

Chapter 6. Origin, Hierarchy and Egalitarianism Among the Mandaya of Southeast Mindanao, Philippines

Aram A. Yengoyan

This paper develops two major themes of Mandaya social structure which operate at different levels of social and political activity. One of these principles or themes is the structure of hierarchy or precedence which operates primarily at the political level of leadership and warfare as it articulates the domination of the centre or points of origin to the periphery of social life. In this context the dominant expression of precedence is based on the political role of the *bagani* (the warrior class) and the various sub-units of political authority which traditionally inhabited the lands of the Mandaya. The second theme is the expression of egalitarianism which dominates throughout the domestic domain of social life and how domestic domains relate to one another as a means of establishing and cementing bonds within and between hamlets. Egalitarianism is expressed through gambling of rice harvests, through cockfighting and through mutual activity of sharing in activities which cross-cut different hamlets and communities.

These different forms of hierarchy and structure are the basis of internal contradictions which at times erupt into actual overt conflict. Although these two different domains of hierarchy are critical for assessing the importance of genealogical depth and genealogical domination within various segments of Mandaya society, in actuality, kinship groups and marriage alliances moderate potential conflict as expressed through intra-tribal economic interactions. Furthermore, Mandaya interactions with their neighbours (Bisayan, Mangguangan, Mansaka) also express this dualistic aspect of hierarchy and mythic domination towards those societies considered inferior (based in part on slavery and/or asymmetrical economic exchange) and those who control capital allocation and marketing networks.

Based on Dumont's conception of hierarchy, in part this paper develops horizontal modes of hierarchy which appear to have received less attention in the literature on upland peoples in Mindanao. Although mythic and genealogical depth translate into various aspects of hierarchy and eventually domination between the Mandaya and the Mangguangan, this expression of vertical hierarchy creates contradictions and conflicts with the internal expression of egalitarianism which pervades each society.

Culture as Value and as Precedence

The idea of culture in Dumont's (1975, 1979, 1980, 1982) framework enters his interpretation through the concept of value. A hierarchical framework divorced from value reverts toward a structural analysis in which culture and value do not underwrite the analysis. As noted by Dumont (1979, 1980, 1982) and Fox (1990), the animation and understanding of the hierarchical structure into a local context revolves on the recognition of value which is not only at the heart of a particular social life, but also dominates various spheres of social rank. As Fox (1990:7) notes, hierarchy without value is a categorical phenomena which has implications within the realm of social relationships. Dumont's India has a single all-encompassing value, that being the contrast between purity/impurity which is the basis of all hierarchy. However, Dumont goes further by arguing that hierarchy as the dominant ideology is almost always linked to purity/impurity. Fox (1990:7) notes that this coupling, which might work for India, virtually excludes all other possible alternate value(s).

Hierarchy *per se* cannot be limited to an analysis and understanding of the form and expression of opposition, contrariness, complementarity and encompassment. In Dumont's language (1980), the principles of exclusion and inclusion establish different landscapes through which hierarchical principles occur in a variety of combinations which on the surface might appear as radically different. One has only to look at Dumont's (1975, 1980) reading and comparison of vertical structuration in Indian caste structure in which the whole subsumes the parts to his rethinking of the Nuer where horizontal structuration establishes a whole, yet each segment relates to the whole in ways which are quite different from caste in India. This structural side of Dumont's analysis always focuses on the various structural permutations which exist as theoretical possibilities regardless of culture and/or value.

If value is a culturally specific feature, we must assume that the range of differences in the construction of value is greater than the specific hierarchical features (i.e., the notion of opposition and its various permutations) which are the basis of the structural scaffolding which articulates value(s) throughout a social system. In his rethinking of the Dumontian framework, Fox (1990) correctly notes that the issue of purity does not exist as value in Indonesian society, and from this observation Fox appears to dissolve hierarchy, as established in Indian caste-like structures, into a category of limited utility in the context of Indonesian societies. By creating a theory of precedence based on a broad range of asymmetrical pairings of categorical oppositions which are linguistically labelled and linked with one another, Fox argues that precedence exists in terms of age (elder-younger, first born-last born), gender (male-female) directions, space and colour. In a number of Rotinese examples, Fox notes that most contrasts are based on one side as being greater, prior, or superior to the other. Greater or

superior is basic to a theory of precedence in which “all of these categories are complementary but also asymmetric” (Fox 1990:9).

Yet, a question still remains. What is value in the Indonesian context? Precedence, in which one side of a binary contrast is given primacy over the other, could be understood as value though in many features it still possesses marked similarities with hierarchy except that most of the contrasts are asymmetrical whereas for Dumont, encompassment is based primarily, but not always, on symmetry. Throughout Indonesia and the Philippines, many cultures have different types of precedence, some of which deal with kinship and rank, others also extend the rule of precedence to categorical divisions based on the natural world as well as the social world. Fox’s (1990) work illuminates these differences in three specific ethnographic cases. From these cases one finds parallels with the Mandaya where precedence is the dominant rule in kinship relations (consanguineal and affinal) as well as how the body becomes a metaphor for precedence within and between generations.

