

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF THE OKIR MOTIF IN LANAO AND SULU ART¹

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OKIR IS A TERM USED TO REFER TO A WHOLE REPERTOIRE of art motifs consisting mainly of plant forms that figure prominently in the art of Lanao and Sulu.² These two areas have markedly distinctive art forms but those who have had a close look at the motifs have alluded to either their similarity and/or identity (Szanton, 1963; Dacanay, 1967; & Casino, 1968). Although this has been apparent, no attempt has been made to account for its distribution in these two areas. Some vague generalizations have been made, accounting for its presence in Lanao as being a direct result of contacts with the surrounding groups, i e., the Taosug and the Magindanao, which idea is generally believed owing to what has been proved to be the order of Islamization of the major [Moslem] groups in southern Philippines. Although such may be the case, there had been no attempt to outline how such a process took place. Some of the socio-structural implications of its presence in both areas, which is the focus of this paper, reveal (a) the population movement in the two areas at an earlier period, and (b) the nature of two societies relative to the emergence of an art style.

But before any implications could be drawn from the distribution of the motifs in these two areas, some definitions should be made first of what constitute Maranao and Sulu art. This need to define the scope of the art forms, though sketchy, is not only necessitated by the notable lack of historical and ethnographic data, particularly obvious in the Maranao case, that may lend some light as to the relationships between these two areas, but more because of contemporary trends headed in the direction of making these two areas appear much closer and homogenous than anytime in the past. Due to a revitalized Islamic movement and the practice of putting together all the Moslems in southern Philippines into one political unit — not to mention the economic ties brought about by facility in movement between the two areas — are confusing the whole picture of what otherwise would be distinct

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²*Okir*, etymologically means to carve or to sculpt. It has identical meaning both in Lanao and Sulu, though there is a slight difference in phoneme. The people of Sulu refers to it as *okil* or *okil-okil* while the Maranao use *okir*. The latter form will be used in the text for consistency. The word is also being used here both to refer to the technique and to the art form.

units with their own characteristic features, and for the purposes of this paper with their own distinctive art forms.

"Moro art" has been the all-encompassing term which everybody uses to categorize objects coming from any of the nine Moslem groups in Mindanao, Sulu, and Southern Palawan. With the recent awareness among Philippine Islamic groups that the word "moro" has some derogatory implications, "Moslem" was substituted. So everybody now uses a term which is as non-utilitarian and non-sensical as it is vague.

An attempt will first be made here (a) to define the scope of the art forms of the two areas; then (b) compare the motifs in two particular objects from the respective areas to determine the links, if any, between them; and finally (c) outline the process that determined the similarities and the differences; and why it became highly stylized in one and not in the other.

I.

Although Lanao and Sulu have generally been conceded to be one culture area, there are major social structural and cultural differences between the two that stand out to warrant a separate treatment in order to achieve precision in the analytical process. The Taosug is being singled out here among the peoples of Sulu for a very brief comparison with the Maranao to illustrate the range of variation within any given culture area. The choice of the Taosug, rather than the Samal or the Badjao, was mainly determined by the dominant position that the Taosug play in intergroup relations in the Sulu archipelago. The Samal and the Badjao which will figure even more prominently in the discussion later, have far more differences between them and the Maranao.

In political organization, the Taosug traditionally adheres to a single sultan, while the Maranao have several. The Taosug unicentric power system then contrasts markedly with the Maranao fragmentary territorial conception with each area headed by a separate power unit. The Maranao have descent groups, a feature absent in the social organization of the Taosug. Language-wise, the Taosug appears to be intrusive into the area, resembling more the Cebuano, while the Maranao has its closest affinity with the Magindanao of Cotabato. This would leave only Islam as the only unifying feature between the two groups. But then, one could speak of Maranao Islam or Taosug or Samal Islam, for the mode of incorporating Islam into the indigenous belief system have again produced some variation in the practice.

In the same vein, classifying the art forms of Lanao and Sulu into one category is unjustified, for each exhibits a distinct character all its own. But in spite of this, a number of works have done exactly just that (e. g. Casino, 1968). No distinction was made at all of the major differences between the art forms of these two Moslem areas. There are of course some similarities but then the underlying differences in

the major art form are great as to merit a separate treatment. This difference is highly significant in the light of the presence of a repertoire of art motifs, in carving particularly, that are quite identical, and apparently drawn from the same source. No attempt will be made here though to determine the source, a significant undertaking, but for the moment outside the scope of this paper. Hopefully, the interactions between these two areas that brought about the development of a stylized art tradition in one area would be sufficiently treated.

Maranao Art

Determining the major art forms of the Maranao by using (a) the level of excellence it attained, (b) the extent of its influence on other objects of the material culture, and (c) the extent of its use relative to their concept of rank and status — as criteria, one would come up with carving, weaving, and metal work as the outstanding and representative achievements.

Contrary to what is generally believed to be the best art form of the Maranao, metal work in particular brass casting, is not truly representative of the best in Maranao art. To start with, it was and still is a highly localized skill centering in the town of Tugaya on the southwestern side of Lake Lanao. Although certain heights were attained in the brass casting process, especially when access to a higher quality raw materials was available, the Maranao brass pieces remained as crude copies of the sophisticated Bornean and Malayan brass items they were using as models. The method of the brass casting process as found among the Maranao is one of the crudest form of the "lost wax" process. With one notable exception, the silver-inlaid betel quid containers and several other objects done in the same inlaying technique, the brass tradition among the Maranao run along the same lines as the imported ones.

The *okir* motifs found in the silver-inlaid *lotoan* (quid boxes) are some of the very basic components of Maranao *okir*. Although, the *okir* in these pieces as well as those found in the early copper-inlaid pieces were mere outlines rather than a full execution of the *okir* design, the fineness of the workmanship otherwise merits one's attention as a variation of the same motif — the *okir*. It was more the limitations in the production process rather than lack of know-how that determined the eventual design on these pieces.

Brass pieces coming from Lanao do not necessarily connote their actual origin. A mass of items acquired through trading with Bornean and Malayan traders found its way to Lanao where they are specifically referred to as "boronai" (Brunei? Borneo?), possibly indicating by its name its actual origin. The "tourist art" objects of brass, though still painstakingly produced individually by hand in a crude process, and some which are "antiqued" properly to exude a desired age, is a poor imitation of the heights they formerly attained in the medium.

Weaving, on the otherhand, could lay claim to its really distinctive character. Although certain production techniques are identical or reminiscent of some Indonesian weaving tradition, the patterns produced have a character all their own.

It is said that sometime around the 1920's, one could actually distinguish where an individual Maranao comes from by the style and design on the *malong*, the tabular sarong-like native wear. The styles and designs are numerous and are quite distinctive from each other. The *babalodan*, a type of malong which technique is similar to the *ikat* process in Indonesia was an early favorite. Due to intricacy of producing this type, only some remnants of them can be seen now. A slightly different type, but still a tie-and-dye technique, is the *inandon*. This type is still produced at present but of a limited number.

The truly distinctive Maranao weaving was achieved in the *landap* type. It is a bi-colored panel malong with a separate vertical woven strip and two horizontal ones sewn into the body of the malong criss-crossing each other. These strips collectively known as *langkit* almost take as much time or longer at times in weaving than the whole body of the malong. The *lakban*, the vertical strip which is about six inches wide is the more elaborately done of the three strips. The two horizontal strips, the *tobiran*, are identical and half as wide as the *lakban*. The motifs on these *langkit* vary — from strictly geometrical, to geometrical with okir combined, to purely okir form. There is a whole series of designs in the *langkit* that could be categorized and identified with specific characteristic names.

There is also a whole range of plaids, stripes, checkered and numerous variations of it. These are the malong that were considered everyday wear before the textile fabrics and the *batik* cloth invaded the local market. On the other hand, the *landap* are considered ceremonial wear and great care is usually taken in keeping it and often handing it down as heirloom.

The difficulty in creating the okir motif in weaving due to technical limitations is hurdled in the carving art. Wood, horn, ivory, and bamboo were used as raw materials. Not only was it used in decorating the ancestral home, but it extended to ordinary household objects, implements, musical instruments, and others. It is in this medium that the Maranao attained a style that since had characterized the art motif of the group. This particular stylized motif was to be specifically used in the *torogan* (ancestral home), which is being singled out here as an object for discussion in a more detailed manner later, for it exhibits all the known elements of Maranao okir.

Sulu Art

“Sulu art” as used here refers collectively to the art forms found among the Taosug, Samal, and Badjao. The art tradition of these

groups is quite distinctive from each other but there is an underlying unity in that all of these groups occupy the same general area, have a high degree of interaction, and use a motif particularly in carving which they all call *okil* or *okil-okil*. Although "Sulu art" will be used to refer to them when taken as a whole unit, specific references will be made to highlight existing basic differences between them.

Szanton's account of the art forms of the people of Sulu, though reconnaissance in nature, still remain to this day the best reference on the subject (Szanton, 1963). He notes that the Taosug excel in weapons and housecarvings, the Samal in mats and coral gravemarkers, and the Badjao in boat carvings and wooden gravemarkers. The following discussion will focus on this particular guideline.

Presently, the Taosug have only the weapons, particularly the *barong* and the *kalis*, which they make with some distinctiveness. In the guard and tip section of the scabbard are mother-of-pearl pieces delicately carved with okir motif. Comparing it with the okir on other objects, one could say that on the weapons are found the best okir designs the Taosug have produced.

On the other hand, the okir in the gravemarkers is rudimentary at its best. There is just mere suggestion of the okir as against full execution as seen among the neighboring groups. This particular situation is suggestive of two things:

(a) As an intrusive dominant group, the Taosug resisted all influences and did not borrow elements from either the Samal or Badjao, whom they considered inferior; and

(b) It may have had a vital art tradition of its own, but being in the crossroads of the trade routes, the tradition suffered cultural bombardment leaving very little sign of its former existence.

But then, when one tries to look for the last vestiges of the former, not a trace could be found, but instead only snatches of several other influences are evident, but again only in superficial degrees. This all produces a picture of an artistically impoverished Taosug when compared with their more artistically flamboyant neighbors — the Samal and the Badjao.

The Samal have mainly been known for their outstanding mat weaving tradition. The mats of Laminusa as well as Unggus Matata are outstanding examples of the weaver's art. The Samal is lesser known, or completely unknown undeservedly, for their magnificently carved gravemarkers. These gravemarkers, which come in limestone and wood lay in abandoned sectors of the villages in scores of islands particularly in the Tawi-tawi group. It is in these gravemarkers that one could discern definite links with the Maranao okir tradition. Since this is the most outstanding product wherein the motifs are found, it is being singled out as the other object for comparison later, together with the Badjao gravemarkers.

The Badjao, the non-Islamic member in the Sulu triumvirate plainly excel in woodcarving. They lavish this particular skill on their houseboats, particularly on the prows, sterns, shafts on prows, and gunwhales. It is also used in decorating their wooden gravemarkers, which aesthetic appeal make it an excellent example of the best in Philippine primitive art.

II.

