The Lanao Sultanate in the 17th Century Zakāt System With Special Reference to the Islamic Perspectives of Al-Māwardī

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ABSTRACT

Female Entrepreneurship is encouraged in Islam. History witnesses various example of Muslim Female Entrepreneurs. One of the Prominent names is of Hazrat Khadija (R.A) who is known as the successful business man during her era. As the female population is increasing there is need to become more important players in entrepreneurial landscape but with the Islamic traits by following Islamic teachings and special limitations regarding women. Islam always encourage the development of a utopian society that can be formed by the participation and role of each individual of the society. This study aims to provide an overview of the concepts and dimensions of entrepreneurial women in Islamic perspective in the light of previous studies conducted on the topic. The study will adopt qualitative method Vis a Vis exploratory research. This research will be incorporated with the literature covering the arguments from Islamic religious law relating to women's entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial roles of women in social change. This research will help Muslim women entrepreneurs to manage a business successfully and maintain good performance in terms of faith and belief in Allah the Almighty.

Key Words: Women, Entrepreneurship, Islam, Literature Review

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INTRODUCTION

The word entrepreneur is derived from the French verb entreprendre that means to undertake”. Entrepreneurship is usually linked with innovation in business (Azmi, 2017). Entrepreneurship is always encouraged in Islam as Allah swt has mentioned in Quran “Allah has permitted trade and has forbidden interest”. The importance of

1. Introduction

The Pat a Pangampong sa Ranao literally means the four states of Lake. This refers to Lake Lanao. The four states Lanao are Bayabao, Unayan, Masiu and Baloi. Within these four states are forty-three confederate states called agamas (sing. agama). Collectively, these states refers to the states of the Lanao Sultanate. The Lanao Sultanate was founded in the early 17th century after its traditional leaders seceded from the Magindanao Sultanate. The Lanao Sultanate had the traditional laws i.e. the taritib and igma or the adat laws or traditional laws and Shari’ah (Islamic laws). The political structure of Lanao Sultanate consists of council of elders, house of board of advisers, the house of bais (titled ladies), imâms (prayer leaders), kalis (judges), gurus (teachers), askars (army), pananalsilas (genealogy experts), defence units headed by a radia-laut (naval and army 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 sultans who were governors called m’babaya ko taritib who were also the legislative bodies or law-makers or the houses of peers of the four states of Lanao. The Maranao datus of Lanao who founded the Lanao Sultanate were inspired by the Qur’anic teachings on establishing an Islamic leadership. The founders of the Lanao Sultanate quoted from Qur’anic verse which they translated into Maranao language, it says, “Hay so miyamaratiyaya na onotiniyo so Allâh, onotiniyo so Rasulollah (s.aw.) nago so mga datu iyo. Okaka samok kano nandud kano ko kitabo o Allâh nago so sâbdan o Nabi Mouhammad (s.a.w.).” Meaning, “O you who believe! Obey Allâh, 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 Allâh and His Messenger, if you believe in

6 Ibid., p. 212.
Allāh and in the Last Day. That is better and most suitable for final determination.” It is clear that this quote is a Qur’ānic verse i.e. Sūrah An-Nisā, 4:59. 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.

3. The Foundation of Lanao Sultanate

The Lanao Sultanate was founded when it separated from the Magindanao Sultanate during the preparation of the enthronement rites of Sultan Kudarat as sultan of Magindanao. Sultan Kudarat began his reign as Sultan of Magindanao in 1616, this date was based from Dutch source. Basing from the Dutch source as stated above, it is therefore, that the Lanao Sultanate was founded in 1616, respectively.

The taritib and igma or adat law or traditional law of Lanao were the bases of leadership of the four states of Lanao, therefore, the taritib and igma of Lanao cannot be distorted and misused. During the foundation of Lanao Sultanate, its founders founded the fifteen pagawidan or superordinate sultanates and the twenty-eight pagawid or subordinate sultanates, they also revived the four states dividing the four states of Lanao and also the state’s barangay (smaller community) 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 sultana) and others.