Precedence, as a structural concept, is basic to cases like the Mandaya as a means of understanding questions of rank, status and origin. This is best exemplified when we look at the *bagani* (warrior) complex, how genealogical depth is an expression of origin and rank, and, in turn, how centres become the over-arching key to understanding how Mandaya relate place to history and myth.

What then is the constitution of value in southeast Asian society if a theory of precedence is primarily a structural canopy? In terms of my analysis of the Mandaya, I will argue that precedence as structure has a firm foundation in categorical imperatives as well as in how origin, centres and place are connected through genealogical depth from which the role of the *bagani* is the political manifestation. However, value is expressed in terms of an egalitarian ethos which pervades the structure and action of exchange within and between households and hamlets. Egalitarianism is best expressed in how gambling is constituted as a means of levelling and curtailing social differentiation between individuals and groups.

What transpires is a social and cultural disjunction with precedence acting as the basis of a political structure which invokes history and genealogical depth to support its position in opposition to an egalitarian ethos which dominates exchange and social differentiation. Value as egalitarianism is partially muted in the political structure where rank and status are the markers of political activity.

Dumont (1979) makes the assumption that equality is only expressed as a modern ideology and that only occurred once, that being our Western ideologies of equality which are maintained as our dominant philosophical and political foundations since the eighteenth century. This assumption is partially valid, yet

at the same time, we can note that there are many southeast Asian societies which veer towards an egalitarian ethos as cultural value which might or might not have an ideological component. In such cases, the egalitarianism is expressed as cultural axioms or as tacit agreement which is not created through wilful or rational action based on group interest or even self interest.

The Context of Mandaya Precedence and Egalitarianism

Traditionally, the Mandaya inhabited the coastal and interior areas of the eastern cordillera mountain chain in southeast Mindanao, Philippines. Mandaya ethnography has been reported by Cole (1913), Garvan (1931), and Yengoyan (1964, 1965, 1966a, 1966b, 1966c, 1970a, 1970b, 1971, 1973, 1975a, 1975b, 1977, 1983, 1985, 1988); thus, only those aspects of the ethnography that relate to the issue of precedence and egalitarianism will be discussed. On the eastern Davao cordillera, the Mandaya are shifting cultivators who occupy both the foothills up to 1000 feet where they are involved in hemp production, and the interior uplands to an elevation of 3,200 feet in which a mixed system of dry rice cultivation and the planting of tubers is their basic mode of subsistence.

Just as the subsistence base varies, the settlement pattern also covaries with economic demands. With dry rice cultivation, the settlement pattern consists primarily of a single household adjacent to cultivated fields. Households are moved as often as swiddens are relocated, virtually every year, and are synonymous with the nuclear family; thus, each family unit is also the unit of production. Distances between swiddens vary from 0.5 to 2 miles. However, in the relocation and creation of new swiddens, households are situated in visual contact with at least one other household, either across the valley or on top of a range of hills. With the sedentary system based on hemp production, one finds the beginnings of settlement nucleation in which hamlets of five to eight households form a cluster and, in some cases, hamlets are also semi-nucleated in small villages.

The coastal areas are occupied by either Bisayans, who migrated from Cebu, Leyte, and Bohol, or by **conquistas**, who are the descendants of Christianized Mandaya. In general **conquistas** have relatively few kinship ties with the interior Mandaya and at the same time they do not claim to have Bisayan ancestry. The **conquistas** do not consider themselves as Mandaya descendants, but as Bisayan since they have been baptized. In fact, the Christian act of baptism is primarily a means by which one's identity changes from Mandaya to Bisayan; thus, spiritual rebirth has almost no bearing on the volitional act (Yengoyan 1966a). Other influences are critical to understanding the means by which group identity comes about, but baptism among the Mandaya in the late nineteenth century is the key to understanding the emergence of the **conquistas**.

Although either wet rice or coconut cultivation has traditionally dominated most lowland populations, over the past twenty years Bisayans and **conquistas** have moved into the foothills and started hemp cultivation. This penetration into the foothills and the usurping of lands from the upland Mandaya have brought forth considerable conflict, since Mandaya hold land by usufruct and their land is never surveyed and titled, while the Bisayans claim that title to land, and not actual possession, is the sole basis of ownership. Since the 1950s, the foothill Mandaya, who have lost their land to Bisayan encroachments, have either reverted to dry rice cultivation by moving into the forested interiors or have become part of a rural proletariat, working for minimal wages from Bisayan landlords on land they once possessed.

Coastal Bisayans and **conquistas** not only maintain their hegemony through land control, but most of the political and commercial power is in their hands as well. Although some of the larger shops in towns such as Manay, Cateel and Baganga are owned by Chinese, the local Bisayans have either set up their own shops or have worked out financial arrangements with Chinese in which the Chinese are "up front" with their activities, while the Bisayans have invested in them and/or have offered them protection. Most local political positions are held by Bisayans and a few **conquista** families, and in a number of cases two or three intermarrying families have developed a web of mutual interest and have virtually sealed off a town from outside intrusion. Because the coastal highway beyond Mati has never been completed and an air service is unavailable, shipping is the only means by which outside contact is maintained.