A comparison of objects from each area that extensively and representatively use *okir* will highlight the difference, similarities, as well as links, if any, of the *okir* tradition between these two areas. These particular objects were chosen for in them one finds most, if not all, of the known *okir* motifs in the group. By analyzing a representative sample, it enables one to have an excellent view of what could be derived from the two respective areas in terms of unraveling certain types of relationships that existed during an earlier period. Although, in the case of the Samal and Badjao the work is not probably as exhaustive as in Lanao for sheer extent of distribution of the objects in scores of isolated and deserted islands, but still what evidence is available at the moment is considered significant and maybe used as a basis for further studies.

The most significant work done on the Lanao art forms is Saber and Orellana's work on "the Maranao decorative designs and patterns" (Saber & Orellana, 1965).³ Working with local carvers known for their skill, they succeeded in delineating the specific basic elements that make up the intricate *okir* motifs among the Maranao. Each element has a name and is recognized by the carvers as component element in *okir* composition. Some of these basic elements are shown on Figs. 1, 2, and 3. The names given them are purely descriptive of either the shape and the form — deriving their names from the shapes and forms in nature. They are:

Matilak (circle), *potyok* (bud), *dapal* or *raon* (leaf), *pako* (fern or a spiral-shaped figure), *todi* (leaf with a spiral at one edge), *pako longat* (fern leaf with one cut at one edge), *naga* (serpent figure in the shape of the letter S), *obid-obid* or *tiali-tali* (coiled rope-like motif), *binotoon* (star-like), *kianoko* (fingernail-like), *pako nai* (fern leaf with two or more cuts on one edge), *pako lawi* (fern leaf resembling rooster's feather), *onga* (fruit), *piowas* (betelnut seed), *dianawi* (like a *nawi*⁴), *glat* (like a *glat*⁵).

³ Saber and Orellana's work which up to now remain unpublished was done with support from the University Research Center of the Mindanao State University. Figs. 1, 2, 3 and 5 were drawn by Mr. D. Orellana and originally appeared in the unpublished manuscript.

⁴ *Nawi* is a carpenter's tool used for chopping. It appears stubbier than an ordinary Philippine bolo.

⁵ *Glat* is an ordinary and small kitchen knife.

When these basic elements are brought together to form an elaborated motif, they attain a highly recognizable form, which in turn are categorized into specific characteristic names. The most popular, if not the only ones, are the following:

(a) *Birido* — a motif of growing vines or crawling plant, often in horizontal movement but may also be used vertically or obliquely (Figs. 3, 24, 26).

(b) *Magoyoda* — a motif where the serpent figure (*naga*) dominates and in repetitive arrangement elaborated with other leaf motifs (Fig. 4).

(c) *Pako rabong* — a motif of growing fern generally with an upward direction. Often characterized by a central point from which emanates all the other designs (Figs. 6 & 7).

(d) *Niaga* — composition with the *naga* figure dominating with elaborations of leaves, vines, & flowers called *todi* (Figs. 15, 21, & 22).

(e) *Armalis* — a combination of fern, leaf, and the bud (Fig. 3).

(f) *Obid-obid* or *tiali-tali* — a coiled rope-like motif often used as border designs on practically all compositions (Fig. 2).

The Maranao okir motif is so stylized that a Maranao will recognize right away whether an okir is Maranao or not. Any introduction of alien elements becomes obvious to those who are steeped in the traditional arts, who are usually the oldest members of the community. Certain pervading features are evident and the following are discerned to be some underlying principles in the composition of the Maranao okir.

(a) Blank spaces in an object is considered unaesthetic, so there is always an attempt to fill all available spaces with the motifs. The choice of the shape and the elaborations of a particular motif is dependent then on space available. If a particular space, for example, is horizontally conceived, the logical choice for a design is the *birido* motif. If it is triangular, the *pako rabong* will be the likely choice. This particular principle is evident in practically all the known carved Maranao objects.

(b) Symmetry is another underlying principle. Any form and arrangement within either side of any dividing line is identical. With the possible exception of the *naga* figure when used by itself, as in the carved beams of the ancestral houses. But as the central figure in the *lotoan* (quid boxes) the *naga* figure is always used symmetrically.

(c) Continuity of a line emanating from a central motif could literally be traced without breaks. The idea of a growing vine with its leaves, branches, tendrils, and bud is the model used in the composition; so that a broken branch with no obvious links to a main branch or has roots of its own, could not possibly exist. This explains the continuity of the lines.

(d) Some specific motifs have their uses in composition. The *obid-obid* or *tiali-tali* for example is used practically as a border design. The

binotoon is usually a center design; while the *potyok* is always a terminal motif.

This complete predictability of the permutations of a particular *okir* composition makes it extremely easy to identify a Maranao *okir*. Nowhere are these *okir* better carved and demonstrated than in the carvings in the *torogan*.

The Torogan

The oldest evidence of the flowering of the *okir* motif in Lanao is in the *torogan*, the ancestral home of the highest title holder of the major descent line within a community. It is a multi-family dwelling, with the closest relatives residing within the household. Big ceremonies are celebrated and held in the *torogan*. Weddings, wakes, religious gatherings make use of the *torogan* as the center of activities. Major conflict resolutions between individuals, descent groups, or territorial divisions are deliberated upon within the *torogan*.

The *torogan* is symbolic of rank, prestige, and status. Its erection connotes only lineage of the highest rank, for only the *dato* class and in particular those holding the highest titles are allowed to build such a structure. Its construction is only made possible through communal efforts, as a manifestation of the support for the ruling class, as well as an indication of the power that the ruling body wields within a particular area. Enormous efforts go into its construction considering the size of the structure (Fig. 14).

The *torogan* stands out in any community not so much for its size, for some members of the *dato* class may have just as big a house, but for its use of the *panolong* — the carved floor beam that protrudes in front of the house.

This beam flares out in an upward direction by adding another piece of wood and then heavily carving it, in particular lavishing it with the *naga* figure (Figs. 15, 16, 20, 21 and 22). Its particular location in the house is believed to drive away evil spirits which can bring misfortune to the members of the household. It is believed that the *naga* is worshipped by the evil spirits and the sight of the *naga* scare them away.

There are usually five *panolong* in the front and two smaller ones set on right angles to the last *panolong* on both sides. Apart from the *panolong*, panels below the horizontal, six-inch high windows that stretch between the *panolong* are also heavily carved, and some panels above it. The posts adjacent to the *panolong* where it is anchored are also carved, as well as some decorative roundish designs on the wide blank spaces that constitute the front wall. The concentration of the carving is right in the front of the house and could only be found minimally as one proceeds to the sides.

The interior is also carved, but there are some *torogan* where the only carved piece is the center beam or the "*tinai a walai*" (intestine of the house). This beam, stretching from one end of the house to the other, is usually heavily carved and with a characteristic tri-dimensional, three-pronged terminal construction. In a few instances, some posts supporting the gable of the roof are also carved. Otherwise, the whole structure inside is nothing but one big, open space.

What is significant about the *torogan* is its being the repository of every known Maranao okir motif. In it one finds all the varied permutations of a particular basic element in the okir repertoire. There is a range of variation though, for some *torogan* may contain more motifs than others, but basically a considerable number of the known motifs are always present in any one *torogan*.

The amazing uniformity in the lines of the structure of the *torogan* throughout the lake region is notable. It must have taken a considerable amount of time before this apparent spread of a stylized motif was achieved. But when it did it affected the other aspects of the material culture, and these effects were to reverberate and dominate practically all the carving that was eventually executed. This produced a highly stylized art tradition which for sheer unity is truly outstanding.

The Gravemarker

The extensive illustrations in Szanton's work on Samal and Badjao carvings as well as Dacanay's drawings on the same subject will provide more than sufficient material for anyone who has a more than passing interest in the subject.⁶ Ethnographic description of the gravemarkers are omitted here and reference is made to the above works which carry detailed descriptions of these objects. On the other hand, emphasis, is made on aspects that the above works did not touch on.

These carvings, both in wood and limestone, on gravemarkers found on scores of isolated islands particularly in the Tawi-tawi group are just about the counterpart of the Maranao *torogan* in the sense that one finds in these objects practically, if not all, of the Samal and Badjao art motifs. Arriving at this conclusion when one is not as familiar with the materials as its Maranao counterpart was not difficult, for the range of carved objects among the Samal and Badjao is quite narrow. Apart from the gravemarkers, only the boats carry carvings that could be called significant. Only very few other household objects are carved. Some carving tradition such as found done in Sibutu today is quite recent and corrupted; distinctly inferior than the ones found on the gravemarkers and the boats.

⁶ With the extensive photographs of Szanton and the drawings of Dacanay, it is thought best not to include any in this paper to allow more illustrations for its Maranao counterparts, which have never seen the light of publication. It is suggested that the works of Szanton and Dacanay be consulted.

The absence of an equivalent work on the Samal and Badjao okir motif similar to Saber and Orellana's on the Maranao did not particularly present a major problem for as it has been stated, the carvings are concentrated in just two major groups of objects. This facilitated the work of determining the range of the motif within the group. Some statement could now be made relative to the motif, as well as its links with the Maranao okir tradition.

The Samal and Badjao okir motifs belong to the same genre with some range of variation both in the appearance of the motifs as well as the way it is used. This variation may be accounted for by the cultural and structural changes taking place within the groups. As some Badjao groups became islamized, they shed their migratory, boat-dwelling patterns and usually settle in some territories near their fishing areas. Such islamized groups often ceases to be known as Badjao and after a while will be referred to as Samal, mainly for its Islamic practices — which is the distinguishing feature that marks off the Samal from the Badjao, their language being identical although with some phonemic variation. One way of understanding the interaction between these two groups is by viewing them within a continuum, rather than viewing them as entirely two separate ethnic groups. This particular orientation is most fruitful when examining their art motifs.

Representational human forms very evident among the Badjao grave-markers abruptly disappear from the Samal gravemarkers. There are certainly transitional pieces such as illustrated by Szanton (Szanton, Fig. 4) which show human forms on Samal gravemarkers in Muso, Siasi; and another group of human figures in Manubul, Siasi.

Even the use of the *naga* figure (same figure as in Maranao) disappeared among the Samal while it was consistently used by the Badjao as a base for their upright marker. The *naga* figure has been variously referred to as either a bird, a mouth of the crocodile, a horse, a sea-horse, etc. Since there is Islamic sanction on the use of representational forms, these forms are either absent or minimally used in the Samal graves.

By sifting the representational forms in the Badjao carvings, one is left with a homogenous motif and for the first time one becomes aware of the identity of the motifs between the Samal and the Badjao. Badjao graveframes noted by Szanton on Bunabunaan Island is identical to those seen by this writer in the graveyards in Manok Mangkao and Tonggosong in the Simunul island group. This is the "four poster bed-like structure" that surrounds a group of gravemarkers. So were a considerable number of the marker for female with the characteristics comb-shaped top. There is an obvious identity in both design and execution in these female markers between the Samal and the Badjao.

Carving is much more generalized among the two groups. There appears to be also no single dominating principle underlying the composition of the okir, unlike the Maranao. Everybody seems to be doing their own carving without drawing their motif from any central model, resulting in a highly individualized character of the work. In spite of this, there is still a definable range of variation of the motifs and one could categorize this range, but the absence of any dominating principle gives the okir composition a highly unpredictable character.