There was no written agreement between the Lanao and Magindanao Sultanates on their separation due to the fact that the founders of both sultanates descent lines sprang from Sharīf Kabunsuan. According to Shinzo Hayase, Sharīf Kabunsuan was an Arab-Malay, and Bae

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8 Sohayle M. Hadji Abdul Racman, op. cit., p. 205.
9 According to Ruurdje Laarhoven (1986:34-35), based on a Dutch source, Sultan Kudarat was said to have started his reign as sultan of Magindanao in 1616. See the work by R. Laarhoven, We are Many nations: The Emergence of Multi-Ethnic Maguindanao Sultanate. In Philippine Quarterly of Culture & Society 14, no. 1:32-53.
10 S. M. Hadji Abdul Racman, op. cit., p. 209.
Angintabo was a Maranao from Malabang, Lanao.\textsuperscript{12} Bae Angintabo bore Sharīf Makaalang whose father was Sharīf Kabunsuan. Hence, Sharīf Makaalang has Arab-Malay-Maranao blood. Shinzo Hayase 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.\textsuperscript{13} 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 1616/1619; then he was succeeded by Sultan Kudarat, a son of Kapitan Laut Buisan. Sultan Kudarat reigned in 1616/1619 to 1671.\textsuperscript{14}

The Lanao Sultanate did not separate its naval and military power from the Magindanao Sultanate. The Lanao Sultanate provided Iranon people who were Maranaos living in the seacoasts of Mindanao and Maranao men from the mainland of the four states of Lanao to the Magindanao Sultanate to form a naval and military forces in their fleet.\textsuperscript{15} The Magindanao Sultanate was governed by the Maranao tribe since the reign of Sharīf Makaalang (1536-1556) and until the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. Sharīf Makaalang was the 1st Maranao sultan of Magindanao. He was succeeded by his son, Sharīf Bangkaya (1556-1578), who was succeeded by his son, Dimasangkay Adil (1578-1596), who was succeeded by his brother, Gugu Sarikula (1596-1597) who was succeeded by his younger brother, Kapitan Laut Buisan (1597-1616), who was then succeeded by his son, Sultan Kudarat (1616-1671). Dimasangkay Adil, Gugu Sarikula, and Kapitan Laut Buisan were sons of Sharīf Bangkaya from his three wives. These sultans were all descendants of Bae Angintabo and Sharīf Kabunsuan who was the first Arab-Malay sultan of Magindanao. The legitimate traditional sultans who ruled the Magindanao Sultanate from the 17\textsuperscript{th} century until the 20\textsuperscript{th} century were descendants of Bae Angintabo and Sharīf Kabunsuan, the founder of Magindanao Sultanate.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{13} S. Hayase, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 47.
The Lanao Sultanate is located in Lanao del Sur today. 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.¹⁷

The map of the Philippines below shows the location of Lanao Sultanate in the Southern part of Philippines in Mindanao Island.

3.1. Characteristics of Lanao Sultanate

The leadership style of 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-division. There were fifteen sultanates which were ruled by fifteen panoroganans. Panoroganans were sultans from the fifteen pagawidan (supported) states. The division and subdivision of the Lanao Sultanate were ruled by the twenty-eight sultans from the twenty-eight pagawid (supporting) states. The sultans from pagawidan and pagawid states were inter-dependent on one another based on Lanao taritib andigma. The Lanao Sultanate was ruled by the fifteen pagawidan (supported) sultans of the fifteen royal houses. These sultans assume the authority, powers, control and supervision over their respective pangampong (sultanate). The fifteen supported sultans of the fifteen royal houses were being assisted by the twenty-eight houses of peers or policy or law-makers from the twenty-eight pagawid (supporting) 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.” The council of elders and the boards of advisers are both advisers to the royal houses and the houses of peers. 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 and the boards of advisers and other traditional leaders of different agamas.

