# THE ROLE OF ISLAM IN THE HISTORY OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE*

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## I

WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF AN INDEPENDENT STATE, THE Filipinos find themselves in the difficult but exciting process of progressively welding themselves into a national community. Clearly, the granting of citizenship and other rights to a group of people living within a definite territory does not immediately create a national community, but such political characteristics do help to hasten its eventual formation. No national community is possible without consciousness of itself. This consciousness cannot be considered as something developed overnight, as it is usually the result of a long historical process as well as a constellation of expectations and aspirations of a people. A national community is, as it were, always in a process of becoming: that is, its members are trying to become more and more of a national community. Consequently, a people in the process of integrating themselves into a national community will search for further elements of common identity. On such element is the possession of a national tradition. Another is the existence of a common set of aspirations and expectations related to one another by a common ideology; or, in the absence of this, at least an agreement on how such an ideology is to be created or determined.

Now, no national tradition is by definition possible without the possession of a common history. It is a history cherised and treasured as an account of the development of a people or peoples in the process of becoming a national community. By common consent among most Filipinos, some of the regional revolts against Spain, the Philippine Revolution, and the precepts and ideas of persons elevated as national heroes constitute significant events that have entered into the composition of the Filipino national tradition. The fact that some of our scholars today are still discussing whether or not certain events are to be emphasized in the history of the birth of the Filipino people is merely a symptom that Filipinos are still in the search for further elements of national identity.

At present there are more than two million Moslems in the Philippine South with all the attributes of Philippine citizenship. Since it appears that everyone would like these Moslems to consider themselves Filipinos, it is understandable why there is a demand that they adopt, as their own history as Filipinos, the above mentioned significant events. It is to be noted that such events are closely related to or identified with the struggle against Spanish colonial domination. Since this is the case, the problem can be raised as to whether the struggles of the Moslems of the South against Spanish attempts to conquer them can also be taken as part of the general struggle of the native inhabitants of the Philippine Archipelago against not only Spanish do-

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mination but Western imperialism as well. If the Philippine Revolution is to be regarded not only as a movement of some Christian natives against Spanish rule, but of the Filipino people in their attempts at freedom, then there is no reason why the more than three hundred years of struggle of the Moslems of the South against Spain and resistance against pressure from other Western powers, cannot, in the same light, also be considered as part of the Filipino struggle for freedom. To put it in another way, both parallel struggles can be considered as a movement of racially and ethnically related peoples in the Archipelago that have helped to bring about the present situation where they find themselves trying to integrate into a single nation of Filipinos.

The implications of this is that the struggle of the Moslems in the South against any form of Western dominance is to be interpreted as an expression of their patriotism and love for the soil of their birth. Consequently, their outstanding leaders and heroes are to be honored as persons who helped bring about the formation of the national community.

At this point, we should recourse to a distinction between what might be called "The history of events in the Philippines" and "The history of the development of the Filipino national community." In the latter, not every event recorded in the former is necessarily significant to it. It is well known that many events in the Philippines have dealt with the internecine quarrels and squabbles between Spanish colonial officers and ecclesiastical officials or with institution affecting them solely. As long as these events did not appreciably affect the development of a national consciousness, they need not be emphasized in the second type of history. But, indeed, all events that helped bring about a greater consciousness of race, the universalization of expectations, a greater desire for independence, and a concerted opposition to foreign domination, will belong to the second. Certainly, almost up to the end of the nineteenth century, there was no such thing as a Filipino people in the sense we now understand it. It is well known that the Christian natives of the Archipelago generally came to be called "Indios," and the Moslems of the South "Moros." But there are many historical factors which have contributed to the progressive transformation of the "Indio" and "Moro" into Filipinos belonging to a national community. This process, not unaccompanied by conflict, has been gradual but inevitable.