Another characteristic of the Samal and Badjao art motif is its representation of the forms in nature. Although, a similar approach is evident in the Maranao motif, alteration and some stylization takes place resulting not in outright copying of the forms but resemblance of the form being copied. While among the Samal particularly an attempt to copy exactly the form in nature is quite evident. Specific examples of this are evident in the graveframes, in the female uprights, as well as on the sides of the boat-shaped forms used as a base for the uprights.

The Links

Similarities and disparities are evident in the Maranao and Samal/Badjao art motifs. The disparities are more in the way the motifs were used rather than in actual configurational differences. The similarities, on the other hand, are quite striking and are too numerous to be just a product of coincidence. They are:

(a) The *pako rabong* motif, a common one among the Maranao is used extensively in the *sundok* or uprights of the Samal/Badjao grave-markers. The evidence on this is overwhelming. All over the graveyards, whether it be Samal or Badjao, a considerable number have always this particular motif. It has been referred to as the gravemarker for the female sex.

(b) In Tubig Indangan in Simunul Island, one finds a very distinct rendering of the *naga* figure which is identical to the Maranao rendition of it. It was on a limestone graveframe, and also shows a *magoyoda* figure on its initial stages of composition. This particular *naga* figure also carries with it the characteristic scales, which is a common rendering of the *naga* in the Maranao version (See Szanton's Fig. 20).

The "bird figures" Szanton refers to in his work are actually abbreviated versions of the *naga*. Extending the same design will produce a full blown *naga* figure. Some graveframes containing these "bird figures" were seen in Tonggosong in Simunul Island (a considerable site which Szanton missed). Though it does look like a bird, its characteristic letter S shape, its scales, as well as its highly distinctive mouth, makes it a *naga* — a figure that recurs time and again on the graveframes.

In one of Szanton's illustrations (Fig. 27 Szanton's) and in what he considers the finest carving he saw in Sulu, it showed a design of another piece adjacent to the central figure — the head of a *naga*, rendered exactly the same as the Maranao and elaborated with plant forms in the same tradition as the Maranao. He refers to it as possibly a "sarimanok of Lanao".⁷ A considerable number of *naga* figures carved tri-dimensionally and used as the base for the uprights were seen in Sitangkai Island. These figures with some slight variation is almost identical to the head of the Maranao *kutyapi* shown on Fig. 17. The practice of using the *naga* figure as a base is common among the Badjao. Szanton refers to it as *duyang-duyang* (see his Figs. 31 and 32), while Dacanay calls it *kora-kora* (little horse), and even contends the possibility of its being a seahorse (Dacanay, 1967).

(c) The *kobal*, or graveframe, often shows a continuity of the design identical to the *birdo* motif where elaboration of the motif emanates from a central point and from there a literal continuation of the lines until terminated by a bud or a flower. The only difference between the Maranao *birdo* and the "Samal birdo" is its rendition of the plant forms. Among the Samal/Badjao, outright copying is evident, while among the Maranao stylization is the rule.

(d) Other basic elements such as the *potyok*, *dapal*, *binotoon*, *obid-obid* or *tiali-tali*, *todi*, *pako longat*, *kianoko*, not to mention the compositions such as the *niaga*, *birdo*, *magoyoda*, *pako rabong* and *armalis* — are all part of the Samal/Badjao art motifs. But there are many more motifs which stem from the highly individualized approach of the Samal/Badjao carvers and this remains to be delineated yet.⁸

It appears then that the Maranao either borrowed the tradition from the Samal/Badjao or that both have borrowed from a common source. But with Time, the borrowed element underwent changes that led to dissimilarities in appearance as well as in principle in the composition, but still retained a body of common art motifs, from which implications shall be drawn in the following section.

III.

Identifying the sources of the traditions that are found among the Maranao and Samal/Badjao is not as crucial in this paper as the iden-

⁷ When the Szanton work appeared, Saber and Orellana have not completed their delineation of the Maranao okir which clearly made the distinction between the *sarimanok* and *naga* figures, which up to that time were totally confused. The *naga* figure used to be referred to as "the abstract *sarimanok*." It might also interest some to know that the motif on the permanent cover of this journal is the Maranao *naga* figure.

⁸ Some work is underway on this particular aspect.

tification of the agents responsible for the transplantation of the art tradition. Although the identification of the sources is a significant task that should be considered seriously, the present paper limits itself to what possible links these two similar motifs in two areas may have and their implications on the whole series of events that may have contributed to the stylization of the motif in one area and a highly individualized orientation in the other. With the absence of historical and ethnographic data, one should rely in one's search for an answer on contemporary ethnographic data, that may unravel some evidence of such relationship.

Population Movements

The kin-centered relationships of the Maranao have made them a very closely-knit group and generally shun being away from relatives. Physical proximity is highly valued and this is best illustrated by the pattern of multi-family dwellings. This need for intimacy as well as dependence on relatives have produced a fairly stable residence pattern within an area, proximity of which is punctuated only by some periodic trips to relatives who may have taken up some residence in another nearby town as a result of marriage. These periodic visits are part of a general pattern of not only fortifying but gaining alliances in another area where relationships with them are of a tenuous nature.

This need to stay in one's home village, which highly encourages endogamy, is further fortified by numerous myths, particularly those in the *darangen* cycles, tales, and stories that elaborate in great detail the exploits of their mythical ancestors amidst the splendour of the lake region. This conception of the land as symbolic of the unity of the group is validated by the extensive written genealogy, the *salsila*, wherein are recorded the names of all the significant ancestors, their titles, as well as their rank in the local hierarchy. Theoretically, a person should be able to trace his ancestry by consulting the *salsila*, and if one could not, it is indicative of his non-membership within the community, as well as his being a non-entity in terms of the local conception. If one is not a *bona fide* member, one may likely leave the place. But being one with a symbolic attachment to the area, leaving is almost unthinkable.

The Islamic religion is another factor that keeps most of them within the confines of the traditional area around the lake. The need for ritual ablution best facilitated by the proximity of the lake as well as the fear of pollution by contact with pork-eating non-Moslems have kept most of them in homeground.

But in spite of all these reasons, a considerable number had left the group either temporarily or permanently, and it is these movements that are relevant to our attempt to identify the bearers of the art tradi-

tion. Particular features of traditional Maranao social organization will give us clues to these movements, why they started, and their possible effects on the structure.

Traditional Maranao conception of social classes range from the *dato* class, to the *sakop*, and the *bisaia* or slave class.⁹ The *sakop* falls within the middle rank of the Maranao conception of social class. This conception is slightly complicated by their categorization of communities as to whether they are *pegawidan* (supported) or *pegawid* (supporting). This concept of superordination-subordination is determined by the proximity of the relationship of the common ancestor of a particular village to any of the major lines of descent. If the particular community is further away from the significant major descent line, it is likely that it is a *pegawid* community. It follows that particular titles or *grar* reside within specific *pegawidan* community.

A *sakop* lives under the aegis of a *dato*. He renders service in the form of labor in the fields, helping out in some festivities, sharing part of his produce, and helping the *dato* in battle. In return, he is under the protection of the *dato* and if he is in trouble, the *dato* would figure significantly in its settlement.

Deference is shown the *dato*. The *sakop* class could not build a separate mosque nor could it build a *torogan*, for to do so would constitute an insult to the *dato* and such infractions are easily and promptly dealt with, often with capital punishment.

Such restrictions may have proved to be too constricting for some and there may have been constant pressure to get out of the direct control of the *dato* and be independent from such constrictions. By resorting to other forms of occupation outside the *dato* realm, they can enjoy enormous amount of freedom which is non-existent in his home community. This condition may have led to the rise of a merchant group that may have initiated the whole system of itinerant merchants that is still a mark of Maranao' contemporary economic activity.

Traces of an earlier manifestation of this trading pattern are seen among the older members of the community, particularly in the *basak* (lowland, eastern side of lake) area who can speak a smattering of either or some languages in Mindanao and the islands of Sulu, some Bisayan languages, and Tagalog. Considering that there are absolutely no non-Maranao residents anywhere near the area, their knowledge of these languages is amazing. Inquiry reveals their having been a part of an extensive trading network in numerous places in southern Philippines and as far as Borneo. They travel far carrying with them at first locally-made produce such as woven *malong*, mats, brasswares, or jewelry. After exhausting their supplies of these, the money is then

⁹ For more extensive treatment of the subject, refer to Mednick, 1965. His work on Maranao social organization is definitive.

used and invested in non-perishable *sari-sari* store goods, stay in a particular region, and follow the market day patterns within a given area. They come home occasionally to visit their families or to get the families to live and travel with them. Some have permanently settled in numerous centers in Mindanao.

The moment they leave the lake region, they generally refer to themselves as *Iranon*¹⁰ — meaning “one coming from the lake.” The word attained general usage, so that now all the Maranao descended settlements in Cotabato and other places are known as Iranon and are listed in the official census as such. Kiefer states that his older informants in Luuk, Jolo speak of Iranon settlements before in different places in Jolo, and some other nearby islands (Kiefer, 1968a). What is even surprising are the Iranon settlements in Sabah, in the island of Borneo. Returning Maranao pilgrims relate of encountering them in Mecca. They still speak the same language like that in the lake region and have *grar* (titles) in their hierarchy with place names definitely derived from Lanao. This verifies their direct relationships with the people of Lake Lanao and this they know and claim in their *salsila*. Information on this Iranon settlements in Sabah is very minimal but at least the following places are said to be fully occupied by Iranon population: Tampasok, Kota Balod, and the foothills of Mt. Kinabalu.

On the other hand, a search for traces of either Taosug, Samal, or Badjao's presence before or now in any of the traditional area of the Maranao proved fruitless. Nor were these people known to be itinerant merchants or traders, as the Maranao have. The presence of Samal and Badjao proved more fruitful if one looks beyond the borders of the Philippines towards Celebes, Borneo, Sumatra and Malaya — where boat-dwelling cultures are known to exist (Nimmo, 1968). The trading patterns found among the Badjao and Samal are toward these directions, and only recently cut short by the Corregidor incident. Some trading is done on the Malabang (Illana Bay) coast as well as Cotabato. But the number is minimal and they only reach as far as the coast. There is no attempt to venture inland, unlike the Maranao who go into inland settlements and mix with all ethnic groups without great apprehension.

These Maranao pattern of trading may have been given further boost by the pattern of “institutionalized friendship” among the Taosug (Kiefer, 1968b). Kiefer speaks of non-kin alliances mainly based on friendship that enlarges considerably one's network of interaction. This situation may have proved to be most amenable to the Maranao traders who require exactly such types of relationships to sustain his

¹⁰ The root word for the term *Iranon* is *ranao* (lake). To indicate one's hometown, the letter *i* is prefixed, and depending on the terminal phoneme, *-an*, *-on* & *-n* is suffixed. *Iranon* is a contraction of *Irananon*. This particular term is more commonly used in the southwestern part of the lake.

enterprise. On the hand, the need for a kin-oriented relationship among the Maranao may have discouraged any enterprising Taosug, Samal, or Badjao from coming back. The difficulty of settling in an area where there are no kins may have proved formidable to the friendly Sulu-ans.