The chart below shows the confederate states of Lanao. 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. The State of Bayabao has three sukus (districts) namely, Poona-Bayabao, Lumba-Bayabao, and Mala-Bayabao. In total, the three districts of Bayabao has nine panoroganan/superordinate sultanates (executive bodies) and twelve subordinate sultanates (legislative bodies). Bayabao was the largest state in terms of number of its executive and legislative bodies combined. Masiu was divided into the East and the West Masiu. Masiu has only two panoroganan/superordinate sultanates (executive bodies) and four subordinate sultanates or legislative bodies. It was the 3rd largest state in terms of number of its executive and legislative bodies combined. Unayan has two districts namely Butig and

19 Ibid., p. 19.
20 Ibid., p. 19.
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Domalondong. Unayan has three *panoroganan* /superordinate sultanates (executive bodies) and eight subordinate sultanates (legislative bodies). It was the 2nd to the largest state in terms of number of its executive and legislative bodies combined. Baloi has no district. It is at the same time a *panoroganan* /superordinate sultanate, and has an executive body. Baloi has four subordinate sultanates (legislative bodies). It was the smallest state.\(^{21}\) The legislative bodies refers to the twenty-eight *pagawid* (supporting) states. Each of these states has *m’babaya ko taritib* or law-making bodies or the houses of peers who were also governors who were also sultans of the twenty-eight supporting states.

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21 S. M. Hadji Abdul Racman, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

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<table>
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<tr>
<th>1. PANGAMPONG/STATE OF BAYABAO</th>
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<td><strong>Suku or District</strong></td>
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| Poona-Bayabao         | Umbaor                 | 1. Bansayan of Sultan Umparo  
2. Taporog of Sultan Amid-bunol  
3. Rogan of Sultan Ario | Poonabayabao         | 1. Talagian of Sultan Sheik  
2. Bubong of Sultan Omilang  
3. Bualan of Sultan Onawal  
4. Lumbak-a-inged in Sisianun of Sultan Ayonga | Poonabayabao         |
| 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 |
| Mala-Bayabao          | Ottowa                 | 8. Ramain of Sultan Acari  
9. Ditsaan of Sultan Olok | Ramain-Ditsaan        | 9. Marawi of Sultan Gomisa  
10. Marantao of Sultan Gomising  
11. Buadiposo-Buntong of Sultan Macadiar  
12. Antanga-Didagun of Sultan Mayaman | a. Marawi  
b. Marantao  
c. Ramain-Ditsaan  
d. Saguiaran |

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<th>2. PANGAMPONG/STATE OF UNAYAN</th>
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The Lanao Sultanate’s Geo-Political Divisions

Figure 2: The Lanao Sultanate’s Geo-Political Divisions

The Lanao Sultanate has also the house of ‘ulamā’ (learned scholars). The ‘ulamā’ 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 which consists of bai, bai-a-labi and potri-maamor. It has also gurus, imāns, and genealogists who kept the genealogy of the Lanao ruling clans. During the Spanish period, the Lanao Sultanate has askars or peace keeping force who maintain peace and order in Lanao; it has also military and naval forces which then regularly joining the naval forces of the Magindanao and Sulu Sultanate. These joint forces were intended for military expeditions against the Spanish forces and military bases in the Islands of Visayas and Luzon. The Spanish forces were composed of Spanish men and Christianized Filipinos from the
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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 Moro.\(^{22}\)

The Christianized Filipinos were used by the Spanish to invade the territory of the Maranaos and other Muslim tribes in the Philippines. Mamitua Saber narrates that the Spaniards colonial forces pursued military, and spiritual campaigns towards the Maranao people 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 which is located in the central part of the Philippines. 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 chiefs or *datus* of Lanao. In 1640, Corcuera sent Don Pedro Bermudes Castro to Lake Lanao. Don Pedro Bermudes Castro established a 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 town 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 people maintained their independent nation under the *pangampong* (state or sultanate) organization which was free from European domination.”\(^{23}\)