The Mangguangan are located in the densely-forested interiors where a semi-nomadic life-style is maintained through collecting, hunting and trading for forest products with the Mandaya. As of ten years ago, almost no territorial conflict occurred between the Mandaya and the Mangguangan, since Mandaya swiddens were seldom located at an elevation of more than 3,200 feet and did not impinge on the Mangguangan.

However, the Mandaya have historically raided the interior for "slaves", especially for young Mangguangan females, who were then raised as domestic servants and later married among the Mandaya. The Mandaya claim that this is an old practice and remark that the Mangguangan are a weak people since they do not cultivate rice though they know its value. Although the Mandaya refer to their slaves as **posaka**, and in some cases set them apart from normal domestic and religious relations, this seldom extends beyond one generation. The cultural and social hiatus that we attribute to slavery is practically absent, since most young Mangguangan slaves maintain contact with their natal family.

Within this context of competing economic and cultural practices, the Mandaya are in the middle since there is seldom any direct contact between the Mangguangan and the coastal Bisayans and **conquistas**. The Mandaya perceive

the Bisayans as either land-grabbers or potential land-grabbers who have used the political and administrative structure for their own benefit. Thus, the question of tax collection, in which the Bisayans irregularly request that land taxes be paid, simply increases the tension on both sides. The conflict is provoked to higher degrees of tension when Mandaya who have lost their land have decided to remain as labourers. Violence and homicide occur sporadically; the most common cause is usually the Mandaya's inability to maintain their landholdings against Bisayan encroachment.

Mandaya who think and act like Bisayans (i.e., by converting to the Catholic Church, wearing Western-type apparel, cutting their hair, and taking Christian surnames) attempt to maintain their commercial transactions by selling hemp and acquiring credit with the Chinese merchants in the coastal towns. The Chinese usually deal in straight commercial transactions without nefarious perceptions that characterize Bisayan-Mandaya relations.

Conceptions of Precedence

Mandaya hierarchy and rules of precedence takes a number of forms, some of which are embedded and expressed in social structural features which give rise to social activity, while others occur primarily at the conceptual level of cultural categories which embrace the idea of origin and the contrast between the centre and the periphery. Within the kinship system, terminological contrasts are made between the first born child and the last born, also elder siblings are contrasted to those who are younger. Relative age, by contrastive position, dominates within each generation as well as among kinsmen of preceding generations though it does not occur in generations younger than ego. Furthermore, relative age is the critical measure of precedence which is given social recognition through terms of address and reference as well as behavioural features such as respect and honour. Just as age is the dominant feature which establishes the critical contrastive categories in social life, gender differences are seldom if ever utilized as contrastive markers within each generation. Like other cases within the Austronesian cultural world as expressed in many insular southeast Asian societies, gender is seldom a primary differentiating feature in establishing contrasts between groups and individuals.

Mandaya principles of precedence as cultural categories are primarily linked to the idea of place which has a number of implications based on conceptions of origin, place, encompassment as well as political action. A sense of place means that certain particular locales, which are primary with regard to the origin of myths, are the focus and have precedence over other places and events. Traditionally, the Mandaya have also viewed their neighbours in this scheme of things.

Before the final breakdown of the warrior/chief complex (*bagani*) in the 1930s, Mandaya lands occupied most of what is now eastern Davao as well as the southern parts of Surigao. In the widest sense of place, this broad geographic region embraced all coastal lands westward to the cordillera and into the Maragosan valley. Some of the Mandaya in the Maragosan area called themselves Mansaka, but again this term implies a particular place. The land was divided by riverine valleys which emptied into the Pacific Ocean on the east and by interior valleys encompassed by high mountains which divided one valley from another. It is difficult to assess just how much knowledge individuals possessed regarding the whole of Mandayaland; however, it does appear that groups had a strong sense of place as it related to the domains which were the ancestral lands of particular *bagani* as a warrior class. These domains embraced individual households, small hamlets and nondiscrete communities composed of hamlets which had spatial proximity to one another. Each domain was circumscribed by a mountain ridge or rivers which were natural barriers setting one domain off from another. Furthermore, most of these domains were primarily endogamous in that individuals would marry within the domains. Endogamy was not simply an expression of geographic confines, for in most cases the domains as named localities were genealogically and ancestrally linked to a famous *bagani* from past generations.

Garvan (1931:203) describes the Manobo *bagani* as a priest of war and blood, whose main role is the sacrifice of captives in war. The Mandaya *bagani* appears not to have religious or supernatural functions and can not be described as a warrior priest. Although captives taken during the head-hunting raids were sacrificed by the *bagani*, such behaviour did not deal with any supernatural phenomena or interpretation since the sacrifice was made to avenge the death of a cohort or to obtain powers, courage and ability of a brave opponent warrior whose heart was removed and eaten by the *bagani* and his warriors (*maniklad*). Although a *bagani* might be assisted by certain spirits, the primary aim in taking captives was not to fulfil the dictums of his supernatural guides.