## II

In the writing of the history of the development of the Filipino national community, either in the form of a textbook or as an attempt to recapture the past with the view of understanding the present as well as to plot a direction for the future, the student of Philippine History is faced with the problem of how to deal with the growth and decline of the sultanates of the Moslem South. He is faced at least with two alternatives or opposing techniques, namely, either to deal with them as insignificant but nevertheless interesting chapters in the development of the national community or to deal with them as integral parts in the history of the development of the national community. The second approach interprets the struggle between the Spaniards and the Moslem sultanates as part of the history of Filipino struggle for freedom and, therefore, as an essential factor that helped bring about increasing possibilities for eventual independence of the people of

the Archipelago. Such an alternative assumes that the struggle of the Moslems was essentially one against Western colonialism and imperialism. However, from the historical point of view, this approach is complex since such a struggle was essentially part of a wider Malaysian struggle against European commercial infiltration and eventual colonial domination. In brief, the struggle of the Moslems of the Philippine South against Spain and resistance against other Western powers is simply an aspect of the wider Malaysian struggle against Western Imperialism in the whole of Malaysian.[1]

That most of the present textbooks on Philippine History lean closer to the first alternative is understandable and certainly unavoidable to a great extent. First of all, most of the data our writers possess about the history of the Moslem South originated from Spanish sources. These sources are generally classifiable into two groups: those originating from Spanish colonial officials and those from the pen of Spanish ecclesiastics or missionaries. Spanish colonial officials were able to gather a great deal of statistics regarding the economic and military resources of the Moslems, their dealing with British and Dutch traders, etc.; but all these data were collected and viewed with the final objective of transforming the Moslems in the South from members of independent principalities into loyal subjects of the Spanish King. Crude attempts in the nineteenth century to understand their institutions were initiated to discover means of facilitating the problem of conquest. In the case of Spanish missionaries, data about population, beliefs, customs, etc., were gathered and disseminated among ecclesiastical circles with the aim of discovering the effective means to evangelize the Moslems and convert them into Catholicism.

The consequence is that the modern scholar exposed to all these cannot help but, albeit unwittingly, utilize the point of view of the authors of his only available sources to the extent of using their very language — a language not purely descriptive but colored by prejudice or value premises. This situation is understandable, for even if a scholar is inspired by intellectual curiosity or academic interest, he is apt to take over the perspective of the author of his sources in the absence of an original or alternative perspective. As mentioned earlier, some nineteenth century Spanish historians did look at the Moslem principalities of the South as an area to be conquered — an irritant to the colonial administration of the Philippine Archipelago. Other Spanish historians saw these principalities as populated by a people steeped in error and perversely refusing to see the light of what was conceived as the truth faith. Sometimes, even if the historian was not a priest, as long as he was deeply committed to the Catholic Faith or believed that the Christianization of the Moslems would make it easier for them to be integrated into the colonial body politic, he almost took the stand of the friar historian or writer. However, during the last few decades of Spanish rule in the Philippines, a couple of Spanish military writers had voiced a radically different approach.

Any modern Filipino historian, still following the principle voiced by some Spaniards of the last century that the Catholic religion is an essential

[1] The term Malaysia is used in a geographical sense. It includes Indonesia, the Federation of Malaysia, Brunei, and the Philippines.

element in the "national integrity" of the Philippines or that the Philippines is a Christian nation, will naturally look at the Moslems of the South as those "other Filipinos" who have not played an important role in the building of our growing national community. Such an attitude is clearly based on the premises that the Catholic religion is one of if not the basic element for identification in the Filipino national community; a concept presently unacceptable on legal and historical grounds. I hope that I am not exaggerating in having made the above digression; and if I had done so, it is simply on account of my desire to make a point.

In all fairness to some of the textbooks that have come about in the last couple of decades, allow me to note that space is sometimes alloted to the coming of Islam to the Philippines, the bravery of the Moslem warriors and their resistance, the birth of Moslem leadership as well as some admiration for them. These occupy a few paragraphs, and the coming of Islamic influences are dealt with in the same manner as the coming of Indian, Chinese and Japanese influences before Spain's arrival. This situation may be partially due to lack of available data or sheer ignorance, and stems to a great extent from the lack of a dialogue between the people of the North and the South.

This lack of communication is of two sorts. The development of a Christian culture among the peoples of Luzon and the Visayas, with the parallel intensification of Islamic institutions and consciousness of the Moslems, has helped to make them strangers to each other in spite of cultural affinities and geographical proximity. The other kind of lack of communication and understanding has come about because of the deliberate colonial Spanish policy to keep the two peoples divided. This was effected by making native Christian soldiers from Luzon and the Visayas fight the Moslems and thus extend the frontiers of the Spanish Empire. To increase the enthusiasm of the native soldiers, their Catholicism was emphasized as the factor that made all the difference. The Christian was, in effect, still fighting the Moor. In this manner, the Christian and Moslem natives of the Philippine Archipelago were made to continue the war of the Crusades which, having begun in the Mediterranean area, had shifted to the tropical regions of Malaysia. As long as the natives of both sides had no conception of a Filipino nationality, and as long as their identifying factors were their religion and diverse political loyalties, one group loyal to the Spanish King and his religious beliefs, the other to their own sultans and religious beliefs, their killing of one another was understandable and unavoidable. The ones who mainly profited from the struggle were the colonial masters. But history has its ironies: out of such conflicts emerged the existence of two peoples, joined by ancient cultural ties, with their fates thrust into each other to form a common destiny.