When the Americans came to the Philippines, they fought against the Spanish forces in the Philippines for political control and power over the Philippines. According to Helen R. Tubangui, et al., the war between the United States of America and Spain ended after signing of the Treaty of Paris which was signed in December 10, 1898. Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States of America which it paid $20,000,000 to Spain to compensate for the cost of infrastructure which Spain has done to the

\(^{22}\) Sohayle M. Hadji Abdul Racman, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

\(^{23}\) Mamitua Saber, “*Maranao Resistance to Foreign Invasions,*” in The Maranao Man by Maranao men in Mindanao Art & Culture, no.4 Mindanao, a non-periodical series. Marawi City, University Research Center, Mindanao State University, 1980, p. 23.
Philippines. 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 Philippines, it is likely that the fate of the Maranaos would be still under the sultanate system of government today.

3.2. 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.” These ranks can be observed within the Lanao Sultanate’s communities, as follow:

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.

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.

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 fifteen pagawidan clans, and twenty-eight pagawid ruling clans of four states of Lanao. There was also lipongan, the lowest organizational stratum in the

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26 Ibid., p. 68.
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four states of Lanao. Mamitua Saber and Mauyag M. Tamano state that, “with the Moriatao Balindong (descendants of 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 [of] villages.” 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. Mamitua Saber and Mauyag M. Tamano 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.

The sultanate of Taraka was the capital state of Masiu which was one of the four states of Lanao. The different lipongans in Taraka assumed

various functions and roles, respectively. These 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 ruling the four states of Lanao.

3.4. 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 3 below illustrates the descent line divisions and hierarchies in the Pat a Pangampong sa Ranao (four states of Lanao, the Lake Lanao) along with the divisions of their right to place and titles. Figure 3 shows that the four datus who were brothers who founded the Pat a Pangampong sa Ranao, namely Dimaampao Kalinan, the founder of Unayan/Marorgong, 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 Indarapatra 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 Sharīf Kabunsuan and Sharīf 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 sultans while Pagayawan and Bayang of West Unayan had four law-makers composed of four sultans as well.

The descendant of Amialongan Simban of Masiu was Balindong Bʼsar. Masiu had four law-makers composed of four sultans. The descendants of Popawan of Bayabao were Borawasan of Mala-Bayabao, Gimbaolan of Poona-Bayabao, and Maniri of Lumba-Bayabao. Simbaan Akari/Acari of Ramain and Datu Olok of Ditsaan were descendants of Borawasan of Mala-Bayabao. Ramain and Ditsaan of Mala-Bayabao had four law-makers composed of four sultans. 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 composed of four sultans. The descendants of Maniri of Lumba-Bayabao were Okoda of Minitupad, Ibango of Maribo, Digoa of Bacolod, and Apha of Borokhot/Borokot. Minitupad, Maribo, Bacolod and Apha of Lumba-Bayabao had four law-makers composed of four sultans. The descendant of Butuanun Kalinan of
Pangampong of Bayabao was Alanak who founded the Pangampong of Baloi, of which, it had four law-makers composed of four sultans. Figure 3 also shows the relationship between elders, the datus and bais governed the agamas (villages/community). The elders guarded and organized the descent lines, the distribution of titles and its creation. Figure 3 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 3 indicates the fifteen pagawidan (supported) clans and the twenty-eight pagawid (supported) clans.

![Decent lines along which rights to places and titles are divided within the Pat a Pangampong](image)
Figure 3: 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. See Birte Brecht-Drouart (2011). “The Influences of the National Question and the Revival of Tradition on Gender Issues Among Maranaos.” PhD. Thesis, Goethe Universität, Frankfurt Am Main, p. 191.