The requirements in becoming a *bagani* consisted of personal valour, fortitude, physical strength, and being the son of a former *bagani*, but above all a certain amount of *charisma*, the ability to gain the respect of your following in terms of leadership and the possessing of personal qualities which one's constituency values in personality behaviour. Each *bagani*, before assuming the title and role, had to kill seven to nine men in battle or through surprise raids upon neighbouring areas. The number of required killings varied from locality to locality since Garvan (1931:142) notes that five lives were the necessary amount among the Manobo while Cole (1913:180-181) states that the Mayo Bay Mandaya *bagani* took ten or twelve lives while among the Mansaka near Piso, King-king one needed thirty killings before being acclaimed a *bagani*. Furthermore, in upper Manay only adult males were accredited to the *bagani* killing record while

the Mayo Bay Mandaya and the Mansaka attributed no attention to sex and age. Each *bagani* had his domain of political authority where his rule was law; however, the exact dimensions of one's domain were not always the same during his lifetime or that of his successor. The acquiring and possessing of suitable primary forest for a *bagani* following was important, thus borders gradually shifted; however, the territory which a *bagani* extended his authority over was usually recognized as the collective historical area of its inhabitants.

The *bagani* were distinguished from other warriors and commoners by their clothing which was a tight-fitting two-piece abaca-woven suit of dark red, maroon and black colours with embroidered designs. A turban-like headpiece was also worn. Although each *bagani* had autonomous rule, his behaviour and actions were occasionally curtailed by the sanctions of public opinion as manifested through his advisory council. The advisory council (in some localities in upper Manay this council was referred to as the *angtutukay*; however, this term was not familiar in all areas) was composed of a few old men of the *bagani* domain whose judgment and integrity were respected by the commoners and the people.

If the claims which one demanded were justifiable or if a *bagani* desired to lead a raid, the warriors (*maniklad*) were called together to initiate preparations for the raid. A commoner of extraordinary valour and strength could become a *maniklad* by taking three lives. *Maniklad* uniforms were similar to a *bagani* though only one-half of the body was covered by the red maroon and black suit. The average size of an attacking force was composed of forty to forty-five men, with **the range** extending from twenty-five to sixty. However, in all cases, size of a potential warrior group varied with the number of people under the *bagani* jurisdiction. The raiding party was not always composed of *bagani* and *maniklad* since able-bodied commoners were temporarily enlisted if the object of the raid required a large force of men. Warriors were only armed with spears, shields (*kasag*) and daggers; however, in special cases and in limited areas slat armour of iron or highly polished hardwood such as *Narra* or *Kamagong* were used. If the individual sought lived within the *bagani* domain, he was taken alive, charged with his crime and if judged guilty was killed and beheaded. The *bagani* would take the victim's wife or wives' children, concubines and slaves for himself along with *agongs* and any piece of *pinggan* (Chinese trade ware), while the warriors and the accuser would divide the remainder of the belongings which in most cases were quite limited and provided little for each warrior. Raids were conducted at dawn when the warrior group surrounded the house of the one sought as part of the vendetta. If the dwelling was not accessible by ladder, the *nipa* or *anahaw* roof was set afire thus driving the inhabitants out of the burning dwelling. Children and women were taken captive while the men were beheaded. If the person sought was captured alive, he was taken to the *bagani* settlement and ritually sacrificed.

Unlike the longhouses of Borneo or the elaborate *datu* dwellings found in the eastern Bisayan Islands during the seventeenth century, the *bagani* quarters were not much larger than any other ordinary dwelling. The only diagnostic mark of a *bagani* settlement was the number of compartments in each house which were divided by split bamboo walls. Each apartment was the living quarters of a wife or concubine of the *bagani*, which usually ranged from nine to twelve women per warrior chief. *Bagani* settlements were usually in the centre of the domain or in a location in which followers and warriors could easily gather for raiding preparation.

Each *bagani* had his lands cultivated by slaves or labour-service from his followers who furnished the subsistence needs for the *bagani* and his families. In turn the *bagani* protected his followers from inter- and extra-territorial raids as well as administering law, justice and order within his domain. When harvests failed or labour-service was not adequate to cultivate all *bagani* lands, tribute in the form of food staples was collected from each household head in accordance with the amount of land one had cultivated and the number of dependents each cultivator had.

The inheritance of the *bagani* title was not automatic in the sense that a successor gained the position solely by his genealogical relationship, nor is it possible to describe the succession as “no heredity chieftainship” which Garvan (1931:140) denotes for the Manobo. *Bagani* succession among the Mandaya was semi-structured on a genealogical basis, though one was required to fulfil the conditions before acquiring the title. If a *bagani* died of natural causes or was killed in battle, his council of advisers selected the cleverest of his sons from his first wife. After selection, the *bagani* “protem” had to kill the required number of men as well as learn the use of authority and leadership among his followers. If the requirements were not fulfilled or if the advisers recognized that the one selected was unable to wield authority and/or lacked personality, features which were a necessity for effective leadership, another son of the first wife was chosen. Upon selection of the new *bagani* candidate, the *angtutukay* pressured the first nominee to withdraw by renouncing his claim to the title; however, cases have occurred where two brothers claiming the title would gather their supporters and fight for the position or for the creation of two domains within the original one. If warfare came about between competing siblings and the one who was forced to vacate his earlier claim by the *angtutukay* won the battle, the victor imprisoned the *angtutukay* until order was again restored within the domain. Upon selection of a new council, the *bagani* and his advisers held a “mock” trial in which the former *angtutukay* were killed or severely tortured for their disloyalty.

