

NOTES ON MORO BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alfredo T. Tiamson

The [writing of history] requires numerous sources and greatly varied knowledge. It also requires a good speculative mind and thoroughness. [Possession of these two qualities] leads the historian to the truth and keeps him from slips and errors. If he trusts historical information in its plain transmitted form and has no clear knowledge of the principles of politics, the nature of civilization, or the conditions governing human social organization, and if, furthermore, he does not evaluate remote or ancient material through comparison with near or contemporary material, he often cannot avoid stumbling and slipping and deviating from the highroad of truth. Historians, Qur'an commentators and leading transmitters have committed frequent errors in the stories and events they reported. They accepted them in the plain transmitted form, without regard for their value. They did not check them with the principles underlying such historical situations, nor did they compare them with similar material. Also, they did not probe (more deeply) with the yardstick of philosophy, with the help of knowledge of the nature of things, or with the help of speculation and historical insight. Therefore, they strayed from the truth and found themselves lost in the desert of baseless assumptions and errors.

Abd-al Rahman Ibn-Khaldun

The Muqaddiman

Perhaps one of the least understood – and definitely least appreciated – area in serious historical studies is the preparation of bibliographies. And may I add immediately, not any less frustrating professionally, since historical studies often neglect to acknowledge having used your bibliography. The great Jesuit historian, Fr. Horacio de la Costa, was thinking of such a volume when he said: “How immensely would such a research tool lighten the labors of those engaged in a study of

our history! How much time it would save, which is at present lost in random and fruitless inquiry, and how tremendously it would improve the standard of our scholarship.”¹

While the statement above may appear self-serving, the status of bibliography-making in this country leaves much to be desired indeed. Concerning the question we intend to discuss in this paper, the publications of the first volume of my bibliography on Mindanao² and Shiro Saito's³ attempted to fill the gap in Muslim historiography. I have since completed the second volume of the bibliography on Mindanao-Sulu, and am in the process of completing the first comprehensive bibliography on Muslim Filipinos.

The paper is divided into two parts: The first part will present the main outline, a sort of survey of Moro Historiography in the light of Ibn-Khaldun's concept of the historian's tasks. The second part will present a review of outstanding scholars who have written on Muslim history, and my brief comments on their works. Additional information is given in the appendix below.

If we accept the idea of a well-known historiographer⁴ that history is the recorded experience of the human race, and that man can profit from experience in any field of knowledge, then we must agree that the writing of history must go hand in hand with a study of those “sciences auxiliary to history.”

That historiography does not limit itself to written documents, whether published or not, has been known for a long time. Historians have called upon epigraphers for the corpora of inscriptions taken from monuments, tombs, animal bones, clay tablets, and bamboo tubes. Paleographers, too, have extended their science in terms of studies of printed text from ancient scripts.⁵ The other “auxiliary sciences” which have illuminated many historical problems are the following: folklore, anthropology and ethnology, archaeology, historical linguistics, numismatics, etc. Thus, to quote again from Ibn Khaldun: “If [the writer of history] trust historical information in its plain transmitted form and has no clear knowledge of the principles of politics, the nature of civilization, or the conditions governing human social organization, and if, furthermore, he does not evaluate remote or ancient material through comparison with near or contemporary material, he

often cannot avoid stumbling and slipping and deviating from the high-road of truth."

Pre-Historic and Pre-Islamic Sources. Pushing the problem of Moro historiography as far back as the pre-historical or pre-Islamic periods might be questioned. The reason for this is not difficult to find. The "auxiliary sciences" involved here are folklore, archaeology, paleography, etc. and these, in turn, constitute the basic disciplines involved in pre-history. Many problem in Moro history could be untangled if we have a better understanding of the peoples of Muslim Mindanao (this includes Sulu and Palawan) in their proper cultural and geographic setting.

Since the sixties, a tremendous amount of folklore material all over the Philippines has been released. For those interested in Muslim folklore, it is merely a question of time and funding, and the oral traditions of the major tribes will be revealed to us. Among the folklore workers who should be commended for the quality of their studies are the following: The Oblate fathers of Jolo, especially Fr. "Gerry" Rixhon, should be emulated for raising the science of folklore to an "empirical level." Fr. Rixhon has not only salvaged thousands of texts in the original languages and dialects (all preserved in tapes), but the variety of subject matter included in *Sulu Studies* has been the envy of scholars here and abroad.⁶ Various aspects of Sulu culture, social institutions as the *parang-sabil*⁷, the *tarcilas*, etc. have helped the writers understand better these peoples, their culture and their history.

The reconstructions of the histories of Cotabato and Lanao is getting a big boost from the studies of Juan R. Francisco, Nagasura Madale, Mamitua Saber, and others. Although the works⁸ of Dr. Francisco started as an investigation of "the probable Sanscrit elements in Maranao language and literature" (actually a continuation of his Ph.D. work in Madras), he has contributed substantially to a fuller understanding of the folk oral tradition of the Maranao. The implication of Dr. Francisco's scholarship relative to Muslim history has yet to be assessed fully. However, upon completion of an on-going project on Maguindanao folk literature, and the publication of Prof. Nagasura T. Madale's works on an aspect of Maranao culture⁹ the entire folk tradition of these two Muslim groups shall have been completed.

Mention should be made also of other folklore workers. An early study made by a native Tiruray, Jose Tenorio Sigayan,¹⁰ has provided Dr. Stuart A. Schlegel a "clue" to a historical puzzle. Dr. Schlegel believes that the story of legend of Tabunaway and Mamalu provides an interesting explanation to the culture links between the Maguindanaons and Tirurays.¹¹

In Manobo folk epic, *Ulahingan*, we have an episode whereby the Maguindanaon tries to capture Manobos to perpetuate their practice of slavery. Says Maquiso:

The rule of the Maguindanaons led to their (Manobo) slavery. However, through supernatural and mysterious ways, they were eventually victorious, free from the tyranny and of harassment by the Maguindanaons, as well as from the powers of the giants and over-sized animals.¹²

Most of these folk traditions are definitely pre-Islamic. Certain institutions in Muslim society – that of slavery and even the so-called piracy – could have existed even before the arrival of Islam. Many ancient Chinese documents had similar reports (to be taken up in the next section).