A picture then emerges as to some types of population movements that have taken place between the two areas at an earlier period. Straining against too restrictive impositions on the sakop class, a group of individuals initiated a form of occupation that eventually becomes a pattern of their economic activity. This particular development may be viewed as a "safety-valve" institution, a redirecting of disorganizing forces that can easily cause some degree of disequilibrium within the system. But what is even more significant was their role as agents of cultural transmission. In their numerous trading expeditions, they may have been attracted to some salient elements in the other culture. The boat-dwelling Badjao with their heavily-carved boats and gravemarkers may have attracted their interest. This particular aspect of the Badjao material culture would not have escaped them, for they are the most outstanding manifestation of their material culture. The active trading role the Maranao played, as well as the absence of evidence that the Sulu-ans ventured into the traditional Maranao area, show definite indications of the direction of the flow of cultural influences.

Further evidence of some degree of dispersion of Maranao population that may have possible effects in bringing about certain elements into the Maranao art tradition is their institution of "self-help", that often culminate in long-drawn and intense blood feuds.

If one were to describe the power system among the Maranao the adjective that would best describe it is "multi-centric". There is no one point within the structure wherein power emanates and is controlled. Conflicts, potential and actual, characterize the whole society and often threaten to create mass disorder. These numerous conflict situations are ever present, for the basis of interaction is kinship. Non-kin interaction is always fraught with either jealousies, distrusts, competition, and open conflicts. Highly particularistic interpretation of specific mode of behavior largely aggravate instances which in other situation could be amicably settled. Not even the intervention of a *dato* guarantees that a conflict will be resolved. If a party feels still aggrieved about a decision, though he may outwardly accede to the decision, may on his own, carry out what he thinks could restore to him what is rightfully his. This situation could lead to a long-drawn out and bloody encounter between portagonists and at times may spell the disappearance overnight of a descent group to escape retaliation or punitive action from some offended parties.

An incident in Taraka (Lanao del Sur) in 1966 illustrates dramatically this point. After an incident where somebody died, the whole kin group extending up to the third cousin of the killer disappeared

overnight, leaving behind them their houses, their land, and other properties. Only the barest needs and valuables were taken. Although such incidents seldom occur now due to the introduction of the monetary system which facilitates the compensation of offended parties, a considerable number may have occurred with some regularity at an earlier period.

Proofs of these are numerous settlements in and around Cotabato whose reason for migration is to avoid open conflict. Checking two communities in Midsayap, Cotabato, the writer discovered that such was the case. The small settlements of Kapinpilan and Sambulawan are populated by Iranon who had escaped from the lake region after retaliating. There are still a great number of Iranon communities in Cotabato, as evidenced from official census figures and it would be interesting to find out the reason of their departure from the lake area.

The Iranon settlements in Jolo mentioned earlier by Kiefer may have been results of these encounters. And it would also be interesting to find out the reason for the Maranao migration to Sabah.

These mass migrations of kin-related groups may have led to the establishment of nuclear communities in areas where they may likely have been recipients of some cultural domination, being in a minority. The interactions between them have led to the incorporation of the cultural elements, which may in turn have been transmitted by them as they made some visits to the lake, years after the actual encounters. Some visited and decided to stay; as most Maranao do. But others leave and unknowingly become catalysts in the spread of an art tradition.

The Emergence of an Art Style

The achievement of a distinctive style in art is not dependent on any one single factor nor the presence of several others assures stylization either. But it is the presence of the right combinations of factors that will make the difference. Relative to our focus, we will highlight three conditions that contributed to the emergence of an art style in one and the incipience in another. These were to determine the direction each of the art motifs took in terms of development.

(a) *Geographic isolation.* Ecology plays a vital role in the incorporation of any element coming from another system. Climatic conditions, geographical location, availability of raw materials, to mention only a few, can drastically affect the direction by which any art element being incorporated into another structure will take. In our particular focus, the role of the geographic isolation of the groups is of great significance.

The lake region of Lanao is an inland settlement nestled some 2,300 feet above sea level. Even up to this day, there is only one bumpy road that winds up some thirty-seven kilometers from the coast of Iligan

Bay on the north to Marawi, the center. Another road connects the lake region from the town of Ganassi on the southwestern part of the lake to Malabang, some 30 kilometers, on the coast of Illana Bay. During an earlier period it may have been much more isolated and traveling in the area may have been extremely difficult. This geographic isolation was an advantageous factor that had enabled them to maintain their autonomy leading to their being the last of the major Moslem groups in the Philippines to be islamized. This geographic isolation was to be reinforced further internally, after attempts were made by colonial powers to dominate the area.

The only influence that must have filtered in are those brought by the itinerant merchants, who in their travels have been witnesses of as well as participants in a totally different cultural milieu. These agents of change may have already selectively brought in ideas which would readily be acceptable.

This ability of any particular group to selectively screen elements coming into the culture, allows incorporated elements to take roots minus the accompanying disrupting effects of social disorganization that usually characterize the dynamics of such a process where coercion is involved. In such environments a conducive situation for the development of a new element is ever present. In the case of Lanao such a condition greatly contributed to the emergence of an art style, that has definite identity and consistency in its principles of composition.

Such conditions for development were not present in the case of Sulu. For centuries Sulu, particularly Jolo had been a thriving center and was on the path of the trade route that emanates from China going toward the southern ports of Celebes and Sumatra, and west towards the Malay peninsula. Considering that the Taosug may have been constantly bombarded by hordes of influences, it is expected that no art tradition of major consequence would develop. Instead disparate elements that may have no links with each other may be present and this is what contemporary data lead us believe in the case of the Taosug.

On the other hand, the outer islands of Sulu, particularly the Tawitawi group may have had a tradition to start with or may have borrowed from others, but they have managed to retain a large degree of their traditional elements. Their migratory patterns that allow facility in movement when they do not wish to be imposed upon keep them isolated. As a consequence of this selective isolation they have managed to retain a considerable distinctiveness in their art forms.

But as Islamic influence crept in, it wrought havoc on their traditional art forms. The islamized Samal in particular is an illustration of this. They abandoned their earlier carving tradition relative to mortuary practices that appeared to be non-Islamic. The art form underwent transformation, robbing it of some of its original vigor. The fact that

a considerable number of their carvings survived depended not so much on the intensity by which they have pursued this particular skill, but it was due to the durability of the limestone slab they used as raw material. It withstood the elements; and they still exist in many islands in Sulu today.

For successfully resisting islamization and persisting on their migratory residential patterns, the Badjao art forms flourished but their exclusive use of wood as raw materials did not contribute to the preservation of their art that would enable studies of their earlier manifestations made possible. The selective isolation of the Badjao may differ with the geographic and forced isolation of the Maranao. But the results were the same: that of shielding the traditional art forms from destructive intrusion.

(b) *The existence of an incipient art tradition.* Another factor that may contribute to the development of the art forms in a group is whether there exists an indigenous base developing along the lines of the new element being incorporated. If the base were such in an incipient stage, but shows positive signs of vitality, the introduction of new elements would enhance the development of such a tradition.

In the case of Lanao, there was such a start of an indigenous development at the time of the introduction of the new elements. This tradition is characterized by strictly geometric motifs and patterns.¹¹ Evidences of these are found in some houses in Molundo, Pagalongan, and Bubong — all in the *basak* (lowland) area of the lake region. These houses have nothing but geometric motifs all over and differ markedly from the *torogan* both in lines and in construction. Its state of preservation indicates its belonging to an earlier genre than the *torogan*. This assumption is based on the principle that no person except the highest title holder could build a *torogan* or any structure that would set it apart from the rest. Since these particular houses' motifs set them apart from the rest, it is contended that these structures are the forerunners of the *torogan*.

Other manifestations of an earlier carving tradition are evident in some Maranao objects shown on Figs. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 & 13 — which all show a variety of *okir* that is definitely non-Maranao-ish in character and is strongly reminiscent of the highly individualistic style of the Badjao. These objects which are definitely of a much earlier genre than the *torogan* may very well have served as earlier models for *okir* composition. But if it is of indigenous development, it certainly would be the precursor of the *okir* which eventually showed in the *torogan*.

With the existence then of an incipient art tradition, the introduction of a much superior art motif gained unrestrained momentum.

¹¹ An identical motif may be seen in the *somandig* — the Maranao decorative quilted cloth used adjacent the sleeping area.

Goaded by the patronage of the highest title holder in the community, the carving art was to attain a level of development unseen in other media.

In the case of the Samal/Badjao, there seems to be no more evidence that would give any idea of an earlier tradition. The problem of preservation due to the materials the Badjao used have been mentioned earlier. Particular data on this may possibly surface after examining some art motifs in the neighboring groups towards the direction of Celebes and Borneo.

(c) *The use of the motifs:* Rank and status versus ritual. To further understand the nature why the Lanao *okir* attained a level of stylization, one should look into the uses that these motifs were availed of. If the use validated some of the more highly valued elements within the culture, it is likely that such elements would find a niche that would allow it to develop. While if it were strictly a decorative element with no symbolic value attached to it, it is likely that the introduction of more superior forms or some other ideology will obliterate attempts to nurture it.

In Lanao the *torogan* is the only structure permitted to make use of the motifs and only that structure may use it exclusively. The association with its use is definitely that of power, authority, and high rank. Since there was no sanction against the use of the motif in other aspects of the material culture, a proliferation of every conceivable objects were lavishly carved with such motifs, using as a central model all the available permutations of the motifs as found in the *torogan*. Ownership of such carved objects, though in diminished scale, was highly valued due to its association with high rank and status.

This copying from a central model as well as its constant repetitive use in carving other smaller objects has resulted in a highly unified use of the motifs and contributed to the systematization of the design and conception of the underlying principles in its composition.

Differing from the Maranao rank- and status-oriented use of the *okir*, the significant use made of the *okir* by the Samal and the Badjao is for decorative purposes on ritual objects. The difference in religious orientation between the three groups in Sulu has so much to do with the differences in the way the *okir* is used. With the greater sophistication of knowledge in the islamic conception of transmigration, the need for the use of the *okir* was dispensed with, for to spend enormous amount of labor on a gravemarker which effectivity can only last for a few hundred days is no longer considered a religious duty. As such there is an apparent retrogression evident among the Samal grave-markers.

This same explanation may be provided why there seem to be so little evidence of the *okir* motif among the Taosug. Since it is looked

upon a connoting animistic worship, the Taosug, who, by historical account were the first group to embrace Islam, may have been appalled by the practice of lavishing the graves with the elaborately carved gravemarkers.

On the other hand, the Samal made use of the motifs but certain elements were dropped. Human representations were no longer used in line with Islamic injunction on the use of such representations in rituals.

But after a while there is an abrupt discontinuance of the practice of carving elaborate gravemarkers. The limestone gravemarkers that dot so many islands in Tawi-tawi withstood the elements as well as the people that have knowledge of them, so that an attempt to inquire about them only elicited negative answers. Since there is very little evidence of any transitional piece that would connect the lavishly-carved limestone slabs with the obviously new ones which are made of plain squarish cement structure, one could conclude that the same attitude the Taosug may have about the *okir* on gravemarkers, may be operative here. As the islamized Samal gained more knowledge relative to the deposition of the dead, the need for any markers ceased. This explains the absence of any indication of either a decline, or any form of transitional piece between the old and the new.