Figure 4 shows the structural chart of the four states of Lanao. According to Sultan Monsing Macabando, the political structure of the Four States of Lanao is like the political structure of the Philippines national government which has executive branch, legislative branch, and judiciary branch. The fifteen now sixteen *panoroganans* or the sixteen 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* are the policy/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 has the house of the council of elders equivalent to an executive secretary and judiciary, the house of four landmark sultanes, the house of the ladies, and the house of board of advisers.29 The four landmark sultanes were the places of intersection and demarcation of sultanes, known as the *Pat a Inged a Kiasosoludaan o Bangsa o Pat a Pangampong sa Ranao*.30 The house of the ladies were the titled ladies i.e. *bai-a-labi, potri-[Maamor], paramata, bai-a-labi-a-gaus*. *Bai-a-labi* was the highest ranking title among the royal titles for ladies.31 “The ‘*ulamā*’ were classified into three groups: *imāms, kalis* (Arabic ṣādiq for judge), and *gurus.*”32 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 *agamas* (communities).33 The four states of Lanao had *askars* and warriors who were the military units or army, and the peace keeping forces of the Four States of Lanao.34 Nagasura T. Madale says that the four states of Lanao have *pananalsilas* (the reciters of genealogy).35 The *pananalsilas*

30 Ibid., p. 181.
31 Ibid., p. 214.
32 Ibid., p. 213.
34 Ibid., p. 217.
were responsible in writing the genealogy of the ruling classes of the Lanao Sultanate. This genealogy was known as *salsila*. The *pananalsilas* memorized the content of the genealogy and they recite the lines of descent in the genealogy during the crowning ceremony of the royalties and royal wedding ceremony. 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.

![Structural Chart of the Pat a Pangampong sa Ranao (Four States of Lanao)](image)

Figure 4: Structural Chart of the *Pat a Pangampong sa Ranao* (Four States of Lanao). Source: Sultan Monsing Macabando, Chairman of the Marawi Sultanate League, 2017. Marinait, Marawi City.

4. Al-Māwardī: Life, Works and Experiences

4.1. Biography of al-Māwardī

Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAli Ibn Muḥāmmād Ibn Habīb al-Māwardī was born in 972 A.C. in the city of Basra, presently in Iraq and he passed away in 1058 in
Basra. Al-Māwardī worked as a juridical adviser at the court of the khalīfa (caliph).\textsuperscript{36} Al-Māwardī wrote a book \textit{al-Ahkām al-Sultāniyyah w’al-Wilāyāt al-Dinīyya} (Book of the Principles of Government) in the 10th century. He set out his theory of government and the rights and duties of the ruler and the rules of delegated authority. The Caliphs and Buyids also recognized his diplomatic skills in the art of negotiation.\textsuperscript{37} There are other four written works of al-Māwardī that are relevant to the study political thought, namely, \textit{Adab al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn} (Ethics of this World and Religion), \textit{Qāwānin al-Wizārah} (Book of Vizierate), \textit{Tashīl al-Nazar wa Ta’jīl al-Zafar} (Facilitating the Judgement and Hastening Victory), and \textit{Nasīhat al-Mulūk} (Advice for Kings).\textsuperscript{38} The book, \textit{Adab al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn} was published in 1898 in Cairo, Egypt by Mustafa al-Halabī. The second one, \textit{Qawanin al-Wizāra} was published in 1929 in Cairo, Egypt by Maktabāt al-Khanjī. The rest of his work, \textit{Tashīl al-Nazar wa Ta’jīl al-Zafar} was published in 1981, while \textit{Nasīhat al-Mulūk} was published in 1986.\textsuperscript{39}

5. Findings and Analysis

5.1. On Administration of Zakāt

The Maranao tribe in Lanao are adherents of Sunni Islam, and they follow the 	extit{madhab} (school) of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī.\textsuperscript{40} The traditional governance of the Maranao tribe which is sultanate co-exists with the existing governance in the Philippines today. The foundation of the religion of the Maranaos is the Qur’ān which is a universal message of Allāh (swt) that was revealed to Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). The zakāt is one of the five essential duties of Muslims which they are bound to observe. According to Jastaniah Abdulazis Saddiq, in the history of Islam, there were eight major sources of wealth recognized in early Islamic state such as zakāt, al-


\textsuperscript{37} P. Bannerman, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 267.


\textsuperscript{39} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 232. See his footnote no. 2.