Upon the death of a *bagani*, the successor inherited all secondary wives and concubines while the deceased *bagani*'s first wife took all other possessions. If

the transformation from the deceased *bagani* to his successor was smooth and without sibling rivalry, the succeeding son usually retained his father's *angtutukay*. When an adviser died the *bagani* chose his successor from the sons of the deceased or another person who possessed the necessary qualifications.

The *angtutukay* was composed of two to five men depending on the size of the *bagani* domain and the number of inhabitants; however, three advisers per *bagani* was the average. Advisers could not request tribute to labour-service nor did they partake in the partitioning of material gains acquired through interterritorial raids. Within an area, each *angtutukay* was highly respected for his wisdom and sense of reason, but above all for their age since advisory councils usually consisted of older men within the *bagani* jurisdiction. The *angtutukay* functioned as middle men who transmitted grievances of the commoners to the *bagani*, thus they also provided the only effective internal means of checking the authority and actions of the warrior chief since decision-making and political power were vested in the *bagani*. The most effective check on *bagani* authority came from external sources such as the power, size and mobility of the neighbouring *bagani* forces since seldom would a *bagani* risk an attack on a stronger neighbour if his motives had no justification.

Although the roles and functions of the *bagani* may appear quite structured, in actuality the acquiring of the position required strong personal qualities and *charisma*. All *bagani* were claimed to be immune to death by killing due to the powerful *anting-anting* (charm) they possessed to escape death in battle. Informants have noted cases where a *bagani* was stabbed in the back, but returned to his settlement without a trace of blood. It is claimed that anyone who became *bagani* had strong *anting-anting*, but if a *bagani* was killed in battle his *anting-anting* was weak and he deserved to die.

The *bagani* complex was not only a framework of warfare and political entourage, it also represented a statement of mythic existence. Throughout the various domains in upper Manay and Cateel, cosmological centres coexisted with the political structure as an expression in which mythic origin legends (which have their genesis in the sky) are established as part of a sacred and revered landscape (Yengoyan 1985). These centres of sacred power exist in the form of particular environmental features which possess darkness as a common feature. Thus, centres exist in deep dark standing pools of water or in *bud-bud* (banyan) trees which are known for their dark, almost mysterious properties.

Each of these various mythic and cosmological centres provide the essential linkages with the sky on one side and the underworld on the other. Although the Mandaya do not possess full-time spiritual custodians, the *bagani* and his entourage was responsible for maintaining the sacredness of these spiritual localities by performing necessary rituals at these sites, by protecting banyans

from being destroyed, and by curtailing all sites from outsiders who were not part of their domain.

Thus the domains provided the widest discrete unit in which all political and ritual activities occurred within specified calendrical time sequences. In earlier times, the *bagani* would lead raids on neighbouring Mandaya populations from adjacent and extra-adjacent units. When the Spanish arrived on the coast in the 1850s, missions were established in small settlements such as Baganga, Cateel and Manay. From the Jesuit *cartas* after 1860, we are provided vivid accounts of raids by *bagani* warriors which appear to be larger in terms of what can be established as the normal pattern of raiding. The size and scope of the raiding parties indicates that a number of *bagani* joined together as a means of mobilizing powerful forces against the Spanish forts and churches. However, the raiding size of these parties (which in some cases are noted as over 400 warriors) might have been exaggerations, consciously created, by Spanish administrators and clergy as a means of securing more resources for their local endeavours which were always limited by logistical factors.

Besides the hamlet-community, pattern and the *bagani* domains, the broadest scope of encompassment embraced the interior Mangguangan who, as noted earlier, the Mandaya raided for "slaves". Young female slaves eventually married within the Mandaya and within a generation the roots of one's slave background virtually evaporated. The Mangguangan represented the third and last tier of encompassment from the various *bagani* domains. In the Mandaya sense of place, the Mangguangan had an existence and after the 1850s, the coastal Spanish were encompassed as a threat although the Spanish themselves seldom penetrated into the upper foothills or interiors. After 1900, the American colonial system established seats of local government in these towns and the Catholic missions no longer had a political structure to render assistance. Furthermore, the colonial administration through forcible means attempted to curtail the warring complex and by the 1930s, the days of the *bagani* were past.

However, the historical basis of the adventures of the *bagani* starts anew through the veneration of ancient activities of war, conflict and strength through a re-metaphorization of these deeds in oral tradition which becomes the major vehicle of the mythic past. The myth of each individual *bagani* is different, for each deed and venturesome behaviour of the *bagani* is codified in the landscape as markers and testimony to a glorious past in which history becomes living myth. Origins based on deeds of past warriors and nobles are always perpetuated through ritual, but the rituals can only take place in the exact location where the *bagani* maintained themselves as the centre of their activities. There are many different centres throughout time, but each of the centres can be characterized by a sense of scale in which external forces impinge on the traditional domain. Distinctions like interior/exterior are only meaningful when understood through

a historical perspective which has permitted domains to expand and curtail their scope of influence.