Among the Badjao the *okir* is used for decorative purposes on ritual objects. Shaped either like a boat or a *naga* they believed that such objects will provide the departed with a means of transport to the after life (Dacanay, 1967). Human representations occur with some regularity, a situation which we have noted disappeared in the other group with the coming of Islam.

With such valid use of the motif, one would expect that the art form would persist and attain a degree of development that may parallel the Maranao phenomena. Such was not the case.

An explanation of this lies in the highly individualistic orientation of the Badjao. It has been noted earlier that the facility by which any Badjao can move out of any area provides them with an enormous range of choices as to where they could settle. Nimmo cites a case of a complete disappearance overnight of a Badjao group from Sanga-sanga Island after being harassed by some other groups (Nimmo, 1968). This highly individualistic orientation is evident in their approach to the composition of the *okir*. Since carving is generalized, each work is stamped with some degree of individuality and various styles are evident in the composition. (This particular situation has not facilitated the complete delineation of their art motifs). Such a situation may still be conducive to the development of an art style, but the constant loss of the objects due to extremely rapid deterioration, do not allow the accumulation of the work that may provide the models to start, copy, and improve on

— as a step towards stylization. Since quite a number of migratory bands of Badjao share the same grave sites, as in Bilatan Island, certain traditional orientation may have been perpetuated as a result of seeing a range of motifs that are available. The rapid deterioration of the wood leave only the new markers to survive from whence later generations will copy. It is possible that earlier and more vigorous motifs may have been made. Their obliteration narrows and depletes the range of the motifs leading to extinction. Unfortunately, such assumptions have bases in reality. If the Badjao had a repository equivalent to the Maranao *torogan*, they may have attained stylization and possibly even surpassed the Maranao.

To recapitulate, we have made an attempt to identify some underlying unity in the motifs coming from two different areas. The similarities and differences unraveled became the basis for drawing certain implications regarding the nature of the societies of two areas that in turn provided data in the analysis of the dynamics of the emergence of an art style in one, and the stagnation and retrogression in the other.

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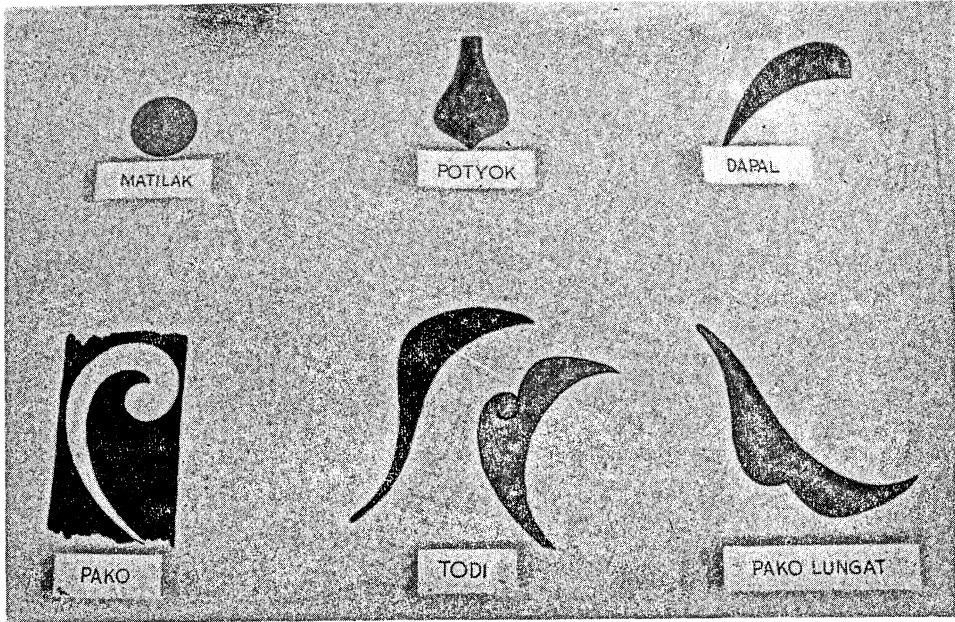


Fig. 1. Elements of Maranao okir motif. **Matilak**—circle; **potyok**, bud; **dapal**, leaf; **pako**, fern or spiral form; **todi**, fern leaf with a spiral at upper edge; and **pako lungat**, fern leaf distinguished with a cut at one edge.

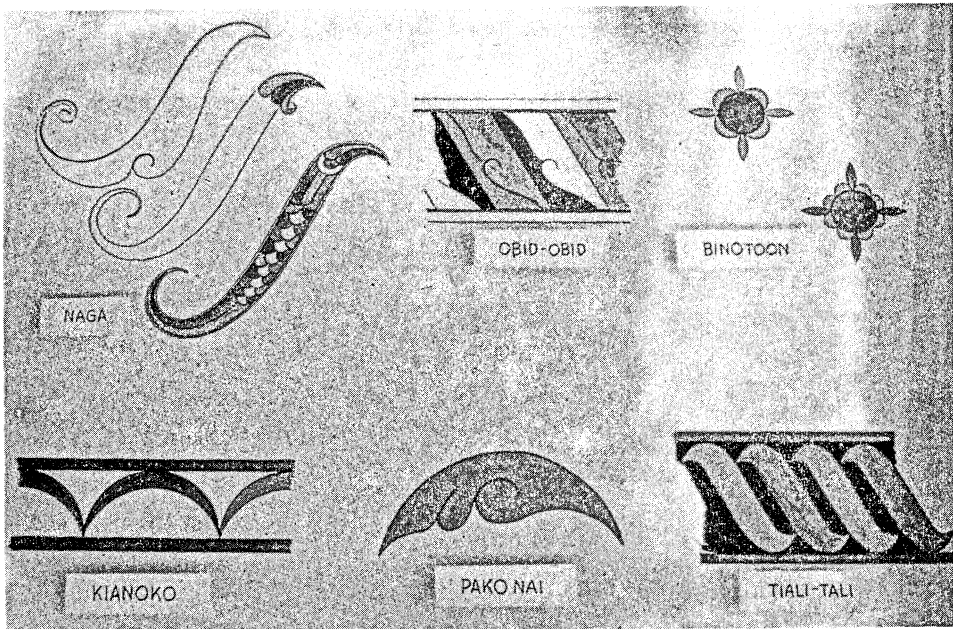


Fig. 2. Elements of Maranao okir motif. **Naga**, serpent; **obid-obid**, rope-like motif; **binotoon**, star-like; **kianoko**, fingernail-like; **pakonai**, fern leaf with two cuts at one edge; **tiali-tali**, rope motif.

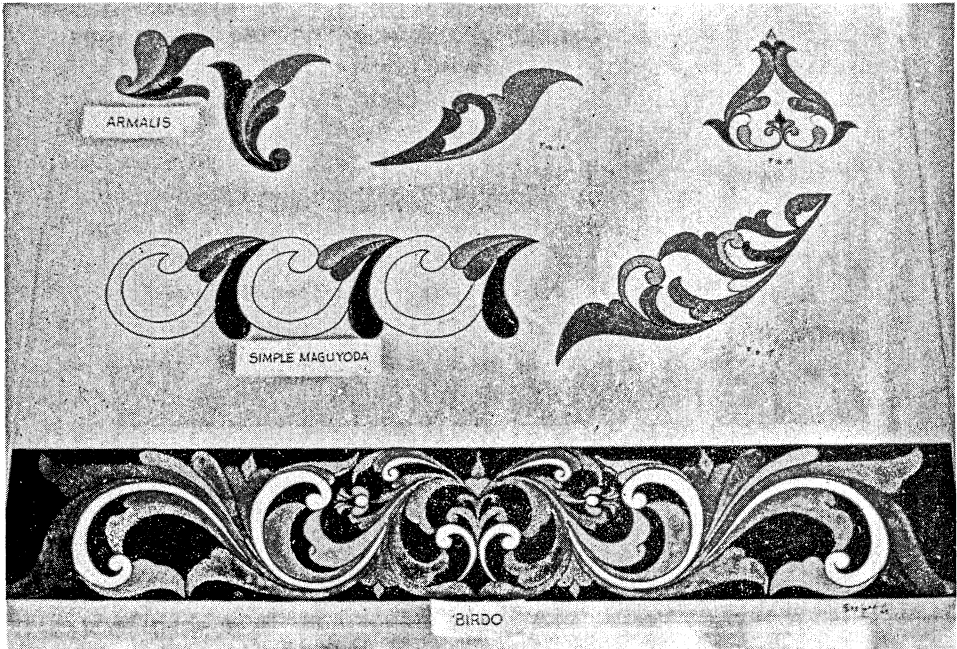


Fig. 3. Elements of Maranao okir motif. **Armalis**, a combination of fern (pako), leaf (dapal), and some flowers or a bud; also shown is a simplified **magoyoda**, the motif where the S-shaped serpent dominate; and **birdo**, a motif of growing vine or crawling plant, often in horizontal movement. The sample of the birdo shown here is fully executed.



Fig. 4. One of the major components of Maranao motif—known as **magoyoda**, using the **naga** figure successively. Toka, Bacolod Chico.

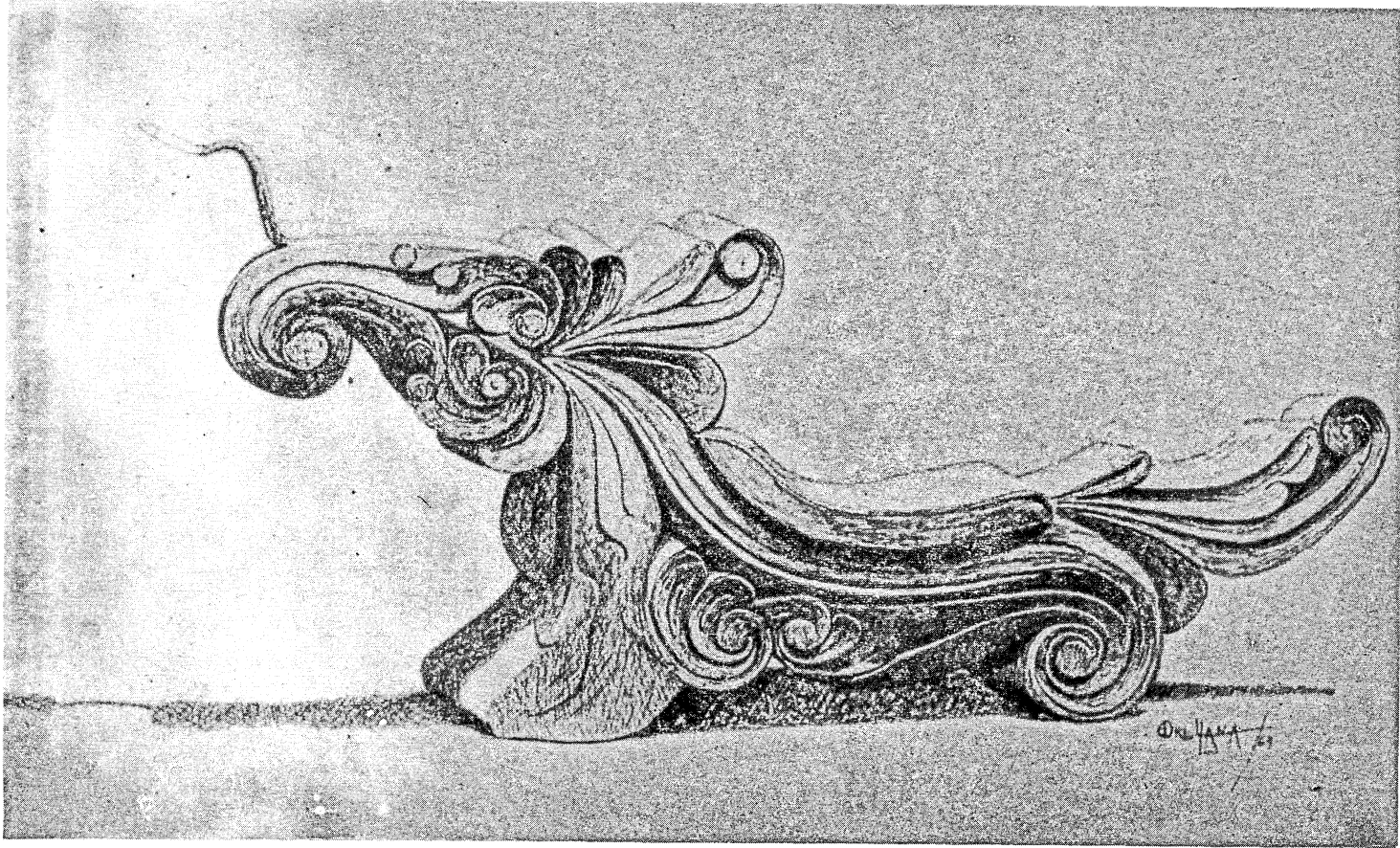


Fig. 5. Kokora. This **naga**-shaped coconut grater shows the influence of the **torogan** on ordinary household objects. MSU Museum, Marawi City.

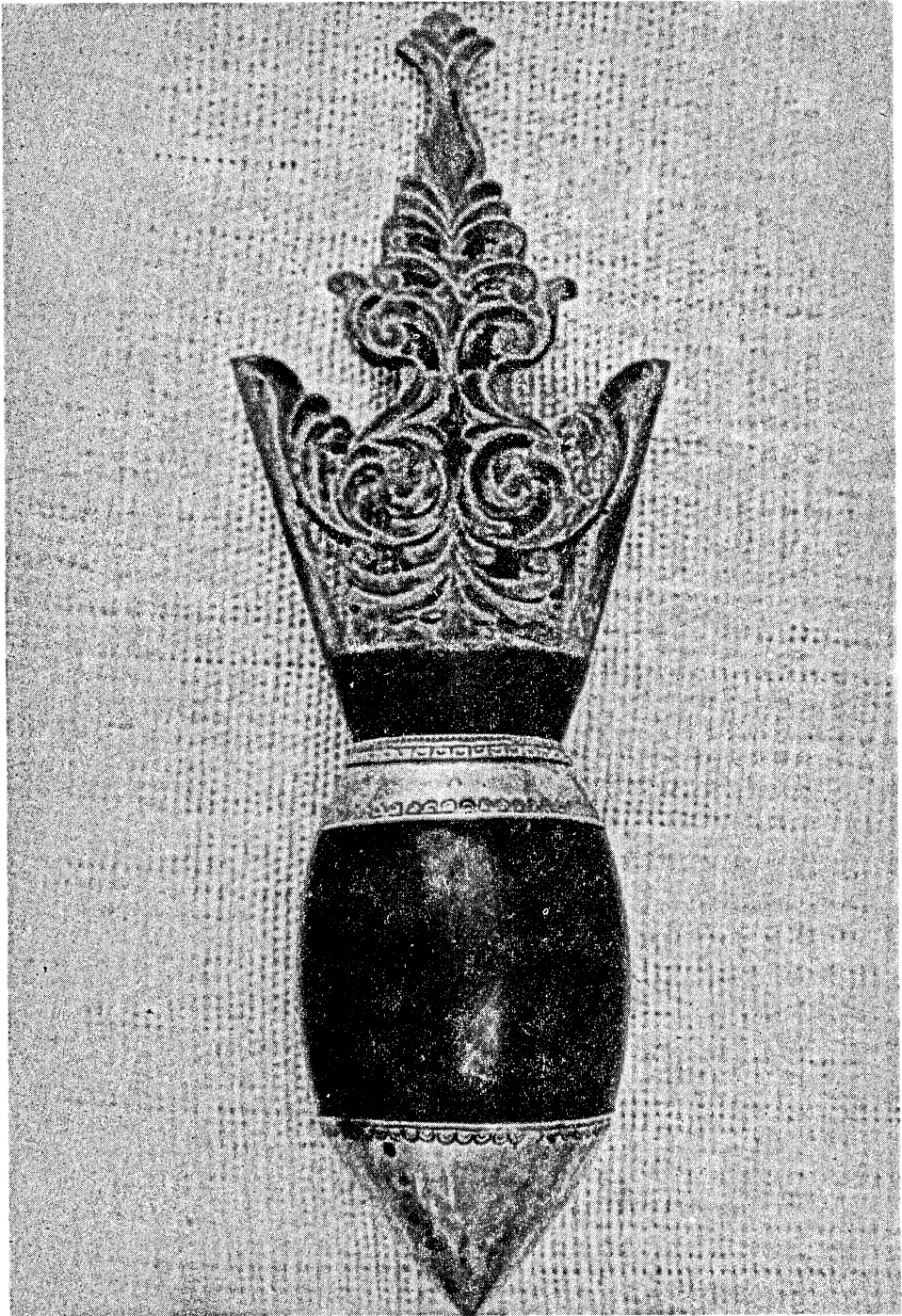


Fig. 6. Daili. This container for acidic solution for blackening the teeth carries a typical **pako rabong** (growing fern) motif on its cover. The **pako rabong** motif is one of the more favorite designs. Young coconut shell body, rimmed with silver and topped with a carabao horn carving. Height = $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Author's.



Fig. 7. **Tangkongan.** A chair intended for transporting high-born ladies on difficult terrain. Example of **pako rabong** motif. Top section missing. Seen in Mairdig, Bini-dayan, Lanao del Sur.



Fig. 8. Taga a pagalongan. The motifs used in this mirror frame is of an earlier genre. Although the specific elements are recognizable, its use is quite different from the way the okir was used in the **torogan**. The carved panel in the center flips out to reveal the mirror. Author's

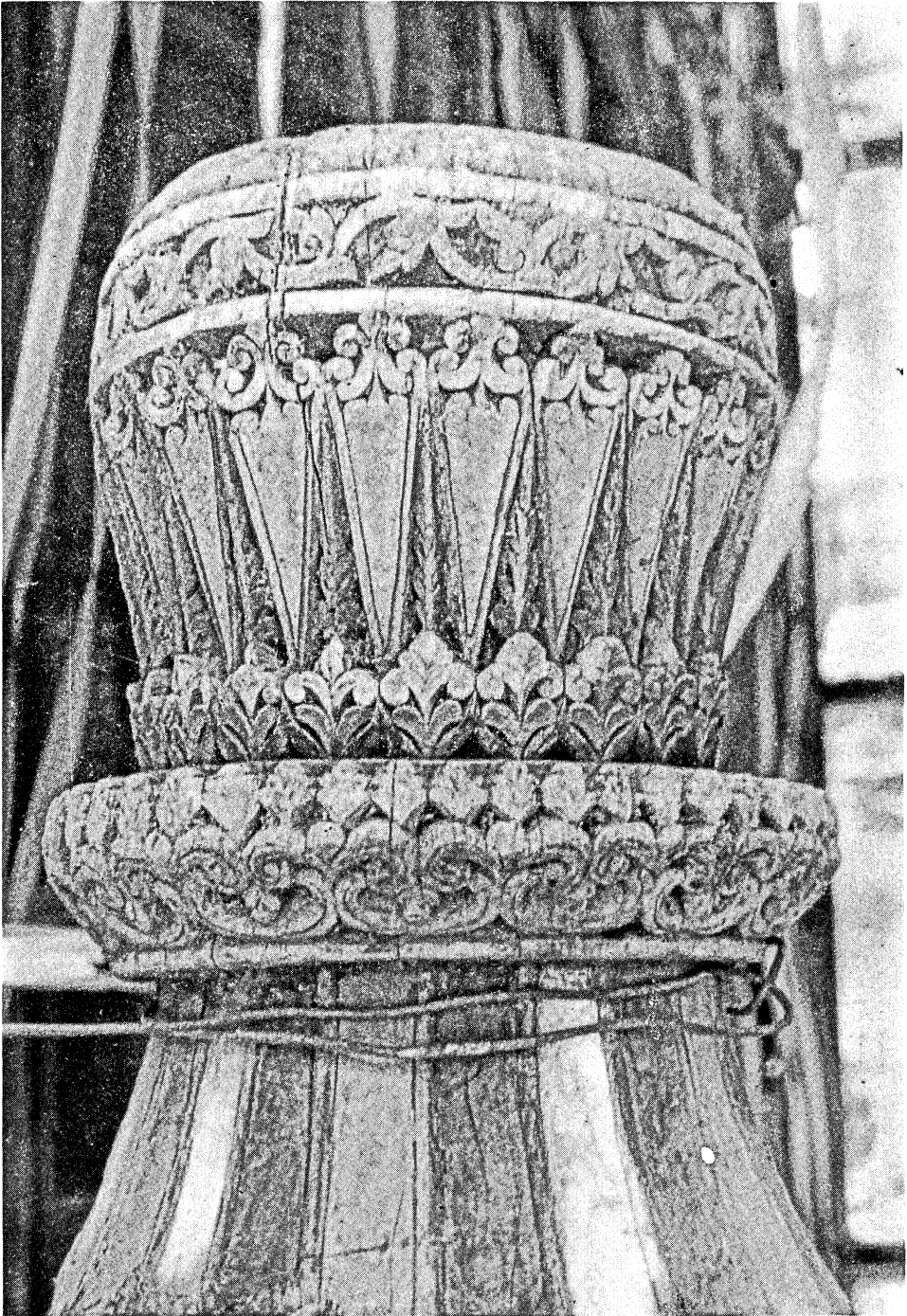


Fig. 9. Base section of a **tabo** — the enormous drum found in the mosque to summon people to prayer. Carving is of an earlier genre. Tugaya, Lanao del Sur.



Fig. 10. Bandril. This grain measure shows a type of okir, which may be termed pre-torogan. There are 16 bands vertically carved on the body, with alternate bands differing from each other. Height = 13 1/2 inches; dia. at base = 48 1/4 inches. Author's.



Fig. 11. Pangolayan sa Koraa. Container for the Koran showing a type of okir belonging to an earlier genre. Width — 12 1/2 inches. Lalapong, Lanao del Sur.