′Ushūr, Al-Jisyah, Al-Kharāj, Al-Fay’, Al-Ghanā‘īm, Zarā‘ib, and Al-‘Usr.\(^{41}\) I will not discuss the sources of wealth in the early Islamic states except for zakāt in relation to the Lanao Sultanate’s zakāt system.

Jastaniah Abdulazis Saddiq explain that zakāt is mandatory and must be paid by adult Muslims.\(^{42}\) According to Peter G. Gowing, Islamically, it is obligatory for a free, sane, adult Muslim to pay annually, in cash or in kind, the zakāt of 1/40 of the value of all property he owned for one year which is in excess of property required as necessities of life.\(^{43}\) Zakāt is paid for the welfare of the poor and for the way of Allāh.\(^{44}\) The collected taxes must be spent wisely in all areas that promote social development, social welfare, and security of the state. In Lanao Sultanate, the Maranaos paid zakāt to religious officials or to authorized zakāt collectors in the community such as imām. The school of Shāfi‘ī prescribed that only Muslims pay zakāt on following property: (1) crops from the field which are planted for food; (2) among fruits, grapes and dates are mentioned in the tradition; (3) camels, cattle, sheep, and goats; gold and silver; and merchandise. It is permitted to hand the zakāt directly to the persons who have claim to it.\(^{45}\)

The questions are: what are the Islamic rules in paying zakāt? Who is responsible in collecting zakāt? Who appoints the person in-charge in collecting zakāt? And what are his qualifications?

Al-Māwārdī, says that zakāt collector can be delegated or appointed by the authority i.e. caliph or delegated governor. The qualifications of zakāt collector are: he must be free (not a slave), Muslim, just, and he must be knowledgeable with the Islamic rules of collecting and distributing the zakāt. These qualifications are expected from a delegated poor-rate collector. However, such knowledge on poor-rate may not be required if


\(^{42}\) Ibid., p. 101.


\(^{44}\) Ibid., p. 17.

the poor-rate collector is appointed by the authority. Al-Māwārdī explains that “the office of legal management, therefore, has to do with collection and distribution, with pertinent to each.” This means that the judge may also collect and distribute the poor-rate if there is no delegated or appointed person to collect and distribute the poor-rate. The office of legal management may give instructions on zakāt rules to whomever is appointed by the state to collect and distribute it.

Al-Māwārdī says, “if the alms officer enjoys delegated powers [meaning he is delegated to collect poor-rate], he may follow his own judgement on points of disagreement among jurists, neither following the opinion of the leader nor that of public; the caliph may not specify for him how much to collect.” This means that the delegated alms officer or poor-rate collector may follow his knowledge on poor-rate rules as long as the basis of his knowledge on poor-rate does not violate the Islamic rules on poor-rate. Ibrahim Abdulrahman Tokhais says that a caliph or sultan may collect zakāt. Caliph Abū Bakr himself collects zakāt during his time as caliph. Abū Bakr says, “I swear to God that if they were to refuse me a female kid (sheep or camel or cow) which they used to pay to God’s messenger, I would fight with them over refusal of it.” This means that paying zakāt is important religious obligation, hence it was mandated to pay zakāt. It is paid in favour of the poor and the needy. It is a state institution, hence the state is mandated to collect and distribute zakāt.

In comparison, in Maranao societies in Lanao, Peter G. Gowing says that in the Maranao people pay zakāt to the zakāt collectors particularly the religious leaders i.e. imām and kali which they pay at the mosque. This practice corresponds to al-Māwārdī’s view on paying the poor-rate to mosque officials. The imām and kali are trustworthy, respected and

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49 I. A. Tokhais, *op. cit.* in footnote no. 16, in pp. 82-83.


51 *Ibid.*, p. 80. Ibrahim Tokhais quotes Caliph Abū Bakr saying, “The Right (of the state or community in the wealth (acquired by an individual), and by Allah, if they used to make over one lamb which they used to make over to the Holy Prophet I will fight with them.” See Abū abd Allāh Muhammad b. Ismā’īl Bukhārī, *Kitāb al Jāmi’ al Şahīh*, ed. L. Krehl (Leiden, 1826-1908), 24:1.

generally obeyed by the people. They have immense knowledge on the teachings of Islam including the Islamic rules on poor-rate so that they are entrusted to collect the poor-rate and distribute it.

There is no zakāt laws in the Philippines Constitution, hence, there is no government agency in the Philippines that regulates and manages the zakāt system in the Philippines. Peter G. Gowing explains that “some pious Muslims prefer to distribute the zakāt directly to the poor people in their communities. Muslim Filipinos recognize that beyond the duty of the annual zakāt, it is meritorious to give voluntary alms (ṣadaqāh) to the needy-and this is done especially in connection with Hariraya Puasa festival, often in the form of rice or money distributed to the poor.” This means that in Lanao, there is no restriction to people, in case, if and when, the people would directly give zakāt and ṣadaqāh to the needy individuals.

In Lanao context, paying zakāt was fixed, in case, the source of zakāt is rice. According to Manganacan M. Orogan, diyakat (giving of zakāt) “is religiously fixed to provide 1 ganta for every 10 gantas of rice. Before measuring the cleaned rice, the farmer would whisper: imanto na pagasad ako na isibay aken so diyakat ka, which means, I will start measuring and I will set aside the portion for the alms. The distribution of the diyakat for the poor signals the end of whole process of farming.” Rice is the most common commodity in Lanao and it is the main product of the Maranao farmers. The individuals whose wealth is not from rice or farming, usually, consult the ‘ulamā (scholars) or the imām on how much amount of money or value, which is to be deducted from their wealth i.e. gold, merchandise, livestocks, rents from agricultural land, income garnered from rents of their business establishments or shops, salary, business, etc. for zakāt.

Who are individuals entitled to receive zakāt? Allāh (swt) said in the Qur’ān, ‘As-Ṣadaqāh (here it means zakāt) are only for the fuqarā (poor) and al-Masākin (the needy), and those employed to collect (the funds); and to attract the hearts of those who have been inclined (towards Islam); and to free the captives; and those in debt; and for the Allāh’s Cause (i.e mujahidūn) – those fighting in a holy battle), and for the wayfarer (a

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54 Ibid…, p. 62.
traveller who is cut off from everything); a duty imposed by Allāh. And Allāh is All-Knower, All-wise.\textsuperscript{56} This means that aside from the poor or needy individuals, the slaves, debtors, travellers, zakāt collectors, and those who are engaging in struggle in the cause of Allāh are entitled to receive zakāt.

The social gap and economic gap are wide in Lanao, hence, high poverty. The Maranaos also give voluntary alms or sadaqāh. The poor and the needy receive voluntary alms i.e. cash, food or in kind from their relatives who have means of support. Other needy individuals, usually, go to their neighbours, or they go around to different places, from house to house, they would then inform the household owner of their dire situation, and would ask sincerely from them any amount, voluntarily, which is from their heart, meaning not by force or intimidation.

The Maranao tribe adhere to their belief system which supports this kind of method i.e. asking for voluntary support from others, to elaborate on this, the Maranaos believe in tulak balah, in this belief, they give money, food or in kind voluntarily to the poor or to the stranger, by doing this, this would block any bad omen or bad lucks that are coming to their way. Hence, giving little amount of money voluntarily to the poor comes easy and smoothly. The Maranaos also believe that doing simple act of kindness to others will be rewarded in the hereafter and increases their wealth and blessings. Slavery was abolished long time ago since the coming of the Americans to the Moro land during the 2\textsuperscript{nd} World War in 1945. Thus, there were no slaves in the Maranao areas who would be entitled to receive zakāt.

In the 1970s, during the height of the Mindanao conflict in the Philippines, there were rampant human rights violations against Muslims in Mindanao in the Philippines. These violations were committed by the arm forces of the government, the military. The Muslim or Moro rebels who fought in the cause of Allāh were mujahidūn. The leaders and members of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) were entitled to receive zakāt in cash or in kind.\textsuperscript{57} The Moros who were victims of human rights violations saw the mujahidūn as heroes.

When the Moro separatist movement has declined due to the aggressive peace talks between the leaders of the MNLF and the National government, the collection of zakāt for the mujahidin has stop, as a result,

\textsuperscript{56} Qur’ān, Sūrah At-Taubah, 9:60.
\textsuperscript{57} Mohamed Ariff, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 35-36.
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the zakāt payers gave their zakāt to the mosques officials like the imām. The rest dropped their zakāt and their voluntary alms to the donation boxes or baital mal in the mosques. Since the Philippines government does not allocate funds for the construction of mosques, some of the collectibles in the mosques were used for the construction of mosques, improving the mosque, and repairing the mosques.

The Maranaos give other forms of voluntary alms i.e. in kind, cook food, raw food and voluntary service to others. In Maranao societies, the imāms do not receive salary from the treasury of the national government, however, they were considered as zakāt collectors, thus, they may take a portion of the zakāt collectibles, justly. Islamically, the zakāt collectors are entitled to receive a portion of zakāt.

6. Recommendations

This study recommends that the zakāt system of the Lanao Sultanate in the old days, and the contemporary Maranao societies, be further investigated by scholars and researchers under the lens of the Islamic views of the contemporary and classic Muslim scholars on zakāt system.

The Philippines Constitution does not provide laws on zakāt system in the Philippines, hence, there is no government institution in the Philippines that regulates and manages the zakāt system in the Philippines. Thus, it is recommended that the policy-makers in the Philippines shall enact laws on establishing zakāt institution in the Philippines that applies to the Filipino Muslims only. These laws shall include the collection of zakāt and its distribution.

It is also recommended that the Maranao communities may elect among themselves the most qualified trusted-scholars and physically fit educated individuals who have immense knowledge on zakāt system, whom, they would be in charge in the collection of zakāt and its distribution to those who have moral rights to receive it.

It is recommended that the national government units of the Philippines must coordinate with the local government units in the Muslim areas in the Philippines to create an accessible institutions that caters the zakāt collection and zakāt distribution. In doing so, it would solve the widening social gap and economic gap among Muslims. This will eradicate poverty

58 Ibid., pp. 35-36.
59 Qur’ān, Sūrah At-Taubah, 9:60.
among the Muslim tribes in the Philippines. This will also create equality and economic equity among the Muslim tribes in the Philippines.

7. Conclusion

The existing practices on zakāt system among the Maranao people in Lanao del Sur today and in the old days corresponds to the Sunni Islamic perspectives of al-Māwardī on zakāt system. The zakāt system and practices of the Lanao Sultanate in the 17th century did not change until the 21st century.

This study shows that rice is the most common commodity available in Lanao and it is the main product of Maranaos. Thus, the rice farmers gave their zakāt in the form of rice. The Maranaos consult the scholars and the imām on the amount or value to be taken out from their wealth i.e. gold, merchandise, livestock, agricultural land, income from rents, salary, business, etc. for zakāt. In the Maranao societies, zakāt is also given directly to zakāt recipients i.e. the poor, etc.

It was not mentioned in the Qurʾān and in the Hadith that the collected zakāt cannot be used for mosque construction. In addition, the Qurʾān and the Hadith do not prohibit the use of zakāt for mosque construction. So, in the Maranao societies, the collectibles in the mosques were used for the construction of mosques, improving the mosque, and repairing the mosques. This practice is common among the Maranao societies due to the fact that the Philippines government does not allocate funds for the construction of mosques.

It shows in the study that the collection of zakāt and its distribution to the members and leaders of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) facilitates the operation of the MNLF in the 1970’s. The MNLF members were mujahidūn, thus they became instant recipients of zakāt.

This study shows that there is a need and demand for creating an institutions that cater the collection of zakāt and its distribution.

This study also shows that the collection of zakāt and its distribution can solve the wide-ranging social gap and economic gap among the Muslim tribes in the Philippines. The collection of zakāt and its distribution will eradicate poverty among the Muslim tribes in the Philippines.

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