate system of leadership, Sharīf Kabunsuan, then, enthroned his son, Sharīf Makaalang as the sultan of Magindanao-Lanao. He was his son from his Maranao wife [from Malabang Lanao], Bae Angintabo. Sharīf Makaalang was the first Maranao sultan who became the sultan of Magindanao-Lanao. His mother was Bae Angitabo, a Maranao, and his father was Sharīf Kabunsuan, an Arab-Malay... [1].

The above statement tells us the historical, cultural, and the Islamic bases of the foundation of Lanao Sultanate. Historically, Lanao was part of the Magindanao Sultanate which had two political offices, one was established in Magindanao, and the other in Lanao, presently Lanao del Sur. The social, economic, political, cultural,

administrative as well as religious aspects of the Maranaos were guided by the teachings of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). An Islamic state has unique characteristics. According to Jastaniah Abdulaziz Saddiq (pp. 2-3), 'a state can be identified as an Islamic state when followings are met:

1. It [the state] believes in no other God but Allāh, and Muhammad is His servant and messenger;
2. It emphasizes the Qur'ān and Sunnah (together forming Sharī'ah) as the two most important sources of its religion;
3. It aims at spreading the faith and the religion;
4. It emphasizes equality and justice among all people, regardless of any differences such as language, colour, race, birth, or class;
5. It emphasizes the concept of brotherhood and peace to govern the relations among the Muslim communities and peace to govern, and guide its relations with other states;
6. It gets itself ready to defend its religion, people, interests, and boundaries against attack;
7. It accepts the principle of referring all matters that cause dispute to the Qur'ān and Sunnah for their final judgement;
8. It applies the concept of *shūrā* (mutual consultation) to decide Muslim affairs; i.e. selection of the head of state, proclamation or war, etc.; and
9. It enjoins the right and forbids the wrong [16].

In this view, I will explain each of the above-mentioned categories which characterizes an Islamic state in view of exploring the Islamicity of the Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century.

1. It [the Islamic state] believes in no other God but Allāh, and Muhammad (pbuh) is His servant and messenger [16]. In this context, the inception of the Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century was a result of Islamic influences. Sultan M. Macabando (p. 68) says. First, by Sharīf Kabunsuan, an Arab-Malay who became the first sultan of Magindanao and Lanao in 1515. He taught the people of Magindanao and Lanao the tenets of Islam and established Islamic leadership. Second, the religion of the people of Magindanao and Lanao was Islam [1].
2. It emphasizes the Qur'ān and Sunnah (together forming Sharī'ah) as the two most important sources of its religion [16]. In this respect, the Maranao tribe of the Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century referred to the Qur'ān and Sunnah as important sources of principles of their Islamic religion. This explains why they successfully defended their religion during the colonization period in the Philippines in the 17th century. "...The Maranao people defied foreign domination of their land even as early 1639 against the Spaniards. In a sense, the Spanish-Maranao conflict was part of the conflicts in Europe between

Christianity and Islam [1].” The Spanish saw the Maranao tribe and other Muslim tribes in the Philippines their enemy. Hence, the Spanish attempted to bring the Muslim tribes in the Philippines to Catholicism but they failed.

3. It aims at spreading the faith and the religion [16]. In this view, the Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century had organized learning institutions in spreading the tenets of Islamic religion. The *'ulamā'* transformed their homes as houses of learning. According to Sultan Monsing Macabando, by the 17th century the inhabitants of Lanao learned the principles and tenets of Islam from their *'ulamā'* whose main function is to propagate and spread Islamic knowledge to the community. The individuals who are interested to learn Islam seek knowledge from the *'ulamā'*. There was no *madrasah* (Islamic and religious school) in the past as it is today because the residence of the learned *'ulamā'* becomes school of learning for the students who want to learn Islamic teachings [2].
- (4) It emphasizes equality and justice among all people, regardless of any differences such as language, colour, race, birth, or class [16]. In this case, one of the functions of the sultan is to render equality and serve justice to individual, families, communities and the state [2].
- (5) It emphasizes the concept of brotherhood and peace to govern the relations among the Muslim communities and peace to govern, and guides its relations with other states [16]. In this view, the Maranao societies can best be understood from the aspect of their cultural practices. The Maranaos emphasized to observe *kambangensa* (blood kinship and strong bond and unity of clans and families) because *kambangensa* maintains the solidarity of clans, families and the whole society as a whole.