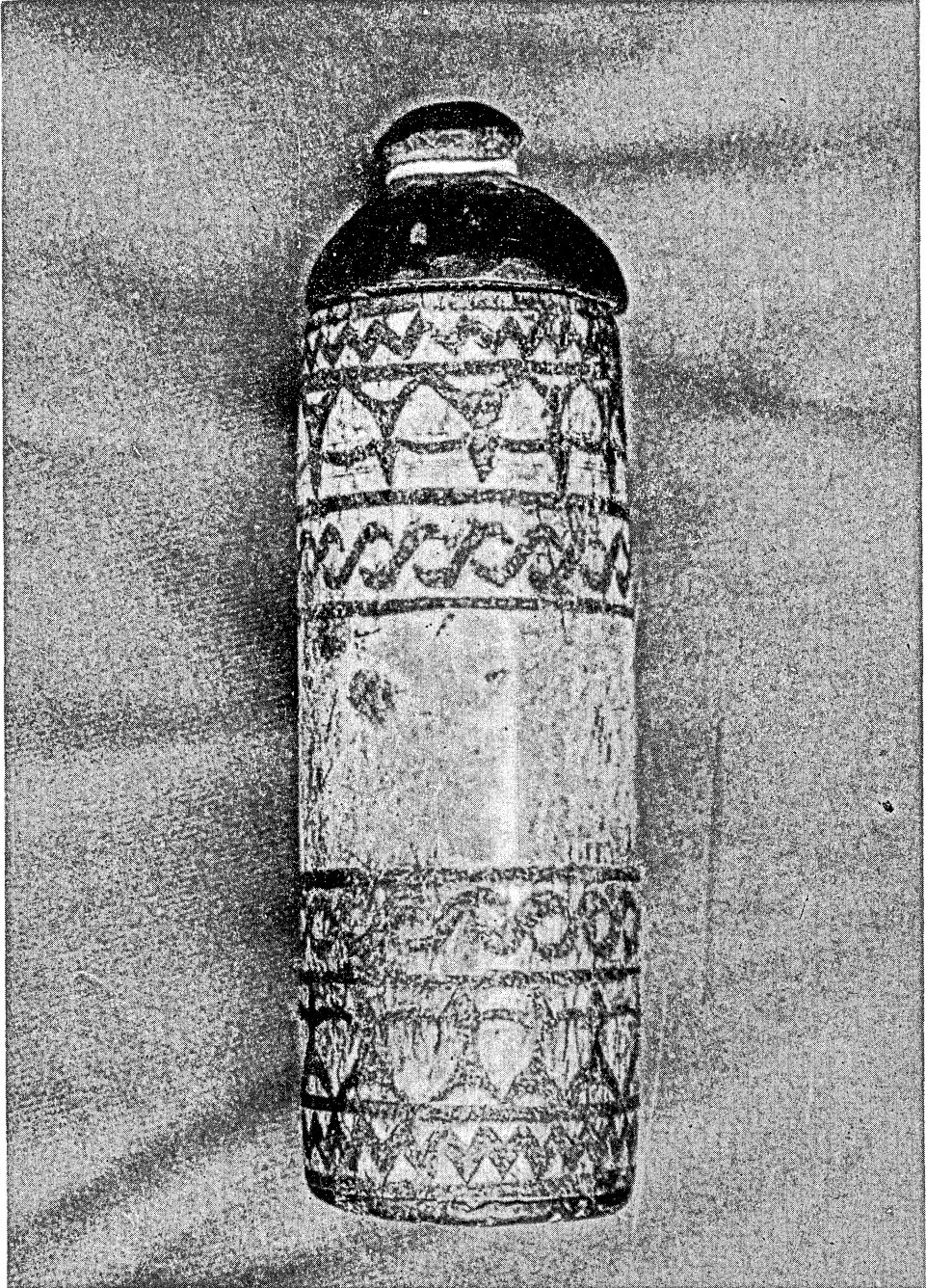


Fig. 12. Lakob. The man-like motif on the second row from bottom is not to be seen later anywhere. This particular motif which is representational in execution may have disappeared due to intensified Islamic intrusion. Ivory with wooden cover. Height — 5 1/2 inches. Author's.



Fig. 13. Batir. A grain measure with a capacity of five gantas. There are 20 triangle-shaped designs that are distinct from each other. Height = 13" Author's.

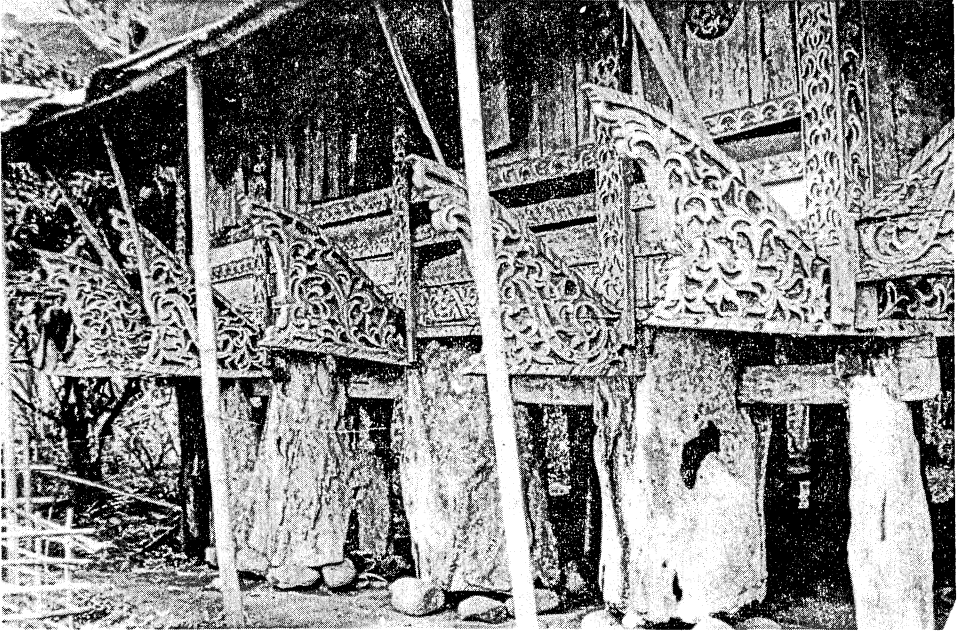


Fig. 14. The torogan at Dayawan, Bacolod Chico, Lanao del Sur. Construction of a torogan necessitate a marshalling of an enormcus amount of labor. Estimated age: 45-60 years old.

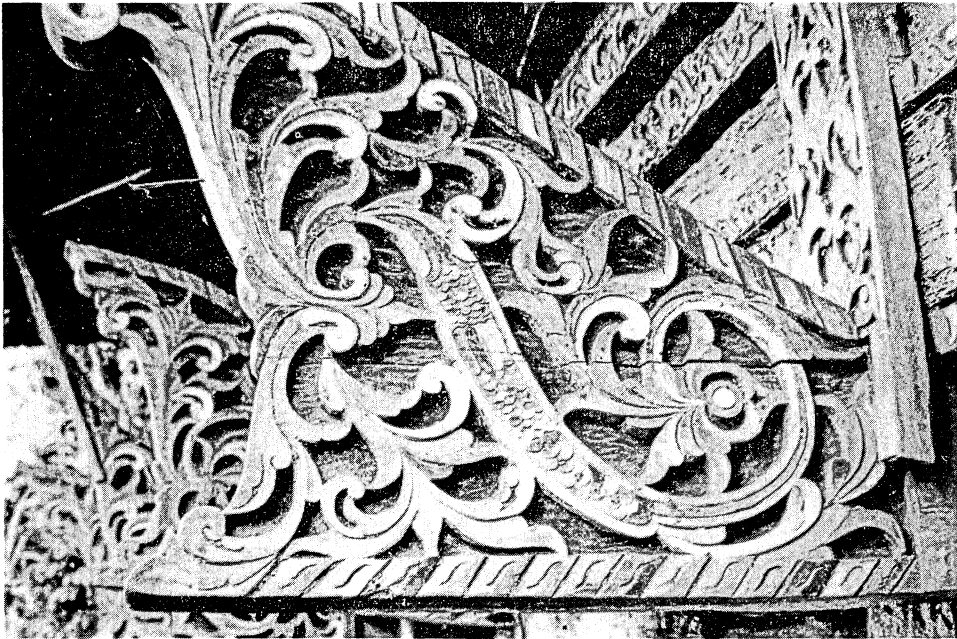


Fig. 15. A panolong in a torogan showing the naga (serpent) with scales on its body. Dayawan, Bacolod Chico, Lanao del Sur.

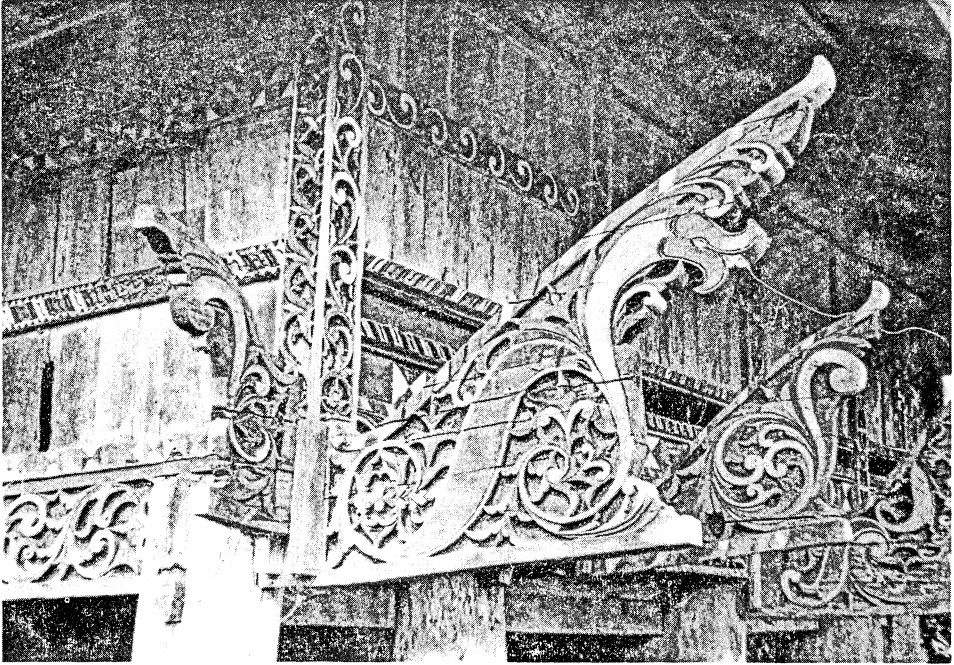


Fig. 16. A *torogan* in Mimbalay, Masiu showing a double naga design on the corner panolong.

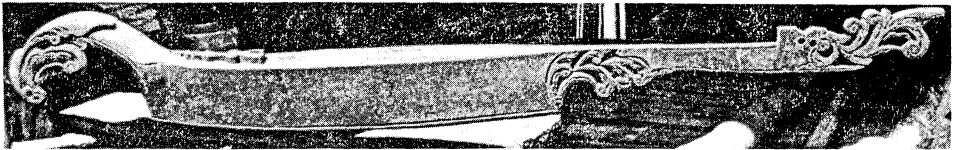


Fig. 17. *Kutiapi*. Two-string musical instrument suggestive of the naga motif. Head section is identical to Badjao gravemarker. Bayang, Lanao del Sur.

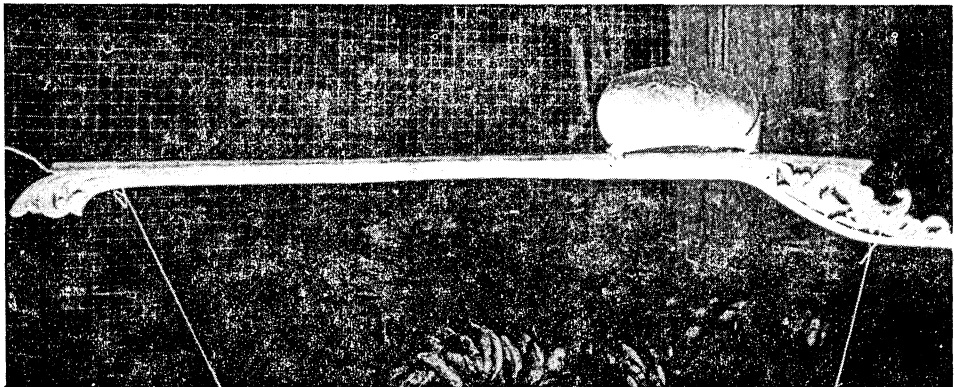


Fig. 18. *Pangolayan sa tiatag*. Rice cake sifter showing naga motif. Length — 55 inches. Bayang, Lanao del Sur.

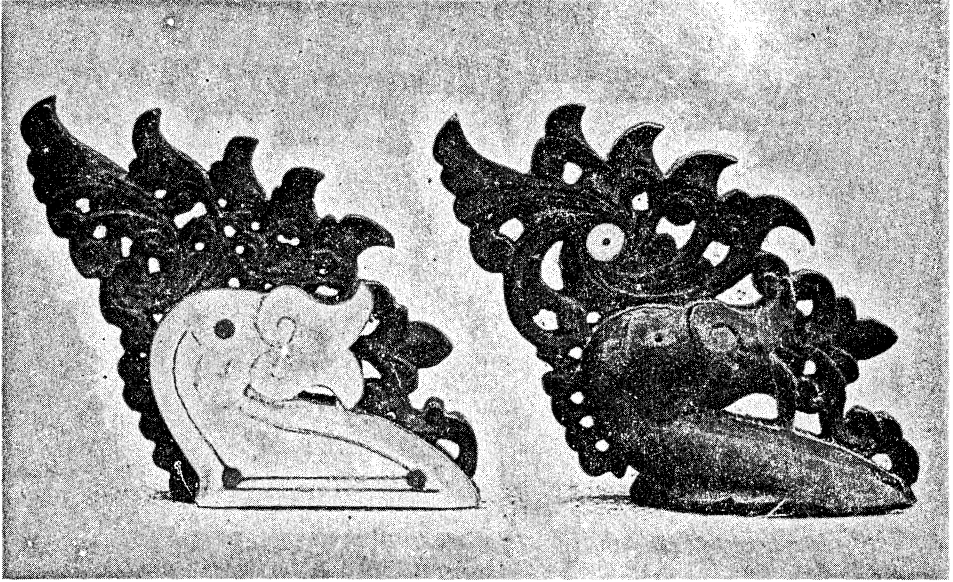


Fig. 19. Koda o satoran. The Knight pieces of a Maranao chess set, done in the shape of a serpent (naga). The **naga** is one of the major components of Maranao **okir** motif. Carabao horn with mother-of-pearl shell piece. Height — 2 1/2 inch. Author's.

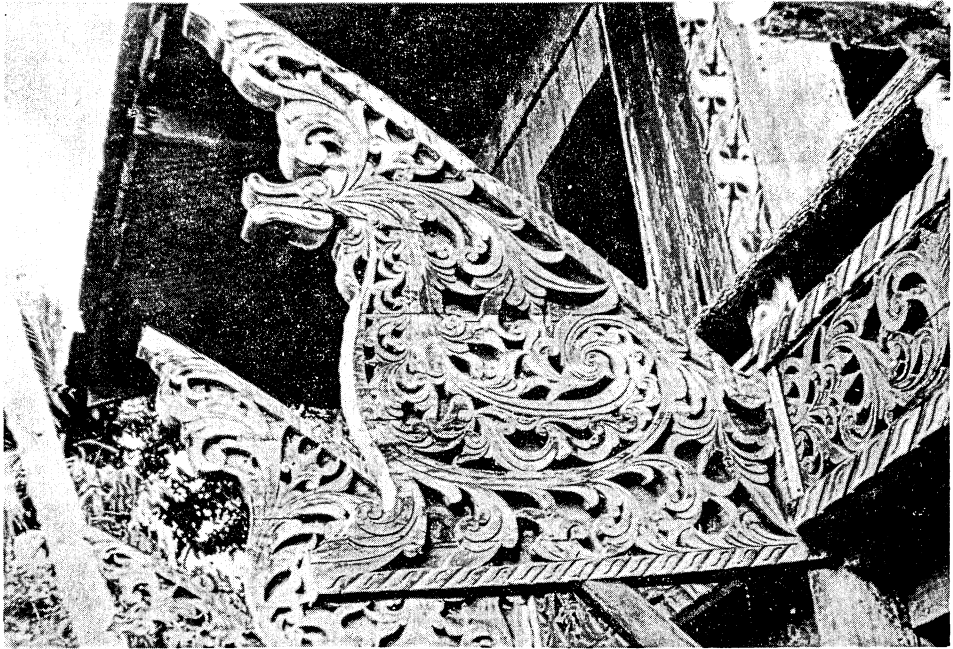


Fig. 20. The **naga** design on the **panolong** in the **torogan** in Toka, Bacolod Chico, Lanao del Sur.

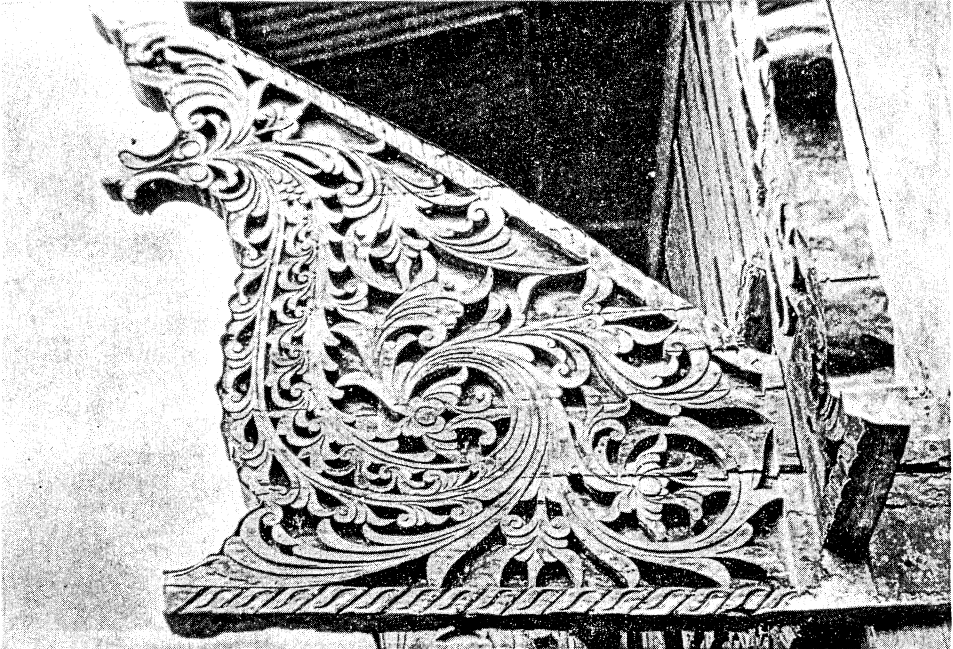


Fig. 21. Details of **naga** motif in the torogan in *Toka*, Bacolod Chico.

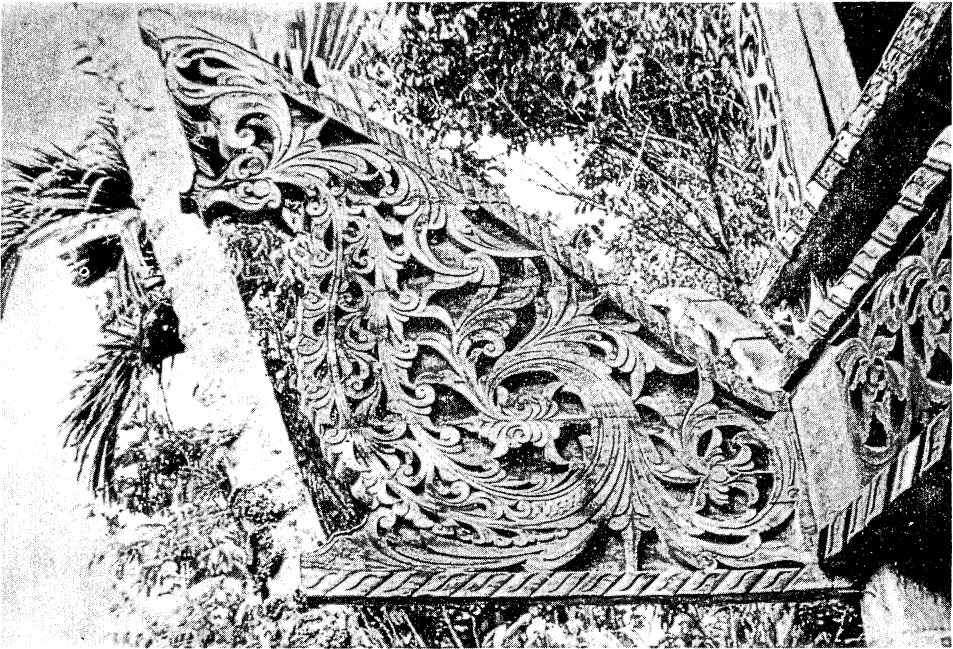


Fig. 22. Further details of **Naga** motif in a panolong in a torogan in *Toka*, Bacolod Chico, Lanao del Sur.



Fig. 23. Carvings on other section of the **torogan** at Dayawan. The posts, the panel below the slit-like windows, as well as the rims of the windows are all carved in different motifs.



Fig. 24. Panels below window in the **torogan** at Toka. The carving is a good example of the **birido** design.



Fig. 25. This illustrates the countless variation by which the same motif is used. Following a general principle the design has always symmetry and balance. Torogan at Toka, Bacolod Chico.



Fig. 26. Panel of *birdo* motif below slit-like windows. The wide window in the upper section is a recent innovation. Toka, Bacolod Chico, Lanao del Sur.



Fig. 27. An example of a combination of two major/components in one panel. Shown here is the traditional **birdo** spaced with a **pako rabong** motif. Torogan in Mimbalay, Masiu.