It is to be remembered that one of these peoples were natives who had been colonized and Christianized, while the other was not one of these. To refuse to take the history of the latter as an integral part of the history of the national community is in effect to assert that the proper history of the national community is that only of a conquered people, while the history of the unconquered people is to be dismissed. As it were, with the context of

Spanish colonial history, the freedom, valor, and independence of the Moslems were held against them; while in the history of our national community, these are ignored. The answer to this is that a history need not always be that of a conquered or unconquered people exclusively.

I have prepared a brief outline, along chronological lines, of the most salient points of the history of the Moslem sultanates of the Philippines South. Points of contact with Spanish colonial history of the Philippines are mentioned. But just as important are contacts with the neighboring peoples in Malaysia. It will be noted that the early history of the Moslem South is part of a wider field, that is, the history of Malaysia during its Islamization process as a concomitant of its participation in the international trade under Moslem control. This is the first stage in periodication. The second and third stages refer to the fragmentation of Malaysia with the coming of Western European commercial, religious and colonial penetration. The fourth and fifth stages represent the progressive isolation of the Moslem sultanates from the general stream of Malaysian history and exemplifies greater efforts of Spain to incorporate them into the affairs of the Philippine Archipelago. The fates of the Christian natives and Moslem natives of the Philippine Archipelago have been drawn closer together. The last stage refers to the decline of some sultanates and gradual disappearance of others as well as the eventual integration of all the inhabitants of the Philippines into a unitary state. The latter history of the Philippine Moslems then becomes significant only in relation to their Christian brothers and neighbors in the Philippine Archipelago. Their historical isolation from the rest of Malaysia is completed.

The following outline is presented to textbook writers for them to discover elements in the history of the Moslems which can be incorporated in the history of the Filipino people. It can also serve as an outline for a more specialized study of the history of the Moslem South and is thus offered to young Filipino Moslem scholars interested in such a study. It is not a comprehensive outline but its merits lie in a new interpretation exemplified by a system of periodication not yet fully experimented with but full of possibilities.

## III

There are at least two approaches to the study of the early history of the sultanates of the Moslem South principally those of Sulu and Magindanao. A first approach is to lay emphasis on their political development along dynastic lines and the development of their indigenous institutions, while treating their relations with neighboring principalities as constituting their foreign relations. The second approach views the sultanates as part of a wider constellation of sultanates and principalities, a veritable Malaysian *dar-ul-Islam*. The first approach will no doubt bring about a great deal of important and interesting data, but such an approach tends to view the development of the sultanates as if they were relatively isolated phenomena. The second approach, on the other hand, incorporates the data of the first approach but views the development of the sultanates of the South as instances of the general spread of Islam in Malaysia. It, therefore, views the Philippine Archipelago merely as a geographical extension of the Malaysian

Archipelago and the next logical area for Islamic expansion together with or after the Islamization of Borneo, the Celebes and the Moluccas. Facts demonstrate that Islamic influences from Borneo and Sulu were beginning to shed root in Luzon during the first half of the sixteenth century. Not long after, Islam was being strengthened in Mindanao from Sulu as well as from the Moluccas.

The spread of Islam in the Malaysian Archipelago is indeed a legitimate field of inquiry;[2] but such a complex phenomena must not be looked at as a mere spread of a few theological principles or religious beliefs and rituals made possible by a handful of enthusiastic missionaries. The spread of Islam had represented an interplay of political, economic, psychological and social causes and factors together with their ideological concomitants. Furthermore, the attractive characteristics of Islam as such, as well as its ability to satisfy new needs brought about by rapid economic changes due to the nature of the international trade at that time, must also be considered.

The second approach is valuable and applicable to at least a couple of centuries before and after the coming of European powers to Malaysia. If this approach is acceptable, then a system of periodization can be formulated and presented in the following stages, which will be divided into various phases. Such divisions are not to be interpreted as rigid historial demarcations, but as a continuous process conventionally categorized into stages to make the history of the sultanates more intelligible and to emphasize historical incidents believed to be significant.