The foundation of *kambangensa* are *katotonganay* (blood-bond by having a common ancestor), and *kambabalaiya* (marriage-relationship). These two are pulling the *maratabat* (pride) of the Maranaos to show mutual support to each other. One way to describe this concept is when some members of the family face difficulty, the whole *bangensa* (clan) is naturally affected and eventually their pride pushes every member of the clan to render support... In the *datu-ship* or sultanate [system], when one member of the clan intends to bear the throne of a sultan or any sub-position lower than sultan, the whole family member of the clan give their support to any of their member who is going to be enthroned because a sultan who came from *sadorog a bangensa* (one line of descent) is believed to bring *maratabat* (honour) to the whole clan and its members [24]. This means that the Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century emphasized the strong collectiveness and unity of people. Birte Brecht-Drouart (pp. 177-178) says, the founders of the Lanao Sultanate had common ancestors [12]. Thus, they valued the equality of powers, unity and strong brotherhood between and among them. This also explains why the Lanao Sultanate had multiple inter-dependent sultans so that the political powers are resided and distributed to the Maranao tribe. In fact, the citizens and the members of the communities elected their representatives to represent them in various socio-political ranks in the Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century [2]. There was no monopoly of power in Lanao Sultanate as well as there was no single centralized power ruling the estates of Lanao Sultanate.

- (6) It gets itself ready to defend its religion, people, interests, and boundaries against attack [16]. In this

case, according to Mamtua Saber and Mauyag M. Tamano (pp. 25-26), the Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century had successfully defended its religion-Islam, the Maranao communities, their interests, and their homeland from the Spanish colonizers in the 17th century [10]. Mamtua Saber and Mauyag M. Tamano (p. 33) say, the Muslims in Mindanao fought the might of Spain for a period of 377 years [10]. This is the longest war fought in the world.

- (7) It accepts the principle of referring all matters that cause dispute to the Qur'ān and Sunnah for their final judgement [16]. In this view, the inception and foundation of said sultanate in said century went through a series of meetings and conferences called upon by different *datus* of different states of Lanao to arrive at consensus, and then later they finalized the establishment of Lanao Sultanate [2]. The social, political and religious matters which were being implemented in Lanao Sultanate went through consultations between and among the traditional leaders, the people and their representatives.
- (8) It applies the concept of *shūrā* (mutual consultation based on consensus) to decide Muslim affairs; i.e. selection of the head of state, proclamation or war, etc. [16]. In this view, the Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century emphasized the use of *shūrā* in every decision-making affecting the state. *Kapakipemumusawira* is a Maranao term which means consultation among people. Its root word is *shūrā* which is an Arabic word. Sultan Monsing Macabando (p. 19) says, the *igma* (consensus) of the sultans, *datus* and other traditional leaders of the four states of Lanao was one of the bases of the decision-making process of the four states of Lanao, namely, Bayabao, Unayan, Masiu and Baloi [7].
- (9) It enjoins the right and forbids the wrong [16]. In this case, through the teachings of the religious leaders of the community, the state serves as agency in leading the people to righteousness and the traditional leaders forbid the people from committing wrongdoings. These are few of the most important functions of Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century [2]. In a nut shell, the Lanao Sultanate met these nine enumerated characteristics of an Islamic state as explained each above, respectively.

5. Recommendations

The decision-making process in an Islamic state should be based on the divine words of God which He revealed in the Qur'ān. God commanded the Muslims to make their decision based on mutual consultation and consensus between and among them. From this context, the establishment of an Islamic state, head of state, rulers, and government must be based on the consensus of the Ummah.

These are other recommendations of this paper which are explain below:

For Muslim Filipino researchers:

The Muslim Filipino researchers and scholars who are interested in studying Islamic leadership during the colonial era in the Philippines and the current political set-up of the Philippine must examine the relevance of the wide-ranging contributions of Islam to the civilization of the Muslim Filipinos in order to understand how the current political set-up of the Philippine affect the traditional leadership of the Muslim Filipinos today. The

traditional leadership of the Muslim Filipinos is unique, advance, and older than the modern political set-up in the Philippines. Thus, it is recommended to the researchers and scholars to examine extensively how Islamic leadership today could help uplift the Muslim societies through using the national government policies for Muslim Filipinos.

For Philippines policy-makers:

The Philippines policy-makers, including the legislators i.e. the senators must have a better understanding of the dynamics of the culture and traditional leadership of the Muslim Filipinos so that they could make policies which address the needs of the Muslim Filipinos. The Philippines policies must be geared towards serving both the needs and aspirations of the Muslim Filipinos. All these can make the Muslim Filipinos feel not alienated and neglected by the national government.

For Muslim Filipinos serving local government:

Those who are serving in the local government unit of the Philippines must have thorough knowledge on the dynamics of Islamic leadership and traditional leadership so that they could develop a leadership style suitable for the Muslim Filipinos. Thus, it is recommended that they should study Islamic leadership through the lens of traditional leadership, in addition to peace building, justice, unity in diversity, and cooperation of people and the leaders geared towards achieving a better society and shared destiny.

For Muslim Filipinos serving the national government:

Those who are serving in the national government unit of the Philippines must study the historical context of traditional leadership of the Muslim Filipinos particularly that of the Maranaos so that they could implement leadership style based on the Islamic governance so that the wide-ranging social problems faced by the Muslim Filipinos are addressed. Islam condemns any form of corruption, through which, the life of the Muslim Filipinos shall flourish and develop.

For the Maranao traditional leaders:

It is recommended that the incumbent Maranao *datus*, sultans and *bais* must reflect on the glorious past of the Lanao Sultanate and on the objectives of Islamic leadership in the past so that their leadership today could become meaningful, dynamic, productive, and functional, where the Ummah could benefit from their leadership.

For the rest of the Muslim ethno-linguistic groups:

A bright future can be reached if and when people are united and cooperating each other towards achieving a better common goal. The Muslim Filipinos during colonial eras were successful in suppressing the oppressors. The current Muslim Filipino societies should revisit their own history, civilization, and leadership in view of learning from it.

For general Maranaos: The Maranaos are proud of their culture, heritage, religion and history. Thus, it is recommended that they continue cultivating their culture especially the traditional leadership which is guided by the teachings of Islam so that they could sustain their existence, development and address their social, moral, cultural and political needs.

For Maranao religious leaders: Religious leaders play a vital role in maintaining a peaceful, active, harmonious, and productive societies. The goal of Islamic leadership during the colonial era is to establish societies free from oppression. Today, the oppression of people comes from the Muslim leaders themselves and they no longer recognize the legacy of the traditional leadership. Thus, it is timely that the Maranao religious leaders should resonate their voices leading towards establishing leaders who are just.

For the royal families of Lanao: The royal families of Lanao must actively engage in promoting a culture of peace. Thus, it is recommended that their leadership must enjoin goodness, justice, peace and harmony. They must as well reflect on this paper findings on how Islamic leadership could affect effective leadership. For the Western scholars: The Western scholars who are interested in Maranao Islamic leadership and traditional leadership during the colonial era in the Philippines are recommended to read this paper findings so that they get a bird eye-view on the Maranao Islamic and traditional leadership.

6. Conclusion

This research finds that the laws applied in the Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century were based on Islamic laws along with the ancient traditional laws of the Maranao tribe which is the *adat* laws. The Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century was an Islamic state based on the findings of this study particularly the characteristics of Islamic state, and its wide-ranging functions. The Lanao Sultanate's traditional leaders successfully defended their territories and secured them. Their resistance to the colonial powers i.e. Spain, United States of America, and Japan during the colonial period in the Philippines help preserved their religion, Islam, their ancient traditions and culture. The traditional leaders and the Maranao societies strict adherence to Islamic traditions enriched their social, cultural, and political lifeways in the 17th century, which they passed on these Islamic traditions to their descendants, then to their descendants' offsprings then to the recent generation, these traditions have been continuously evolving across the spectrum of their lifeways, morally, spiritually, culturally, socially and politically. Today, the Lanao Sultanate continue to exist.

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