Hierarchy as a cultural logic is premised on the idea of precedence which provides primacy to mythic places as expressed in local territories, *bagani* domains, and eventually extensions to other cultural groups such as the Mangguangan, coastal Spanish in the nineteenth century, and an insipid colonial administration after 1900. Precedence based on heroic and mythic centres establishes the broadest confines for signifying the role of place and locality within a scheme of social, political and economic forces. In the past two decades, the centrality of place(s) which are the foundations of origin, myth and the *bagani* complex, are now considered as the interior, the heartland which provides the emotional sustenance to what the Mandaya consider as their past in its present expression. As one moves from the centre(s) a sense of borderlands emerge, as areas and places which are divorced from cultural symbols and historical meaning, these are the areas which are now contested with the encroaching Bisayans from the coastal areas. The periphery is fuzzy and undefined, but the contestation means that Bisayans armed with legal documents and a political semi-state apparatus have little or no respect for traditional Mandaya lands and culture. The conflict situation peaked in the middle 1970s, but by the late 1970s, most areas in the foothills were controlled by the NPA (National People's Army) who gradually forced the Philippine army to retreat which in turn forced out the commercial loggers and hemp interests who no longer had a military infrastructure to support their activities.

In summary, Mandaya hierarchy based on a scheme of places which have different roles in terms of myth, origin and centrality emerges both in the kinship structure in contrasting between first born/last born and through generational terms which are metaphorically linked to the body where the grandparental generation is combined with the sole of the foot while the parental generation is the heart. As a cultural logic, precedence provides the historical existence, but within the social/kinship framework hierarchical principles are always juxtaposed to a strong egalitarianism which pervades the interaction between individuals, households and hamlets.

Egalitarianism as Culture Value

Throughout the domestic domain as expressed in households, hamlets and non-discrete communities, the basis of social activity and interaction is characterized by systems of exchange and reciprocity based on a strong conviction of egalitarianism. The idea of sharing food, commodities and activity is closely linked with a strong sense of equality which individuals recognize as the key to all human interactions. Hierarchy as expressed through precedence, rank and status which pervades the political structure as well as religious symbolism rests above the structure of equality which dominates the social and

economic sphere of society. In most cases, structural conflicts and contradictions do not occur, for both spheres of culture address themselves to different tasks. Furthermore, with the decline of the *bagani* in the 1930s, political process and warfare are no longer a matter which the domestic structure must relate to in terms of food giving or services.

Reciprocity is the basis of most labour involved in the maintenance of upland rice cultivation. Nearly all aspects of the production cycle require the exchange of labour. In some phases such as the felling and clearing of forest growth the demand on labour exchange is greater, in other phases, such as planting, the basic extended family usually takes care of its own needs. However, exchange is not only labour, but also the sharing of food and other commodities between families living in the same hamlet as well as those who reside within nondiscrete communities. Reciprocity and a sense of giving is seldom based on the idea of a created debt which will be compensated at a later time. One gives to another in many ways. In some cases, there is a perceived need, in other cases, the giver has an abundance of goods and/or time which he/she might share with another individual. However, the foundation of the egalitarian ethos goes beyond the realm of giving and exchange. The marked conviction is that all individuals (except children and infants) are equal, thus the system of exchange is fundamentally an expression of the equality of individuals from which all social relationships flow. In many ways, this sense of equality is similar to what Gibson (1985, 1986) has described for the Buid of Mindoro. However, the comparison of the Mandaya with the Buid also reflects one major difference. From my reading of Gibson (1985, 1986) it appears that egalitarianism among the Buid is a means of maintaining community integrity which is essential to evading domination by economically and politically powerful lowland neighbours who are engaged in some form of commercial agriculture on the Mindoro coast. One can also note the same kinds of economic changes and demands with the Mandaya, but I am convinced that the dominant egalitarian ethos is not solely a response to external pressure. The ethos of equality also exists among upland Mandaya communities which have had minimum contact and impact with coastal economic domination. The ethos might be fortified, but it is difficult to accept a position that the ethos was initially created as a response for maintaining community solidarity.

If the egalitarian ethos is socially framed in the context of reciprocity and giving among individuals who are equals, the institution of gambling as a cultural focus best exemplifies the importance of how equalness operates through a system of redistribution. Since gambling is always connected to rice production, the importance of rice must be discussed. All Mandaya are upland rice cultivators and all suffer from a shortage of rice. The range of variation in rice consumption indicates that those families with higher rice yields consume tubers about ten per cent of their yearly food intake, while those at the lower end of the scale consume root crops within a range of 40 to 50 per cent of the total food intake.

Although this differential exists and the Mandaya are aware of such a contrast, the egalitarian nature of the social structure is not disrupted or verbally denied. The preservation of this structure is made possible by the Mandaya attitude toward land use and their conception of the rice and its presence in the community. Because land is a free good and open lands for cultivation still exist, each person has access to land as a resource. Similarly, rice is seen, not as a commodity but as food. Everyone grows rice and the entire annual community yield is always consumed, yet all families revert to the consumption of root crops when rice is no longer available. Each family continuously plants tubers for pig food; yet, they all realize that a certain time after the harvest, they will be forced to consume root crops until the next rice harvest is available. The Mandaya have no concept of the market value of surplus rice because a surplus never exists. Thus, a class structure based on differential land availability or differential rice stores does not occur.