I. The first stage represents the conception of Malaysia as a constellation of sultanates and principalities exemplifying different stages in Islamization. It covers the period from the end of the 13th century to the end of the 15th century.

This stage portrays sultans, port-kings, minor chieftains, etc., participating in various degrees and intensities in the international trade from the Red Sea to the China Sea, a trade that was under the control of Moslem traders, principally Arabs, Indians and Persians. Many of the Malaysian ports served as sources of articles of trade and as clearing houses. A more direct participation of Sulu in this international trade can be traced to the arrival of Arab traders around the end of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth century, not long after they were ousted from the China trade in 878 during the T'ang dynasty. After a prohibitive policy of the Chinese against Arab and other Moslem traders, Kalah in the Malay Archipelago became for some time the last port of call for them. However, due to the persistent demand for Chinese products in Arab lands either for domestic use or reexportation to other lands in the Mediterranean, the Arab traders made efforts to get at Chinese products. It was then that they learned or discovered a new route starting from Borneo then passing through Sulu, Palawan, Luzon, up to Formosa and the South of Japan where Chinese products were available. Even after the middle of the tenth century during the Sung

[2] For the validity of dealing with the Islamization of Malaysia from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century as an important periodization in Malaysian history, cf. Syed Hussein Al-Atas, "Reconstruction of Malaysian History," *Revue du Sud-est Asiatique*, No. 3, 1963.

Dynasty, when the Moslem traders were allowed once more to frequent the ports of South China and the old route through the coast of Indochina began to be utilized again, the new route was still used since the traders became acquainted either with new products or better sources of old products. However, it is clear that the use of this new or second route does not necessarily imply the Islamization of either Borneo or Sulu. It only suggests the presence of Moslem traders in Sulu and, therefore, its more direct participation in the international trade. Sulu had started to become a clearing house for products which its intrepid sailors brought from the more outlying islands.

The following are important phases of the first stage:

a. The coming to Sulu of Arab traders, who performed missionary activities during the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century. At this time there is evidence of a trading colony in Sulu consisting at least of transient Moslems traders. This is the phase of the coming of the *Makhdumin* (Arabic Singular: *makdum*). The first seeds of Islam were sowed by them.

b. Increasing participation of Chinese traders in the Sulu trade. Traditional accounts claim that Chinese Moslem traders had accompanied or competed with Arab traders. Eventually, competition and other factors made the Chinese displace Arab traders in the second route.

c. The coming of Sumatran Islamic influences and political institutions during the end of the fourteenth century. This phase is represented in the Sulu tarsilas by the coming of Rajah Baguinda Ali with ministers and soldiers who arrived in Sulu and established a principality.

d. Sulu's official contacts with the Celestial throne 1417-1424. At least three "tributes" were sent.

e. The establishment of the sultanate in Sulu around the middle of the fifteenth century under the Sherif Abu Bakr, an Arab who had travelled extensively in Malaysia. The establishment of the sultanate assumes that a great number of the coastal inhabitants of Sulu had become Moslems and therefore responsive to such as Islamic institution. It also shows their acquaintance with some Islamic jurisprudential elements especially those which asserted the right of an Arab, more especially a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, to rule non-Arab Moslems. The Sheriff Abu Bakr initiated attempts to convert the inhabitants of the interior of Sulu (*Buranuns*) and is believed to have been successful. The coastal peoples and those of the interior of Sulu became slowly integrated into a political community under a central authority.

f. The coming of Islam to the Cotabato basin and its consequent spread to the Lanao area during the end of the fifteenth century. This is signified in the Mindanao tarsilas by the coming of the Sherif Muhammed Kabungsuwan, an Arab-Malay from Malaya, as well as a couple of Arab predecessors claimed to have been also sherifs and of which one returned to Sumatra.

g. The increase of Islamic influences in Sulu and Mindanao through greater maritime contacts with Malacca, Java and Borneo, and the occasional visits of Moslem traders and missionaries from Arab and Indian lands.

II. The second stage represents the coming of Western European Imperialism and Colonialization during the 16th and 17th centuries to Malaysia.

This stage represents the destruction of the Arab and/or Moslem monopoly of the international trade in Southeast Asia as a consequence of the coming of the Portuguese and the defeat of Arab fleets in Socotra (1507), Diu (1513), etc. The Portuguese and Spaniards came in the sixteenth century

not only to extend the possessions of their sovereigns but to spread Catholicism. In the same manner that they had the consciousness of coming from Christian lands and had a religious mission, the Moslems of Malaysia had a consciousness of their Islamic faith and of the integrity of *dar-ul-Islam*. It would be a fallacy to maintain that on account of the different stages of Islamization in the various parts of Malaysia there was no such conception. Actually, by this time Islam was well rooted in Acheh, Malacca, parts of Java, Brunei and Sulu. From a very important point of view, Islam constituted the only ideology that resisted and combatted Western Imperialism and Colonialism, and Christianity. Early Portuguese and Spanish authors had looked at their arrival in Malaysia as the continuance of the Crusader's war between Christians and Moslems. It will be recalled that the fall of Malacca in 1511 was less than two decades after the fall of the Moorish kingdom in Granada. The Turkish menace to Europe had also increased after their conquest of Constantinople, while the coming of the Portuguese to Malaysia had followed their wars in North Africa against the Moslems.

The important phases of the second stage can be summarized as follows:

a. The coming of the Portuguese and their disruption of the Moslem international trade control. The fall of Malacca to them in 1511, with the consequence that the center of power of Malaysian Moslems shifted from Malacca to Acheh in northern Sumatra. Dutch commercial interests in Java and other parts of the East Indies in the 1590's.

b. The coming of a Christian religious and economic threat brought about a deliberate attempts at Islamic missionary activities on the uncommitted parts of Malaysia who were either Hindu, pagan, etc. This time the missionary activities were initiated by Malaysians themselves, principally Javanese, accompanied occasionally by Arab zealots. Many port kings became Moslems; Ambon 1515, Banjermasin 1520, Mataram 1525, Bantam 1527, Sambas, Bima, and Macassar in 1600, etc.[3]

c. The rise of Brunei as a commercial power, its dynastic alliances with Sulu, and its greater participation in the trade of the Philippine Archipelago. By the second half of the sixteenth century, Manila was already ruled by members of the Bornean aristocracy. This signified the beginnings of the Islamization of the area around Manila Bay. Beginnings of Bornean missionary activities in Batangas and other parts of the Philippines during the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

d. By the last quarter of the sixteenth century, there began a greater consolidation of the possessions of the Sulu sultan from the northeastern part of Borneo to parts of Zamboanga, including the islands of Taguima (Basilan) and Tawi-Tawi.

e. At the same time the consolidation of the "sultanates" of Magindanao and Buayan is begun. Dynastic relations between them as well as with the Moluccas, principally Ternate. Coming of Moslem missionaries and functionaries from Ternate to Mindanao.

f. Fall of Manila as a Moslem principality in 1571. Spanish attacks on Brunei in 1578 and 1581 and first attack on Sulu in 1578. Treaty between the Sulu Sultan and Spaniards on June 14, 1578.

g. Conflicts between Spaniards and Magindanaos in 1579, 1596, etc. Spanish attempts to colonize Mindanao.

[3] At this point a study of Bertram Schrieke's theory that the spread of Islam in Malaysia was accelerated by the coming of Western powers is imperative.

h. Spanish expeditions to the Moluccas: 1982, 1585, 1593 and 1603. The expeditions can be interpreted not only as attempts to check Dutch ambitions in the area or to extend Spanish territories but also as attempts to isolate Moslems in the Philippine Archipelago and cut off sources of human and material aid to them from the Moluccas. Conversely, the temporary neutralization of the Magindanaos was sought to facilitate the conquest of the Moluccas.

III. The third stage represents the gradual fragmentation of the Malaysian *dar-ul-Islam* under the spheres of different colonial powers. It is a stage of great resistance and counterattacks against the West which were mainly unsuccessful. The rise of Acheh as a great Moslem power failed to dislodge the Portuguese in Malacca. Javanese resistance against the Dutch commercial ambitions had weakened. Brunei's eclipse as a commercial power had begun. Brunei's missionary activities in Batangas, etc. had ceased. The fall of Luzon and the Visayas to the Spaniards and the destruction of Moslem pockets of resistance in Mindoro and other islands signified that the northeast expansion of Islam to the furthest end of the Malaysian Archipelago had been checked. Islam's furthest limit would then be in its outposts in Sulu and in Mindanao. The following phases are important:

a. The contest for the control of Luzon and the Visayas between the Spaniards and the Moslems. This refers to at least two events: The first represents the 1589 attempts at alliance between the Brunei, Sulu and Magindanao sultanates with the disgruntled aristocracy of Manila and Tondo (now under Spanish rule) to dislodge Spaniards from the Philippine Archipelago. Desperate attempts to get Japanese help did not materialize. Significance of the Magat Salamat Conspiracy. The second event refers to the so-called piratical raids initiated by the Magindanaos with Sulu and Ternate help from 1599 to 1603. Blood compact between Magindanaos under Buisan and Leyte datus against Spain. Failure of the ultimate aim of such large scale raids.

b. The decline of the "sultanate" of Buayan around 1619 in favor of the Magindanao sultanate under the redoubtable Sultan Dipatuan Kuderat whose powers extended up to the Maranao regions. Cagayan de Oro becomes tributary to him in 1622 and Selangani in 1626. Kuderat's assumption of the title of Sultan. After his death in 1671 the decline of the Magindanao sultanate began and slowly broke up into various minor sultanates. Spanish presence in Mindanao frustrated the natural course of events for the gradual integration of various minor Moslem principalities under one centralized authority.

c. Spanish conquest of the Moluccas in 1606 cut off aid to the Moslems of the Philippines from the farther south. Further isolation of Moslems in the Philippines. Sulu and Magindanao sought for Dutch alliance in 1614. Increase of Moslem raids in 1616, 1625, etc.

d. The system of divide and rule of the Western colonial powers. Sultanates and principalities made to fight each other. In the Philippines, Christianized natives made to fight Moslems as well as to extend Spanish possessions. Spaniards persistently tried to foster dissensions between Buayan and Magindanao. Nevertheless, dynastic or commercial rivalries between Western powers at home and abroad brought to Malaysia. This explains Dutch aid to Sulu, Magindanao, and Ternate Moslems in their resistance against Spanish rule. The eventual frustration of Dutch ambitions in the Philippines also implied further dependence of Moslems in the Philippines on their own resources. Establishment of Spanish fort in Zamboanga in 1635. Continued raids on Spanish held territories by Moslem alliances.

e. The expeditions of Governor General Corcuera to Mindanao in 1637 and Sulu in 1638. Lanao expedition of 1639. The temporary character of Spanish victories. Fall of Jolo on January 4, 1638. Transfer of Sultan's capital to Tawi-Tawi in 1639. The long rule of Sultan Muwallil Wasit I (Rajah Bongsu) from around 1614 to 1648. His alliances with Macassar in 1638. Alliance with the Dutch in 1644. Treaty between Spain and Sulu on April 14, 1646. The evacuation of Zamboanga in 1662. The Sulu and Magindanao sultans as independent as before.

f. The inability of Sulu to expand or extract tribute from up North led it to look further westward in the Island of Borneo for its tributary expansion. On account of intervention in Brunei's dynastic wars, the Sulu Sultan's territories in Borneo extended further West to the Kimanis river in North Borneo around 1690. By the end of the seventeenth century during the reign of Sahab-ud-Din, the power of the Sulu sultan extended from parts of Zamboanga to the Kimanis river in the northern part of the islands of Borneo.

IV. The fourth stage refers to the attempts of the Sulus to regain part of their former glory during the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. Around 1700 there were dynastic quarrels between Sulu and Magindanao and the Sulus tried to exercise some dominion over the Cotabato and Zamboanga regions. During this state there were strong attempts on the part of the Moslem sultanates to recapture their ancient commercial glory. The English tried to have a foothold in Sulu territory to exercise a greater hold on their China trade. A few salient events are listed below:

a. A modest resumption of Sulu trade with China initiated during the reign of the sultan Sahabud-Din around 1700. Badar-Din I's missions to China in 1726 and 1727.

b. Attempts of Badar-ud-Din I for peaceful commercial relations with Manila. Treaty of December 19, 1726.

c. The so-called piratical raids during this time and earlier can be interpreted as a source of income to make up for the loss of participation in the international trade and the former trade wtih China. The raids were also meant to weaken Spanish resources which were used to subject the Moslems. Of importance too was that they were also intended to intimidate Christian natives used by Spaniards to conquer the Moslems. Moslem attack on Palawan, the Calamianes, etc., under Datu Sabdula (Nasar-ud-Din) in the 1730's. The significance of these attacks is that they partially satisfied the expectations of the Sulus for strong leadership during a time when there was a dynastic rivalry for the sultanate.

d. The difference of character and rule of the two brothers A'zim-ud-Din I (1735-1748) and Muiz-ud-Din (1748-1763). The former believed that he could keep his throne and help Sulu with friendly relations with Spain and by the granting of concessions to Spaniards. Accepting the fact of the meager resources of the Sulus and their relative isolation from other Moslem principalities now under the domination of other Western powers, A'zim-ud-Din I believed that Sulu's progress could be the result of the strengthening of the institution of the sultanate and other Islamic institutions together with commercial and political relations with Spain and other lands. His attempts at commercial relations with China. His "tribute" to China in 1743. Muiz-ud-Din (Datu Bantilan), on the other hand, believed that such independence could be maintained by the closer relations with English who could be considered as sources of material aid against persistent Spanish aims at domination. He even toyed with the idea of contacting the

Ottoman sultan at Istanbul for possible aid to help maintain Sulu's independence. Bantilan's conception of dar-ul-Islam though relatively of place at that time reflects his Islamic consciousness. In 1754, he almost asked for Chinese protection. Muiz-ud-Din reign witnessed an increase of Moro depredations on the Bicol Regions, Mindoro, the Manila area, etc.

e. Relative peaceful relations between Sulu and Spain from the reign of Sultan Muhamad Israel (1774-1778) to Sultan Sharaf-ud-Din (1791-1808). Modest commercial prosperity for Sulu.

V. The decline of the sultanates. The decline already manifested earlier becomes more manifestly rapid by the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. Badar-ud-Din's earlier failure to capture Zamboanga in 1719 not long after its refortification by the Spaniards revealed Sulu's weakness. Badar-ud-Din's alliance with the Magindanaos and negotiations to patch divisive elements between Sulus and Magindanaos around 1720 to make another try at Zamboanga was not very effective. Greater pressure from Spaniards to assert their sovereignty in Sulu. Sulu was then being pushed into the vortex of conflicting and rival ambitions of Western powers which spelled doom to its independent existence as a small principality that had ceased to have place in a rapidly changing world condition. A few of the significant events are as follows:

a. The commercial ambitions of the English exemplified in the cession of Balambagan and the first cession of the North Borneo territories of the Sulu Sultan to them in the 1760's. Destruction of Balambangan in 1775 by the Sulus under the leadership of the royal datu Teteng. French commercial ambitions shown by their desire to purchase the island of Basilan from Sultan Pulalun (1842-1862) in 1844 and 1845.

b. Spanish use of steam war vessels in 1848 enabled them to gradually gain mastery of the Sulu Sea. The destruction of the power of the Balangingi Samals and forcible deportation of survivors in 1848 by the Spanish.

c. Spanish expedition to Davao in 1848. Oyanguren versus the Sulu Datu Bago.

d. The visit of James Brooke, the British consul general at Borneo and governor of Labuan, to Sulu in 1849. The inking of a political and commercial pact between Great Britain and Sulu (although never confirmed) revealed the attempts of Sulus to play one European power against another. Fear of rival Western powers in Sulu alarmed the Spaniards who now desire more than ever to subjugate Sulu.

e. Spanish fear of and reaction to the ambitions of the British and French as well as the persistence of piratical raids culminated in the Spanish expeditions against Sulu and the capture of Jolo in 1851 under the leadership of Governor General Urbiztondo. Treaty with the Sulus on April 30, 1851. Sulus interpreted the treaty as one of friendly relations while Spaniards considered it Sulu's acceptance of Spanish sovereignty.

f. The Spanish expeditions of 1876 and capture of Jolo. Establishment of a permanent outpost in Jolo. The January 1878 cession of Sulu's North Borneo possessions to a British Company by the Sulu Sultan. Treaty of July 26, 1878 with the Spaniards. Extension of Spanish power to other islands. Spanish intervention in Sulu affairs even in dynastic quarrels, etc. Rule of Jamal-ul-A'zam (1862-1881).

g. The rise of the *juramentados*. Significance of such an event is that organized resistance under the Sultan had failed. Responsibility for the integrity of *dar-ul-Islam* had become an individual one.

h. Change of official Spanish policy: the transformation of the Moslems in the Philippine Archipelago into loyal Spanish subjects rather than converting them into Catholicism.

i. The 1885 Protocol between Great Britain, Spain and Germany agreed that Sulu belonged to the Spanish sphere of sovereignty.

j. The 1891 Weyler Campaign in Cotabato. The 1895 Blanco's campaign in Lanao. The *juramentado* institution among the Magindanaos.

VI. The Philippine Revolution and the American Occupation.

a. The leaders of the Revolution considered the Moslems of the South as Filipinos bound with them by racial ties, ancient historical relations, and geographical propinquity. The Manifesto of the Hongkong Junta in 1898 declared that Filipinos were made to fight the Moros in Mindanao and Sulu who "in reality are our brothers, like us fighting for their independence." Aguinaldo's Message to Congress on January 1, 1899 proposed that the government be empowered to "negotiate with the Moros of Jolo and Mindanao for purposes of establishing national solidarity upon the basis of a real federation with absolute respect for their beliefs and traditions."

b. The Bates Treaty with the Sulu Sultan in 1899.

c. The defeat of sporadic uprisings against American Occupation and the futility of the battles of Bud Bajo (1906) and Bud Bagsak (1913).

d. Sultan Jamal-ul-Kiram's formal abdication of political power in 1915 (Carpenter's Agreement). Moslem representation in the Philippine Government.

e. The role of Moro resistance against the Japanese Occupation.

f. The independence of the Philippines on July 4, 1946. All Filipino Moslems with rights of citizenship. Their responsibility in building the national community and the responsibility of others towards them. The increased secularization of Philippine society.

Anyone with some acquaintance with the history of events in Sulu and Mindanao will easily notice the incomplete character of the above outline. Actually, there has been no intention at comprehensiveness. It is hoped that most of the important events were included. However, to one desiring to avoid a purely chronological narration, these events can only be significant in terms of the social and political institutions of the Moslem of the South as well as the economic structure of their society. It is indispensable to possess a good background of classical Islamic beliefs, practices, and institutions, over and above a knowledge of those indigenous or pre-Islamic elements shared by the Moslems of the Philippines with other Malaysian peoples. With such a background it is possible to appreciate the results of the impact of Islam on such indigenous elements. For example, the *juramentado* upsurge in the 1880's cannot be fully understood except with the knowledge of the Sultan's failure to prevent a non-Moslem power from controlling a land asserted to have been part of *dar-ul-Islam*. That the responsibility for the defense of such a territory had shifted from a duly constituted authority to that of an individual is only significant if elements of Islamic jurisprudence are considered. Likewise, the general lack of Sulu adherence to treaties entered between their Sultan and Spanish authorities can be better understood in terms of the relations between the Sultan and the datus or traditional chiefs. This in turn requires knowledge of Sulu traditions re-

garding the coming of the Sherif-ul-Hashim, reputed to have established himself as first sultan of Sulu, his commitments with the datus, the principles of dynastic succession, the division of territorial authority, etc. Moreover, the dynastic relations between the different sultans of Mindanao and their claims to rule and exact tribute are to some extent based on appeals to Islamic law and traditions.

For the first two stages in the outline there must be further recourse to additional local tarsilas other than those already published. One must also be continually alert to tarsilas that are slowly coming to light from Borneo and the Indonesian islands from the south of Mindanao. However, it is imperative to develop a technique to evaluate such tarsilas in order to render them of historical value. A comparative study of the local tarsilas is essential, and a great deal of some of them can be checked against Spanish, English and Dutch sources. The value of some tarsilas, especially those that present an enumeration of the sultans of Sulu, is that they do not only reveal the most salient characteristics of the personality of the sultans but also what the Sulus considered the most important historical event of their reign. Negatively speaking, the differences among tarsilas, relative to certain omissions, reveal dynastic rivalries and even certain Sulu models for dynastic successions. But further research into primary sources in the Spanish, British and Dutch Archives is indispensable. However, without the virtue of tolerance and the ability to emancipate oneself from unexamined premises, historical empathy for the struggles of the Moslems of the South, and an uncompromising desire to understand, nothing can be accomplished.

The history of the Moslems of the Philippine South and the lives of their sultans are not devoid of an epic character. That a great deal of cruelty, tears and suffering have followed the wake of their depredations and persistent struggle against aims to conquer them is not to be denied; but these are merely responses to similar inflictions upon them. In all life-and-death struggles, no contestant has a monopoly of virtue or vice. Yet the foe had observed the invariant bravery, stoicism in defeat, and, in general, magnanimity in the moment of Muslim victory. What had not been easily conceded to them is that such behavior could have stemmed from their basic Islamic belief, that there is a universal prescription for behavior and that man ought to try to approximate it. Indeed, in the further search for national identity one of our largest minorities in the Philippines can contribute a great deal.