But a word of caution. While it is true that invaluable folklore materials could throw insights in the early history of the people(s) of Mindanao, rigid scrutiny should be used to avoid unwarranted conclusions. The startling investigation of Dr. William Henry Scott on the historicity of the *Maragtas* and other "ancient pre-Hispanic materials" should caution us to be extra careful regarding folklore materials. The words of Gottschalk should be remembered: ". . . good examples of folklore will tell much about the aspirations, superstitions, and customs of the people among whom the stories developed, provided the historian (or folklorist) is able to distinguish between the legendary embroideries and their authentic foundations."¹³

Chinese and Southeast Asian Sources. For those interested in tracing the early references to Mindanao and Sulu, among early Chinese documents, two studies are available in English.¹⁴ It should be quite obvious that these volumes are doubly valuable because of the language

problem posed by these early Chinese documents.

Both the Chinese scholars believe that the earliest references to the Philippines occurred during the Yuan Dynasty (1277-1368). Prof. Wang, for instance, cites that the "Self-Burning-Great Island(s)" in the Liang Annal (502-557 A.D.) refers to the island of Mindanao. Prof. Wu, on the other hand, quoting from J. L. Moens, identified two places, Tchou-po and Tou-po occurring in an even earlier document (420-589 A.D.) as the old name of Kota Batu:

Toubac or Tabouk, the old name of Kota Batu, the most powerful city of the latter Moros of Mindanao which city would answer to all given data and would be geographically correct. This name is found on the oldest Portuguese and French maps as the capital of Mindanao.¹⁵

Another famous volume, Chao-Ju-Kua's *Chu-fan-Chi* completed in 1225 should be mentioned here. Although no direct mention of Mindanao is found in the *Chu-Fan-Chi*, Dr. Rizal speculated that the Amoy term in the document, *Kia-na-yen* refers to Mindanao or Jolo, whereas Blumentritt wrote that another word *Fu-li-lu*, refer to Mindanao.¹⁶

It was also during the Yuan dynasty that another Chinese document included dozens of historical descriptions of places and people especially of Sulu. Says Prof. Wang: "Su-lu is no doubt the Sulu Islands of today." (Please see Appendix A for complete citations).

In passing, mention should be made of references (in these documents) to the practice of piracy and slavery—a very delicate and controversial subject! Nevertheless, recent studies by impartial writers¹⁷ do point to the existence of such practices and "institutions." The polemics written on this topic should lead some of their writers to inspect carefully these documents, and then comment on them in the light of circumstances during those early days.

Regarding Southeast Asian sources, not much work has been done along this area. Again folklore studies could come in. Possibly a careful study of the *Selesilah* of Malaya, and the customary laws (*adat*) in Indonesia might throw interesting insights on the *tarsilas* and *adat* existing among the Muslims in the Philippines.¹⁸ Studies on decorative motifs, (the *naga* and *sari-manok* designs), vis-a-vis the Philippine South and the Indo-Malaysian should also prove fruitful.

Spanish and European Sources. It has been the fashion in the past three or four decades to look with contempt at everything Spanish. This is an occupational disease of many of our ultra-nationalistic historians. It has reached pathological proportions when it came to those who wrote polemics on Moro historiography. However, to condemn also the Spanish documents is to close oneself to the vast resources on Moro historiography.

What is required of the contemporary historian is the understanding of motives which impelled the Spanish historian of the past, who was a missionary or a military/civilian authority reporting to his superiors in Madrid.

Let us not mention any more the historical adage that "history is written by the victors." In fact, the Spaniards, who came to the Philippines in the 16th century, who were out to convert, pacify, or subjugate both the "infideles" and "Moros" were suffering from a long drawn hang-up that arose from a thirteenth century feeling of "reconquista." Thus the Spanish experience in the Iberian peninsula was being repeated in Mindanao.

So we ask: Is it possible to reconstruct the history of Muslim Mindanao without recourse to Spanish historical materials — even those written by the most patently biased and prejudiced? Of course, in their volumes of polemics, many of our contemporary historians are only telling the truth when they described the Spanish "chroniclers" as biased, prejudiced, and therefore lacking in objectivity. But was there any historian — and is there one — who, strictly, could not be described as such? As a matter of fact, authorities are now agreed that historical objectivity is a myth.¹⁹ Thus my contention is this: that even from the "distorted" writings of Vicente Barrantes²⁰ or Monterey y Vidal, the astute and discerning student of history can learn much. Suppose these Spanish chroniclers did not write about Muslim "piracy" and "slavery," but about miraculous events attendant to their missionary activities in Mindanao. Would the narration of such fabulous "nonsense" preclude the inclusion of historical data? If this were so, then universal history would not be written, since much of early documents are precisely the narration of miraculous events by ancient writers and medieval "monks."

The better historian, trained as he is in the method of historical research, is never fazed by such blatantly prejudiced sources: to those who eschew the use of Spanish sources, it may come as a shock that Majul himself used and listed more than 100 volumes from various Spanish sources, ranging from Francisco Combes²¹ and the Jesuits *Cartas*,²² to the "treasure house of materials from the thousands of *legajos*"²³ taken from various Spanish Archives.²⁴

Thus, it should seem that the very writers who indulge in polemics do not begrudge referring to the volumes of Blair and Robertson. Yet, what are those materials but a compendium of all the Spanish sources then available (with a few from the French and Italian)? Many, for instance, are very fond of quoting Qudarat's admonition to the Maranaos, decidedly a very beautiful piece of rhetoric. But who reported this in the first place? Would it surprise many that this speech was recorded by Francisco Combes, and done with apparent admiration for this great Maguindanaon hero? My admonition to my colleagues at this point is very simple: drop your pretensions to historical omniscience, be less polemical in your studies, and above all be honest in your dealings with these Spanish sources. Nobody has a monopoly over historical truths.

Perhaps one distinction that makes Majul's *Muslims in the Philippines* almost a model for historiography²⁵ in his use of the "numerous sources." For the first time in a historical volume, for example, the materials from the Dutch Archives of the Netherlands had been utilized. Although his knowledge of Dutch points to one of the great "must" of any historical study, and that is knowledge of the language of the original source, Majul also was fortunate to secure studies by Bertram Schrieke, especially in the problem of the Islamic penetration in Southeast Asia. Together with the volumes of Geertz and Fatimi, Schrieke's work helps to make quite clear that Islamization in the Philippines has been much more complex process than just the arrival of Islam in the area.

American and Philippine Sources. Leaving the Spanish sources behind, we come to what amount to contemporary sources — American

and Philippine. Much of what had been left behind by the Americans belong to the category of "government records" which now constitute archival materials. The period between Najeeb M. Saleeby's first volume²⁶ and Cesar R. Majul's grand *opus*, *Muslims in the Philippines* (1973), provides an interesting insight in the workings of Muslim historiography. A period of almost 20 years saw the publication of dozens of volumes, monographs and special studies in various subject matters centering on what I called in 1973 "Philippine Muslim Studies," and ultimately culminating in the establishment of the Institute of Islamic Studies at the University of the Philippines.

One simply has to read Gowing's "Recent Scholarships on the Muslim Filipinos: A Survey and Some Suggestions"²⁷ to get convinced that the past twenty years – from 1955 to 1975 – will perhaps be known as the full flowering of Philippine Muslim Studies.²⁸ Thus with completion of Dr. Gowing's Ph.D. dissertation (1968) and Dr. Samuel Tan's work (1974), the area of Muslim history is completed. This does not preclude more specialized studies on areas that were glossed over the Gowing-Tan-Majul tandem.

All this scholarship was made possible because of the excellent materials available in America. What is really overwhelming, in fact, is the wealth of materials. When I met Gowing during the 5th International Conference on Asian History (1971), he forwarned me that Muslim materials in American Archives do not exist in "shelves" but "in miles and miles of corridors." Incidentally, aside from the National Archives, valuable materials are also found in the Manuscript division of the Library of Congress. Of particular value are the papers of Pershing, Wood, Scott, and Carpenter – all connected with Muslim studies. Excellent bibliographies exist, such as those cataloguing the Ayer collection at the Newberry Library in Chicago.

Turning now to our own Philippine Sources, may we start this by commending the excellent labor of love which Dr. Domingo Abella had accomplished in putting to order our valuable documents at the Bureau of Records Management (National Archives). Majul himself said that he saw "two hundred bundles entitled 'Mindanao-Sulu' containing documents, original treaties, military reports, etc. on the Sultanate." A few other documents were scattered in metal cases. The great majority of them (numbered in the thousands) belong to the 19th century, most of

which were still unclassified.

I do not want to dwell too much on the state of our Archives; Dr. Abella has written and lectured on this in a more adequate manner.²⁹ As I said, what Dr. Abella has been doing for our documents deserve the lasting gritudes of Filipinos in the coming generations. But I should like to present here now what I believe to be as equally important in the further development of Muslim Studies.

Some time in 1973 I submitted to the chairman of the NHC a proposal (it was really a petition) for the following: (1) the inclusion of a scholar coming from Mindanao – not necessarily a Muslim – in the membership of the Commission, (2) the de-centralization of the work of the Commission by establishing a branch, either of the NCH or the National Archives, in any Mindanao City, but preferably on the MSU Campus. To expedite this plan I submitted a counter-proposal to Mindanao State University to establish a *Mindanao Collection and Archives* on campus. The reaction of the University to my fifteen-page proposal, complete with rationale, work plan, personnel, and budget, was lukewarm.* Of the ₱ 250,000 budget I asked for, the University agreed to give only ₱ 50,000, and from this paltry sum I was still to set the salary for the Director of the Archives and the personnel. I junked the whole thing. Two years later, Dansalan College put up its Research Center. What this Center is doing and what it will accomplish these coming years will be part of the history of Muslim scholarship. I therefore should like to end this paper by quoting from Sir Steven Runciman:

It seems to me that there is still much to be written about Philippine history, and much too of your records and archives to be collected, catalogued, and preserved. I would beg all of you who have, or will have, political influence to see that your records and archives receive proper care. This may not be a cause that appeals to vote-catching politicians, but if you neglect to set up a careful record of your past your grandsons and their sons will denounce you for your barbarism – and they will be right.

*While the project was laudable, MSU did not have adequate funds for the purpose. – Ed.

APPENDIX A

Chinese Sources

I From Wang Teh-Ming, *Sino-Filipino Historico Cultural Relations* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1967).

Su-Lu. The land has the mountain (or island) Shih-I (Chio-ki, in Amoy) to be bulwark of it (probably, from the raid typhoon). In tillage, they employ the method of burning "the hills," and then planting (no irrigation). The cultivated fields are unfruitful. They are fit for the planting of millet and wheat. The people eat sage, fish, shrimps, conches and clams (and other shells). The climate is "half" hot. Their culture or custom is primitive. The men and women cut their hair. (Cf. 1, San-Tao, p. 300). Both of them bind a black turban, and hang a piece of cotton cloth with fine impression (over their privies, possibly). They boil sea water to make salt, and ferment treacle to make wine. To weave Juu-Pu (lit. bamboo-cloth) is a popular job. There is a chieftain(s). The local products are lakawood of average quality, yellow-wax, soft-tortoise shells and pearls. Comparing the pearls from Sa-Li, Pa-Taan, Ti-San-Kang (lit. The 3rd Part) and so on, the pearls of Su-Lu are blue-white in color and round in shape. Their prices are very high. Chinese use them for ornaments. Their color never fades, and so is considered the most precious among all the pearls. The biggest of them is almost one inch in diameter. In general, at the locality of production, a big pearl costs more than 700 to 800 ting of trade-silver (cf. footnote 53); a medium one 200 or 300 ting, and a small one ten or twenty. The tiny ones that of ten thousand in number but only one *niang* in weight (about the weight of 2,400 grains of unpounded rice), or that of the thousand down to 300 or 400, one *niang*, are the products of Ti-San-Kang of the western ocean. There are none of them yielded here in Su-Lu. In trading (bartering), the Chinese goods are: gold, trade-silver,

Pa-Tu-La, cloth, green beads, Chuchow porcelains, iron bar, and so on.

(Notes: Su-Lu is no doubt the Sulu Islands of today. Its pearls still spell charm to peoples of many nations. The pronunciation of Su-Lu in Amoy is Su-Lok. According to a Muslim friend in the University of the Philippines, *solok* in the Moro dialect means "current." Juu-Pu or bamboo cloth was woven by the people of Ma-Ni-Lu also; cf. item 3, on page 302. Was Ma-Ni-Lu not far away from Sulu?). pp. 304-305.

The Chinese in the Sulu Islands

A special consideration must be given to the rather intimate relation Sulu and China had, in the pre-Spanish times (nay, down to the 18th century). In Mindanao and Sulu, there is a legend relating the origin of the Moro (a popular name for the native Muslims of the southern Philippines). A Chinese princess, as the legend goes, came to the south seas with her prince-father. One day, they brought ashore their boat at Sulu. At the lure of the beautiful sea and land, the princess got out of the boat without her father knowing it. In a bamboo forest, she met a handsome Moro youth who was born from a bamboo nodule. They fell in love at first sight and married. From the couple came the people of the land.

The name Moro is generally supposed to be first used by the early Spaniards, because of the religion of the people, due to their similarity to the Moors of North Africa. However, it is possible that its origin is derived from the following:

(1) Milanau, Maranaw, Malanao, Maraw, or etc., some tribe(s) of the ancient Dayak. It seems that the earliest mention of it in Chinese accounts is the name Ma-La-Nu or Mo-Lo-No (wherein, -nu or -no may mean slave or a contemptuous appellation for an individual or a group of persons). In the year 1178 A.D. Chou Chi-Fe recorded in his work: Ling-

Wai-Tai Te (Report from Beyond the South Range of China), that "in the southeast (in the South Seas), there was a country Sa-Wa Kong (or Ko, in its ancient pronounciation). Her people often sailed beyond the seas to rob and kidnap, and then sold the kidnapped victim in Java. In the farther southeast, there was the country Jinn-Fo (or Kuun-Pud, in Amoy). In it, there were many "wild" islands. On the islands, there were barbarian robbers (or pirates) called Ma-La-Nu or Ma-Lo-No. (Once) some traders' boat(s) drifted to their land. The traders were seized and tied on giant bamboos; then they were roasted and eaten up. Their chief(s) had their teeth drilled and filled with gold. They used human skulls as utensils in eating and drinking. The country of Sa-Wa-Ko was supposed by Ferrand to be Sebuku of Borneo; while Ma-La-Nu or Mo-Lo-No was alleged as Nilanau of the Dayak from Sarawak of North Borneo by Feng Cheng-Chun. (The practice of adorning teeth with gold was popular in the countries of the South Seas, in the olden days, and it is not yet completely died out in the southern Philippines and Indonesia as well as in southern China). The piracy in the South Seas really has a long history, for it may be traced up to the First Han dynasty (cf. p. 288) and down to the present time. pp. 310-311.

- II. From Wu Ching-Hong, *A Study of References to the Philippines in Chinese Sources from Earliest Times to the Ming Dynasty* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1959).

Moens: – Mindanao

The names Tchou-po and Tou-po are, according to Pelliot, transcriptions of Native names which end in a "glutlteral final." Instead of seeing in "Java" the original name it is evident that one should recognize the name Toubouc or Tabouk, the old name of Kota Batu, the most powerful city of the later Moros of Mindanao, which city would answer to all given data and would be geographically correct. This name is found on the oldest Dutch and French maps as the capital of Mindanao. Also from the view-point of trade strategy the position of the

capital is justified in this locality, because the Chinese trade in the Moluccas had to pass through the "sieve" of the Sulu islands between Mindanao and northern Borneo. It is quite possible that the capital was at one time on the Mindanao side (Toubouk of the third to sixth century), then again on the north Borneo side (Kin-li-pi-che of the seventh century). Later on again the trade centre lay in the middle of the "sieve": near the mighty Jolo which in Spanish times formed the trade centre of the whole eastern archipelago; it had no other rival except Brunei. pp. 49-50.

Of Su-Lu, although there were at least two place names with similar pronunciation as Su-Lu, one in the east of Java (SE of Flores) and another one in Borneo, we may undoubtedly identify the Su-Lu of Wang's work as the present Sulu Islands. Not only is the Chinese translation for Sulu always the same, but there are also many accounts of Su-Lu in later Chinese works which are similar to the descriptions of Wang's work. The pearls of Su-Lu attracted more Chinese with an eye to profit to go there than to any other place in the Philippines. "Sulu became a word of the world, synonymous with great riches and beautiful luminous pearls. The call of fabulous treasures in Sulu attracted many adventurers." The Chinese always liked big pearls. Su-Lu "possessed the most valuable pearling beds in the world." Najeeb M. Saleeby tells of the ancient Sulus as follows:

Sulu occupies the most nearly central position of any island in eastern Malaysia. It lies between Mindanao on the east and Borneo on the West, and separates the Sulu sea from the Celebes sea. The commercial advantages of this position are unique. To the north lie the Visayas, Palawan, Luzon, Formosa, China and Japan; to the east Mindanao and Basilan; to the Moluccas, Celebes, and Java; to the West, Borneo, Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula. Besides, the Sulu are natural-born sailors and their famous pearl industry has prompted them to trade since time immemorial . . . Chinese merchants traded with Sulu long before the arrival of Legaspi, and while Manila and Cebu were still small and insignificant settlements, Jolo had reached the proportions of a city

and, with the exception of Brunei, had no rival in northeast Malaysia prior to the seventeenth century . . . In the early days the trade of Sulu was carried on by Moros and Chinese. The Chinese appear to have entered the archipelago prior to its Mohammedanization, and the commercial relations of China and Sulu are really prehistoric. pp. 115-116.

APPENDIX B

INVENTORY OF SPANISH MATERIALS*

Books, Articles, and Unpublished Manuscripts

Juan Angeles, "*Suceso de la mision de Jolo.*" This manuscript is found in the British Museum, London, numbered Add. 13,976 (folios 415-448). It is the same as that found in Ventura del Arco with the same title and dated June 18, 1749. However, the former contains a *dictamen* not found in the latter. The importance of this *dictamen* is that it reveals a Jesuit plan for the conquest and eventual Christianization of Sulu. In general, the manuscript represents a strong indictment of Sultan Azim ud-Din and is full of suspicions about the charges against the Sultan.

Ventura del Arco. "*Documentos datos, y relaciones para la historia de Filipinas, hasta hora ineditos fidelmente copiados de los originales existentes en archivos y bibliotecas* (Madrid: 1859-1865). This five-volume work in manuscript form is found in the Ayer collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. A xerox copy is in the Main Library, University of the Philippines. Some of the important documents copied are as follows:

"*Copia de una relacion que un padre de este Colegio de Manila ha hecho del estado de estas islas Filipinas y otros reinos y provincias circumvecinas desde el mes de julio de 1629 has de 1630.*" Volume I.

*Based on Majul's Selected Bibliography found in his *Muslims in the Philippines* (Diliman: University of the Philippines, 1973), pp. 371-383.

Copy of a letter of Governor General Sande to the Licenciado Antonilez, dated July 28, 1578. Volume II.

"*Sucesos de las islas Filipinas desde el ano 1638 hasta el de 1639.*" Volume II.

"*Relacion de la sorpresa que intentaron hacer en Samboangan los Malanaos de la Sabanilla con su principal Balsei (11 de junio de 1721).*" Volume IV.

"Suceso de la mission de Jolo," written by Juan Angeles in Manila and dated June 13, 1749. Volume IV. Except for the absence of a *dictamen* it is the same as that found in the British Museum with the same title.

Copy of a letter from Pedro Estrada to Pedro Altamirano, dated June 25, 1748. Volume IV.

Copy of a letter of the Tamontaka sultan to the Spanish King. Volume IV.

Copy of a letter of the Tamontaka sultan to Juan Moreno, dated March 3, 1748. Volume IV.

Copy of a letter of Alimudin (cAzim ud-Din) to Pedro de Estrad, dated May 11, 1748. Volume IV.

"Carta del Jesuita Antonio Masvesi a Pedro Abad, 2 de diciembre de 1749." Volume IV.

Vicente Barrantes. *Guerras piraticas de Filipinas* (Madrid: 1878). Has a good bibliography and notes on Sulu and Mindanao history. Documentary data in the appendices are of value.

Emilio Bernaldez y Fernandez de Folgueras. *Resena historica de la guerra al sur Filipinas, sostenida por las armas espanosas contra los piratas de aquel archipelago, desde la conquista hasta nuestros dias* (Madrid: 1875). Bernaldez was a Spanish officer who saw action against the Sulus and Samals. His military information is presumably quite reliable.

Emma Helen Blair and James A. Robertson (eds.). *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* (Cleveland: 1903-1909), 55 volumes. This compendium contains numerous and lengthy references to Muslims in the Philippines. The following are important: "Account of Expeditions to Borneo, Jolo and Mindanao," Volume IV; "Articles of Contract for the

Conquest of Mindanao," Volume VIII; "Pacification of Mindanao," Volume IX; "Moro pirates and their raids in the 17th century," Volume XII; "Defeat of the Moros" and "The Conquest of Mindanao," Volume XXVII; "Corquera's Campaign in Jolo," Volume XXVIII; and "Recollect Missions," Volume XLI.

Juan Nepomuceno Burriel. *"Itinerario de la escurcion hecha a Mindanao y Jolo,"* November 5, 1862–January 22, 1863. Manuscripts in the Newberry Library, Chicago. A microfilm copy is found in the Main Library, University of the Philippines. It contains much information on Sulu and Mindanao Muslim settlements and has references to Sultan Makakwa of Maguindanao. Its maps are valuable.

Cartas de los PP. de la Compania de la Mision de Filipinas, 1889 (Cartas de Mindanao), Manila. This gives various insights to Jesuit missionary activities in Muslim areas.

Cartas de los PP. de la Compania de Jesus de la Mision de Filipinas, Cuaderno IX (Manila: 1891). This contains the well thought out plan of the Jesuit Pablo Pastells for the military pacification and religious conversion of the Muslims in the Philippines.

Cuaderno X (Manila: 1895). This contains various letters of Jesuit missionaries regarding the conversion of Muslims. Some show how resistance to Spanish arms were closely intertwined with repugnance to Christian conversion.

Francisco Colin. *Labor evangelica de los obreros de la compania de Jesus* (Pablo Pastell's edition, Barcelona: 1904), 4 volumes. The value of this work for a history of the Muslims lies in the numerous documentary materials supplied by the editor in the footnotes especially those referring to the first two decades of the seventeenth century.

Francisco Combes. *Historia de Mindanao y Jolo* (Retana's Edition, Madrid: 1897). Combes was a seventeenth century Spanish Jesuit who came to know various sultans and datus. In spite of numerous errors, misinterpretations of Muslim institutions, and prejudices, his work is one of the most informative on the sultanates during the first half of the seventeenth century. No single Spanish book contains more information about Sultan Qudarat or Sultan Maputi. However, some of Retana's notes, especially those dealing with the meaning of the names of the Muslims, are very poor and constitute sheer guesswork.

Juan de la Concepcion. *Historia general de Philipinas* (Sampaloc: 1788-1792), 14 volumes. The most important volumes are V, IX, XII, and XIII. The last two deal extensively with cAzim u-Din and Bantilan of Sulu and the references appear to have been based on documents still existing in the Bureau of Records Management, Manila.

Pedro de la Santisima Trinidad. *Manifiesto en defensa del Rey de Jolo Fernando I, y en su infidelidad Alimudin Mahamad, bautizado en Manila, capital de las islas Filipinas, preso y arrestado en el castillo de Santiago de la misma ciudad por falsas testimonias de sus emulos; dado y declarado por bueno su bautizo por el Ilustrisimo Sr. D. Pedro de la Santisima Trinidad*. A manuscript of 119 folios found in the Main Library, University of the Philippines. It is indispensable for a biography of cAlim ud-Din. It is an anti-Jesuit tract and asserts that the Sultan became a sincere Christian. The author appears to have been quite knowledgeable about the Sultan. However, in spite of this, the authorship of the tract can still remain an open question.

Miguel A. Espina. *Apuntos para hacer un libro sobre Jolo* (Manila: 1888). This is valuable for a knowledge of nineteenth century Sulu events, including dynastic problems of the sultanate. Most of the data reported by Espina were based on personal observations and documents still existing in the Bureau of Records Management, Manila. Saleeby relied on Espina to some extent.

Benito Francia y Ponce de Leon and Juan Gonzales Parrado. *Las Islas Filipinas Mindanao* (Habana: 1898), 2 volumes. The authors were military men and their work contains details about Mindanao datus and their areas of authority. Their work contains some information about the Spanish campaign against Datu Utto of Buayan. It has a few errors on dates and personalities.

Francisco Gainza. *Memoria y antecedentes sobre las espediciones de Balanguingi y Jolo* (Manila: 1851). This contains an account of the cruel Spanish campaigns against the Samals.

Antonio Martel de Gayangos. "La isla de Mindanao: Su estado actual y las reformas que reclama." Undated manuscript. This is found as Item No. 305 in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. By internal evidence, it was probably written after 1866. It has a good description of various Maguindanao sultans and datus as well as Maranao

ones and their spheres of influence. Mention of kinship relations between the datus are important as a supplement to the *tarsilas*.

Jose Montero y Vidal. *Historia de la pirateria Malayo-Mohametana en Mindanao, Jolo Y Borneo* (Madrid: 1888), 2 volumes. Its appendices contain valuable materials which are useful for a biography of cAzim u-Din. Its narration of nineteenth century events is good and based on contemporary documentary materials. However, some of the author's observations, interpretations of historical data, and analysis of the actions of the Muslims are clouded with prejudices and therefore unreliable.

Wenceslao E. Ratana. *Mando del General Weyler en Filipinas* (Manila: 1896). This has a section on the Weyler campaign against the Maranaos and Iranuns in 1891.

Agustin Santayana. *La isla de Mindanao, su historia y su estado presente* (Madrid: 1862). Valuable for information on French designs on Basilan, Spanish incursions into Davao, and Sulu political institutions.

Audiencia de Filipinas, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla.

This is a veritable treasure house for materials pertaining to Spanish relations with the sultanates in the Philippines during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Many of the sixteenth century documents are found in translation in Blair and Robertson and a few in the footnotes of Pastell's edition of Colin. Additional important documents are found in the following *legajos*:

1. *Legajo 6* contains letters of Governor General Sande to the Spanish King regarding Sulu, Mindanao, and Borneo.

2. *Legajo 10* has a letter dated June 15, 1671, regarding Qudarat's old age and the possible candidates to the Maguindanao throne.

3. *Legajo 11* contains a letter of the Spanish Governor General to the Spanish King, dated June 18, 1683, to the effect that Sultan Barahaman desires to renew hostilities against the Spaniards in the Philippines.

4. *Legajos 13* and *14* contain correspondence regarding the 1682 Brunei embassy to Manila and return Spanish embassy in 1685.

5. *Legajo 17* has a copy of the June 24, 1645 treaty between Qudarat and the Spaniards.

6. *Legajo 18* has an original letter of the Brunei sultan dated July 27, 1599, expressing his friendship for Governor General Tello.

7. *Legajo 20* contains a letter of the *oidor* Manuel de la Vega, dated August 28, 1608, where it is revealed that some Spaniards had planned to assassinate the paramount chiefs of the Pulangi (that is, Sirungan, Buisan, and the Rajah Muda).

8. *Legajo 122* contains a letter of the Governor General, dated June 4, 1675, informing the King of the difficulties involved in refortifying Zamboanga since there was not only peace with Maguindanao but that the upkeep of the forts in Manila and Cavite was already a strain on the resources of the colony. Another letter of the Governor, dated May 5, 1700, has reference to Maguindanao dynastic rivalries as well as to Brunei affairs.

9. *Legajo 127* contains a great deal of correspondence on the 1702 war between the Maguindanao sultan in the hands of Shahab u-Din of Sulu.

10. *Legajo 201* contains additional correspondence on the problem of refortifying Zamboanga.

11. *Legajo 227* contains proposals to colonize Zamboanga, references to Badar u-Din of Sulu, and correspondence on the 1737 Sulu Embassy to Manila.

12. *Legajo 228* contains correspondence dealing with Sulu-Maguindanao rivalries around 1685. Basilan is mentioned as one of the causes of the rivalry.

13. *Legajo 264* has a 1748 report on the various Spanish-Sulu alliances against the Tiruns of North Borneo.

14. *Legajo 292* contains a great deal of correspondence between cAzim un-Din and the Manila Archbishop regarding the request of the former for baptism. Jesuit reports as well as letters of the Governor on the problem are also found.

15. *Legajo 385* contains a letter of the Marques de Ovando on the imprisonment of cAzim ud-Din as well as other letters on the same subject.

16. *Legajo 705* has a July 1, 1718 report on Maranao raids in the Visayas.

17. *Legajo 705* contains correspondence on the 1733 civil war in Maguindanao and the death of Jaf'ar Sadiq in the hands of his nephew Malinug (Tahir ud-Din).

18. *Legajos 706-709* contains testimonies, *expedientes*, and other materials on the imprisonment of cAzim un-Din and conflicts with the Sulus under Sultan Bantilan. *Legajo 707*, in particular, has a copy of the Marques de Ovando's *manifesto* justifying the imprisonment of the Sultan of Sulu.

Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Madrid.

In the archives of the Foreign Ministry are to be found *legajos 1955-1961* which contain valuable materials on nineteenth century relations between the Spaniards and the Muslims in the Philippines. *Legajos 2956-2957* contain letters referring to Datu Dakuha of Sibugay and the 1843 Spanish treaty with him. *Legajo 2957* has useful information on French designs on Basilan and the May 15, 1845 treaty between the Spaniards and Maguindanaos. *Legajo 2959* contains the valuable information taken by Gregorio Tenorio from Vicente Narciso, a secretary of Sultan Jamal ul-cAzim of Sulu, dated December 20, 1863, regarding a genealogical account of Sulu sultans. This same *legajo* contains a few references to the Spanish attack on Brunei in 1578. Most of the documents seen in the above-mentioned *legajos* have their corresponding copies or duplicates in the Bureau of Records Management, Manila.

APPENDIX C

I do not possess a complete list of the papers in this Mindanao Conference (May 13-15), although my *Mindanao-Sulu Bibliography* (Davao City: Ateneo de Davao, 1970), includes many of the papers. Among the most important area:

1. Faye-Cooper Cole, "Cultural Relations Between Mindanao and

Islands to the South”;

2. Harold C. Conklin, “Preliminary Linguistic Survey of Mindanao”;

3. Fred Eggan, “History, Ethnology, Social Life and Customs of Mindanao”;

4. Franklin J. Ewing, S.J., “Notes on the Tausugs of Siasi in Particular and the Moros of the Southern Philippines in General”;

5. Roberto B. Fox, “A Consideration of Theories Concerning Possible Affiliation of Mindanao Cultures with Borneo, the Celebes, and Other Regions of the Philippines”;

6. F. M. Keesing, “Mindanao, Future Perspectives”;

7. Ralph Lynch, “The Bukidnon of Northern Mindanao, 1945-1955”;

8. Paul Lietz, “Mindanao in the Nineteenth Century”;

9. John L. Phelan, “Spanish Penetration into the Southern Philippines, 1578-1662”; and

10. Frederick L. Wernstedt, *Geographical Foundation of Mindanao.*”

FOOTNOTES

¹ Horacio de la Costa, S.J., “All Knowledge for Their Province,” *The Philippine Colophone*, I, 1. (March, 1962), 23.

² Alfredo T. Tiamson, *Mindanao-Sulu Bibliography: A Preliminary Study* (Davao City: Ateneo de Davao, 1970).

³ Shiro Saito, *Philippine Ethnography: A Critically Annotated and Selected Bibliography* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1972).

⁴ Louis Gottschalk, *Understanding History: A Primer of Historical Method* (New York: University of Chicago, 1967), p. 30.

⁵ Juan R. Francisco’s studies on Philippine paleography, limited as it were on the indigenous tribes of Mindoro (the Mangyan) and Palawan (the Tabanua), should prove interesting to Moro historiography once ancient scripts are discovered in Muslim Mindanao. See his “Philippine Paleography,” *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* (a Special Monograph Issue) No. 3, June 1973.

⁶ Three Volumes of *Sulu Studies* had since been released, containing valuable papers on the Sulu Sultanate (Kiefer), folk narratives (Rixhon, Dansani, Alawi), Sulu art (Szanton), crafts (Spoerh), etc. *Sulu Studies 4* is devoted to Tausug-English Dictionary, compiled by Irene Hassan, Nurhadan Halud, Seymore and Lois Ashly (1975).

⁷The most thorough study of the **parang-sabil** was done by Thomas M. Kiefer: **Institutionalized Friendship and Warfare Among the Tausug** (Ethnology, 1968) and **Tausug Armed Conflict: The Social Organization of Military Activity in a Philippine Moslem Society** (Univ. of Chicago, 1969).

⁸Juan R. Francisco. **Maharadia Lawana**: Text and translation with introduction and criticism, together with Nagasura Madale. Dr. Francisco's studies extend to various Mindanao tribes, and are published here and abroad. For a complete listing of his works, see A. Tiamson's **Mindanao-Sulu Bibliography**, Vol I (1970) and Vol. II (1975).

⁹Prof. Nagasura T. Madale has written extensively on Maranao culture. His recent MA thesis, **Radia Indirapatra** (Asian Studies, UP, 1975), as well as papers on the **sarimanok** and on Maranao proverbs and rituals, constitute the first attempts to authenticate Maranao folk traditions.

¹⁰Jose Tenorio Sigayan, "The Customs of the Tiruray People," translated and annotated by Stuart A. Schlegel, **Philippine Studies**, XVIII, 2 (April 1970), 364-428.

¹¹Stuart A. Schlegel, "Tiruray Maguindanaon Ethnic Relations: An Ethno-Historical Puzzle," **Solidarity**, VII, 4 (April, 1972), 25-30.

¹²Elena Maquiso, "The Ulahingan," **Silliman Journal**, XVI, 13 (1969), 229.

¹³**op. cit.**, Gottschalk, p. 114

¹⁴Wu Ching-Hong, **A Study of References to the Philippines in Chinese Sources from the Earliest Time to the Ming Dynasty** (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1959), and Wang Teh-Ming, **Sino-Filipino Historico-Cultural Relations** (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1967).

¹⁵Wu cites this paper of J. L. Moens as "Sri Vijaya, Yara, and Kataha," an abridged translation by R. J. de Touche appearing in **JMBRAS**, Vol. XVII, Part II, Singapore, 1940.

¹⁶See Wu, pp. 96-97

¹⁷Dr. Nicolas Tarling wrote a volume on piracy in the Malay world; Anne Reber has a dissertation on the same. Recently, James Warren wrote me from Australia that he is studying Dutch to prepare himself to read the materials in the Dutch Archives in the Netherlands for his forthcoming volume on piracy in Borneo and the Philippine south.

¹⁸Cf. **Studies on Philippine Muslim Laws (Shariah) and Customary Laws (Adat)**, compiled and with introduction by Alfredo T. Tiamson (Manila: Philippine Muslim Information Center, Department of Public Information, 1976).

¹⁹An interesting story is told of Hilaire Belloc who found English histories terribly "warped" on the Protestant side; when he finally tried to correct these "distortions," he discovered that he has succeeded in "warping" it on the Catholic side.

²⁰Barrantes had been the special target of many budding historians who have not gone beyond reading the titles of his volumes. Witness, they say, how his titles are so reeking with prejudice: **Guerras piraticas de Filipinas contra Mindanaos and Joloanos** (1878). "Historia de la pirateria Malayo-mahometana en Mindanaos, Jolo & Borneo" (1892), "El Mahometismo en Mindanao" (1896).

²¹Francisco Combes, **Historia de Mindanao, Jolo y sus adyacentes** (1667), has

been reprinted in the Retana-Pastell edition of 1896 (?). This work described by Blumentritt as "a literary jewel" has not been completely translated except a portion titled "The Natives of the Southern Islands" in Blair & Robertson, Vol. 40 (pp. 99-182) and another translation by Sutherland which appeared in **The Mindanao Herald** (1909).

²² As a matter of fact the 10 volumes contain more than anthropological materials. See Frank Lynch, S.J., "The Jesuit Letters of Mindanao as a source of Anthropological Data," **Philippine Studies**, IV, 2 (1956), 247-273; Fr. Miguel Bernard, S.J., has written many interesting monographs on Moro history: "Five Letters Describing the Exploration of the Pulangi or Rio Grande de Mindanao, 1890," **Phil. Historical Review**, I, 2 (1966), 17-62, with a relief map of Mindanao; "Father Ducos and the Muslim Wars: 1752-1759," **Philippine Studies**, 16, 4 (1968). Another monograph is written by Fr. Jose S. Arcilla, S.J.: "The Christianization of Davao Oriental; Excerpts from Jesuit Miss. Letters," **Philippine Studies** 19, 4 (October 1971), 636-724.

²³ **Legajos** are primary documents or manuscripts bundled together and placed in cardboard boxes and then properly indexed for quick references.

²⁴ A very interesting and illuminating article written by Dr. Domingo Abella, titled "Filipiniana Treasures in Repositories Abroad," was published in **The Philippine Colophon**, I, 1 (March 1962), 3-22. Dr. Abella listed the major repositories in Europe: **Archivo General de Indias** (Seville), **Archivo Historico Nacional** (Madrid), **Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia** (Madrid), **Biblioteca Nacional** (Madrid), **Biblioteca de Palacio** (Madrid), **Museo del Ejercito-Servicio Historico Militar** (Madrid), **Archivo de la Embajada de España Cerca de la Santa Sede** (Madrid), **Colegio de FF. Agustinos** (Valladolid), **Archivo de Simancas** (Valladolid), **Library-Archives of the Philippine Province of Franciscans** (Pastrana), and dozens of research institutes in Madrid. Dr. Abella also lists the **Bibliothèque National** (Paris), the **British Museum** (London), the **University of Leyden** and the **Netherlands Archives** (The Hague).

²⁵

²⁵ Almost, but not quite. One of the things we must bewail in this country is the almost total absence of honest historical criticism. Only two extensive critical reviews of Majul's volume had come out: Evelyn C. Ansay's, published in **Dyornal ng Malawakang Edukasyon**, Blg. 27-28, **Una at Ikalawang Hatintaon**, 1974-75, pp. 512-19, and Charles Houston's, which appeared in **Solidarity**, July-August, 1975, pp. 98-101.

²⁶ Najeeb M. Saleeby, **Studies in Moro History, Laws and Religion** (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1905). This has been republished, minus the "Sulu Code" and plates, in the entire issue of the **Notre Dame Journal**, 1 (April 1975). See A. T. Tiamson's **An Annotated Bibliography on Muslim Filipinos** (1976) for a complete listing of Saleeby's works.

²⁷ Peter G. Gowing and Robert D. McAmis, **The Muslim Filipinos: Their History, Society and Contemporary Problems** (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1974).

²⁸ In 1955, the Department of Anthropology and Philippine Studies Program

of the University of Chicago, under the leadership of Dr. Fred Eggan, had a 3-day "Mindanao Conference" (May 13-15, 1955), and this, to my mind, signaled the intensification of a full-blown exploration in Muslim Studies. See Appendix C for list of papers read in the conference.

²⁹ See Doming Abella, "Unique Primary Source Materials in the National Archives," **Proceedings and Working Papers of the First Seminar for Provincial Historical Committees** (Manila: National Historical Commission, 1972), pp. 25-51.