Although cockfighting is the most interesting form of gambling among the Mandaya, most gambling activities in which rice harvests are redistributed involve playing cards which the Mandaya obtain through trade from the coastal settlements. Various card games exist but the one which is commonly played at the post-harvest gatherings is one which resembles a form of poker with certain similarities to what is called Greek rummy in the United States. Where they learned this is difficult to determine and I personally could not follow all the rules of the game. Each game might have three to four individuals and possibly up to a dozen. Also, only one game is played at any one time and the game is repeated depending on who still survives.

Gambling occurs on a small scale throughout the year, but the major gambling feasts occur during the immediate post-harvest period. Virtually all households are involved in the gambling of rice. Furthermore, the post-harvest rituals and gambling are probably the only time when all families within a particular domain come together for rituals, cockfighting and gambling. Gambling and the eventual redistribution of rice involves individuals and families who are related to one another, but in some cases, this will be the only time they see one another. Occasionally, an individual from a neighbouring domain can partake in rice gambling but he/she has no guarantee that losses in rice during gambling will be compensated later. Theoretically, the ideal culmination of these gambling feasts, which might last three or four days and nights amid heavy bouts of eating roasted pork, rice and drinking, is to gamble what rice one possesses until virtually the total community-produced rice is controlled by six to eight individuals. In some cases, the centralization of rice might be controlled by two or three individuals, especially if gambling feasts are extended to six or seven days. When the feasts end and virtually all locally-produced rice is controlled by a few individuals, either male or female, a long process of redistribution ensues in which individuals who have lost their yearly crop are replenished

with rice. The key to understanding the redistribution process is to establish what one has gambled and what one obtains in return. Those families who were at the lower ranges of production are normally supplied with more returned rice than they produced and, in turn, those families who had a good harvest may lose in the process of redistribution. No family has any say about what they and other families obtain on the return, since only individuals who now control rice through gambling will establish how the return is to be made and in what quantities. The authority invested in those who control the rice redistribution is never extended beyond the domain and derives from the conception of gambling as a respected skill. What gambling does is to equalize marked differences in production, thus allowing poorer families to consume rice over a number of months before reverting to root crops and vegetables. Gambling is a structured mechanism that minimizes possible class divisions; consequently, self-esteem is never lost. Since gambling is conducted without a profit motive, what does it mean? Basically, gambling with the ability to win or at least come up near the top of the finalists is a representation of the skills one possesses. A smart and shrewd gambler is respected for being able to make a bold and creative move and for being capable of long-range planning.

The effect of gambling rice is to enhance social differentiation temporarily by centralizing virtually all rice yields in the hands of a few individuals. In this sense, inequality is heightened and differences are asserted in the act of gambling, but through redistribution actual crop yield differences between households are partially reduced. Yet, production and crop yields are never equalized through gambling. As one old and wizened woman said, "getting ahead in the rice gambling means eating less tubers." It goes without saying that the fear of eating tubers throughout most of the year would be enough incentive to enhance one's ability to consume rice if the opportunity occurs.

Cockfighting also involves a certain amount of betting, especially money which is acquired through trade and selling of certain commodities to traders who come up from the coast. Betting on cockfights is minimal and the nature of bets seldom involves rice, though food items like parcels of pork are exchanged. All Mandaya cocks are locally grown, thus breeds which are better competitors seldom enter the arena of the fight. However, individuals know that cocks from the coast are stronger and more fierce, thus in some cases individuals will acquire them through trade. It is also the case that imported cocks win more often, but again the gains through gambling does not offset the cost.

The egalitarian ethos is premised on the fact that adult companions are equal and the creation of social relationships is built on and through a set of equals who share activity and commodities in common. Local level social structure which embeds families, households and hamlets into overlapping units of

interaction and exchange is based on an ethos in which individuals are one and a social organization and cultural institution which minimizes differences.

Conclusion

Precedence as an expression of hierarchy occurs as cultural categories based on kinship, taxonomic structures of fauna and flora, and in certain aspects of religious and political structures and symbols which deal with the idea of origin and place. In analyzing the structure of the *bagani* complex; the link to the past as manifest in deeds, locality and origin is established in and through genealogical depth and the meaning of genealogy through history and myth. The basis of hierarchy is where the origin of events and places are established through a sense of time.

This system of structured inequality, which is the basis of political process, is contrasted with various local level activities and organizations of networks which emerge as egalitarian frameworks based on the sharing of food, commodities and activities. The articulation of local and regional activities is highly visible when one calculates how human resources are moved over the landscape as a means of economic exploitation. Domestic units such as household, family and hamlet require mobility which is paramount and vital for economic activities. Under the *bagani* system, most movements were within the domain boundaries, but since the 1940s movements have been more far-reaching.

The articulation of egalitarianism on the local level and precedence on the political level is achieved through a common concern for the validation of origins as they relate to the past. These centres and places of origin are not only spatially delimited, they are also expressed in primary events and actions in which the deeds of past heroes and *bagani* are understood as an ongoing historicity which confirms and ratifies status and rank.

Although the *bagani* political structure is no longer a system of action, it still remains the central key linkage with the past and with religious symbolism which sanctifies the past as mythic threads linking the sky and the underworld. Again, the natural landscape encodes origins and events as semi-sacred based on the deeds of a heroic past which is now entering a period of endangerment.

Origins as the expression of precedence and egalitarianism as value present an interpretation of society and a cultural logic which moves away from a unified coherence, one in which all the strands of society work in a collective and harmonious manner. This kind of dual structure is based on the imperative quality that origin cannot be reduced to egalitarianism and, in turn, a system of local level equality is established and maintained by limiting rank and status differentiation to those realms of cultural institution which will not impinge on daily life.

References

Cole, F.C.

1913 *The wild tribes of Davao district, Mindanao*. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History.

Dumont, Louis

1975 Preface by Louis Dumont to the French edition of *The Nuer*. Translated by Mary and James Douglas. In J.H.M. Beattie and R.G. Lienhardt (eds) *Studies in social anthropology*, pp. 328-342. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

1979 The anthropological community and ideology. *Social Science Information* 18:785-817.

1980 *Homo hierarchicus: an essay on the caste system*. Revised edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1982 On value. In *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. 66, pp.207-241. Oxford: Oxford University Press..

Fox, James J.

1990 Hierarchy and precedence. Working Paper No. 3. Canberra: Comparative Austronesian Project, Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University.

Garvan, J.M.

1931 *The Manobos of Mindanao*. Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences, Vol. 23. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Gibson, Thomas

1985 The sharing of substance versus the sharing of activity among the Buid. *Man (N.S.)* 20:391-411.

1986 *Sacrifice and sharing in the Philippine Highlands: religion and society among the Buid of Mindoro*. London School of Economics, Monographs on Social Anthropology No. 57. London: The Athlone Press.

Yengoyan, Aram A.

1964 Environment, shifting cultivation, and social organization among the Mandaya of eastern Mindanao, Philippines. PhD dissertation, University of Chicago.

1965 Aspects of ecological succession among Mandaya populations in eastern Davao Province, Philippines. *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters* 50:437-443.

1966a Baptism and "Bisayanization" among the Mandaya of eastern Mindanao Philippines. *Asian Studies* 4:324-327.

- 1966b Marketing networks and economic processes among the abaca cultivating Mandaya of Eastern Mindanao, Philippines. Report to the Agricultural Development Council, New York.
- 1966c Marketing networks and economic processes among the abaca cultivating Mandaya of Eastern Mindanao, Philippines. Reprinted from report and abstracted in R.E. Borton (ed.) *Selected readings to accompany getting agriculture moving*, Vol. 2, pp.689-701. New York: Agricultural Development Council.
- 1970a Man and environment in the rural Philippines. *Philippine Sociological Review* 18:199-202.
- 1970b Open networks and native formalism: the Mandaya and Pitjantjatjara cases. In M. Freilich (ed.) *Marginal natives: anthropologists at work*, pp.403-439. New York: Harper and Row.
- 1971 The Philippines: the effects of cash cropping on Mandaya land tenure. In R. Crocombe (ed.) *Land tenure in the Pacific*, pp.362-376. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- 1973 Kindreds and task groups in Mandaya social organization. *Ethnology* 12:163-177.
- 1975a Introductory statement: Davao Gulf. In F.M. LeBar (ed.) *Ethnic groups of insular Southeast Asia: Philippines and Formosa*, Vol. 2, pp.50-51. New Haven, CT: Human Relations Area Files Press.
- 1975b Mandaya. In F.M. LeBar (ed.) *Ethnic groups of insular Southeast Asia: Philippines and Formosa*, Vol. 2, pp.51-55. New Haven, CT: Human Relations Area Files Press.
- 1977 Southeast Mindanao. In F.M. LeBar (ed.) *Insular Southeast Asia: ethnographic studies*, Section 4; *Philippines*, Vol. 1, pp.79-116. New Haven, CT: Human Relations Area Files Press.
- 1983 Transvestitism and the ideology of gender: Southeast Asia and beyond. In Vivian Patraka and Louise A. Tilly (eds) *Feminist re-visions: what has been and might be*, pp.135-148. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Women's Studies Program.
- 1985 Memory, myth and history: traditional agriculture and structure in Mandaya society. In Karl L. Hutterer, A. Terry Rambo and George Lovelace (eds) *Cultural values and human ecology in Southeast Asia*, pp.157-176. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies Paper No. 27.
- 1988 Hierarchy and the social order: Mandaya ethnic relations in Southeast Mindanao, Philippines. In A. Terry Rambo, Kathleen Gillogly and Karl L. Hutterer (eds) *Ethnic diversity and the control of natural resources in*

Origin, Hierarchy and Egalitarianism Among the Mandaya of Southeast Mindanao, Philippines

Southeast Asia, pp.173-195. Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia Number 32, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan.