

# philippine studies

Ateneo de Manila University · Loyola Heights, Quezon City · 1108 Philippines

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*Philippine Studies* vol. 42, no. 1 (1994): 20–38

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Fri June 27 13:30:20 2008

## A Genealogy of the Sulu Sultanate

Rita Tuban



This article seeks to trace the sultans of the Sulu Sultanate in order to correct some historical errors in Sulu history. It is based on the *Salsila* (nobility genealogy), which is attached as evidence to the letter of four datu, namely, Datu Rajamuda Bassal Pulalun, Datu Rubin Sug, Panglima Jumadil Eledgi, and Datu Hussin Abubakar to President Ferdinand E. Marcos, dated 8 November 1967, which deals with their claim to Sabah as rightful members of the Sulu Sultanate. Although the Philippine government, under the administration of President Corazon C. Aquino, announced that it was excluding Sabah from the Philippine territory as defined by Article I, Section I of the 1986 Philippine Constitution, it is, nevertheless, interesting to examine the *Salsila* which may be useful to scholars and students interested in Sulu history.

The clause which states that "and all the other territories belonging to the Philippines by historic right or legal title," which may include Sabah, is expunged from the new provision on National Territory (Article I, Section I) of the 1986 Philippine Constitution which has "avoided the use of language historically offensive to Malaysia," but instead utilizes the clause "over which the Philippines has sovereignty or jurisdictions" (Bernas 1987a, 11). According to Joaquin G. Bernas (1987a, 11), "the clause neither claims nor disclaims Sabah, but asserts a legal situation in which Sabah can have a place in Philippine territory depending on the outcome of the current disputes." He further contends that the Philippines "therefore, did not abandon any claim to Sabah, but left all such matters to determination through international processes" (Bernas 1987b, 3).

Notwithstanding such interpretation of the phraseology, which is sometimes called "the Bernas Amendment," the Philippine government, under the administration of President Aquino, announced that it was excluding Sabah from the Philippine territory in a bill which delineates the archipelagic boundaries of the Philippines as provided

for in the Constitution, even before the ASEAN summit meeting in Manila 14 December 1987.<sup>1</sup> Even if the Philippines has dropped its sovereignty claim over Sabah, the heirs of the Sulu sultanate still have the option to pursue their proprietary rights over Sabah.

Recently, I received a copy of a letter of Sultan Tuban Wizer Han Aranan Sultan Alimuddin I to Pres. Aquino, dated 15 September 1987, which expresses his claim to Sabah. The letter says that Sabah is the perpetual property of Sultan Alimuddin I and his direct descendants, Sulatan Tuban Aranan. Sultan Tuban Aranan Sultan Alimudin I was supported by a group of Sulu royal datu who earlier wrote a letter to Pres. Marcos about their claim to Sabah. President Marcos was ousted from office during the February Revolution on 25 February 1986. It must be recalled that in 1962 the Philippine government under the administration of Pres. D. Macapagal filed a formal claim to Sabah. In 1977, Pres. Marcos then declared that he was taking definite steps to drop the Sabah claim. (See *Bulletin Today*, 28 July 1977, 14 January 1978, 1 February 1978). I first saw the letter of the four datu sometime in 1977. Since this letter has relevance to the current disputes over Sabah, it is interesting to interpret the contents of the letter in order to cast light on the perplexity of Sulu history. (See Appendix A)

The letter, dated 8 November 1967, was written by four datu, namely, Datu Rajamudda Bassal Pulalun, Datu Rubin Sug, Panglima Jumadil Osoma Eledgi, and Datu Hussin Abubakar, to Pres. Marcos. The letter says that the datu mentioned are the direct descendants of Sultan Alimud Din I (1735–73), a conqueror of North Borneo (Sabah) and Sultan Aliyud Din III of Patikul (1884–96) who opposed the rule of Sultan Jamalul Kiram II (1896–1936). They therefore claim to be the rightful heirs to the Sulu Sultanate and North Borneo (Sabah). The letter also mentions the Sulu Sultanate genealogy (*Salsila*),<sup>2</sup> taken from Pangiran Lana Fatima Albaini Jamala-Rah (Majul 1973, 18), the only daughter of Sultan Jamalul Kiram I (1823–42) and the wife of Sultan Pangiran Isnain Aliyud Din III of Patikul. *Salsila* (family trees, from Arabic *silsilah*) are written nobility genealogies which contain heroic deeds and significant events. The main purpose of the *salsila* is to authenticate descent, especially the title of a datu's eligibility as sultan. If one claims to be a royal datu or chooses to be a sultan, the *salsila* serves as proof of descent from prophet Muhammad, through the first Sultan of Sulu, Sultan Shariful Hashim Abubakar (1450–80). Pangiran Lana Fatima Albaini Jamala-Rah was

born in 1826 and died in 1932. Sultan Jamalul Kiram I (1823–42) was the son of Datu Israel Maulana (Alimuddin III of Maimbung), the son of a Maranao datu and DayangDayang Fatima Piandao, the daughter of Sultan Sarafud Din I (r. 1789–1805). Sultan Aliyud Din III was a son of Sultan Israil II (1823–62), the only son of Sultan Sakirawl Lah (r. 1808–23). The letter of Presidential Assistant Juan C. Tuvera to Rita Tuban, dated 27 August 1976, is described as “obviously important” since the Sabah problem has cropped up once again and found itself in Philippine newspapers (see *Bulletin Today*, July to December 1977 and January 1978; *Malaya*, *Manila Standard*, *Philippine Daily Inquirer* issues for November 1987).

### **The Sulu Salsila: 1450–1692**

Since there are already many books and articles written on the Sulu sultanate,<sup>3</sup> this article will only seek to trace the rightful sultans to the sultanate of Sulu according to the Salsila which was told in 1900 and retold in 1917 by Pangian Lana Fatima Albaini Jamala-Rah to Datu Rajamuda Bassal Pulalun. Datu Salip Rajamuda Bassal Pulalun was the son of DayangDayang Kabayan, the daughter of Sultan Israil II. The writer’s father, Sultan Tuban (Tumanggung Bantilan) is the grandson of Pangian Lana Fatima Albaini Jamala-Rah and Sultan Aliyud Din III. (See Appendix B for the Salsila.)

The Salsila presents the sultanate of Sulu from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century. However, the Salsila mentions nine sultans before the reign of Sultan Salahuddin Karamat and it places much emphasis on the reign of Sultan Pangiran Isnain Aliyuddin III to point out the fact that the house of Sultan Shakirawl Lah did not dissolve upon Sultan Shakirawl Lah’s death, but continued to rule despite the fact that Sultan Jamalul Kiram I was reigning.

The nine sultans, who ascended the throne one after the other, were Sultan Shariful Hashim Abubakar, who established the sultanate of Sulu when he married Dayang-Dayang Paramesuli, the daughter of Datu Raja Baginda in 1450, Sultan Kamalud Din, Sultan Amirul Umara, Sultan Muizzul Muttawad Din Upoh, Sultan Nasifuddin Awwal Dirugan, Sultan Pangiran Buddiman, Sultan Batarasa Taga or Tengah, Sultan Muwallil Wasit Raja Bungsu, and Sultan Nasirud Din Ahir.

According to the Salsila, Sultan Salahuddin Karamat ruled from 1648 to 1666. He succeeded his father Sultan Nasiruddin Ahir. It was

during his reign that his twin grandsons, Datu Lagasan (later, Sultan Alimuddin) and Datu Salikala, were born. Datu Lagasan and Datu Salikala were the twin sons of Sultan Bararuddin, the youngest son of Sultan Karamat. According to Majul's estimate, Karamat ruled from 1650 to 1680 (Majul 1973, 18). Sultan Sahabuddin, as the eldest son, succeeded his father, Sultan Karamat. Sultan Sahabuddin began his rule in 1666. Sultan Safiuddin succeeded his brother Sultan Sahabuddin. Sultan Bararuddin Awwal (r. 1690-1720), as the youngest son of Sultan Karamat, succeeded his brother, Sultan Safiuddin. Sultan Bararuddin had four children, namely, Datu Lagasan (Alimuddin I) and his twin brother Datu Salikala, Datu Nasaruddin and Pangian Lana Putli' Agtah. According to Majul (1973, 20), Sultan Bararuddin ruled from 1718 to 1732.

Sultan Nasaruddin (r. 1720-35) was the third son of Sultan Bararuddin Awwal. He acted temporarily as sultan when his father, Sultan Bararuddin Awwal became old and weak. During his de facto reign, Sultan Nasaruddin's eldest brother, Datu Alimuddin was in North Borneo as its sultan. When Datu Alimuddin arrived in Jolo from his exploits in Borneo in 1735, he ascended the throne as Sultan Alimuddin I and succeeded his aged father, Sultan Bararuddin Awwal. According to Saleeby, Sultan Nasaruddin was a son of Sultan Bararuddin. According to Majul (1973, 20), Sultan Nasaruddin was a son or a grandson of Sahabuddin and reigned from 1732 to 1735.

Sultan Alimuddin I (r. 1735-73) succeeded his father, Sultan Bararuddin Awwal. In 1698, according to the Sulu Salsila, Datu Alimuddin and his twin brother Datu Salikala conquered North Borneo (Tuban 1977). He was called the first *amirul mu'minin* (defender of the faithful). He was also the first sultan who was converted to Christianity. He took the name Fernando de Alimuddin.

There are many dates with regard to the cession of North Borneo (now, Sabah, Malaysia). According to the Brunei *Selisilah* it was sometime in 1662 that Sultan Muhammad Ali was killed and that the civil war between Sultan Muaddin (Muhyddin, Muhuddin) and Sultan Abdul Mubin lasted for ten years (Majul 1973, 183). According to Majul's estimation, the cession of North Borneo to Sulu took place around 1675 (Ibid.). However, according to Dalrymple, the cession took place sometime in 1704 (Ibid.). Nevertheless, according to the Sulu Salsila the formal cession occurred sometime in 1698.

The Sulu Salsila, as found also in Melayu Sarsila, further indicates that in 1662 Sultan Mohammad Ali was murdered by Bendahara

Abdul Mubin, creating chaos in the government of Brunei. Bendahara Abdul Mubin proclaimed himself sultan. The restoration and reformation of the government under the leadership of the new sultan, Sultan Abdul Mubin, began a ten year civil war that killed many royalists. In 1672, Sultan Abdul Mubin appointed his cousin Muhaidin as his *bendahara*. For ten years, Bendahara Muhuddin surreptitiously formed his own army to revolt against Sultan Abdul Mubin. In 1682 Muhaidin or Muhuddin proclaimed himself sultan. Another civil war, which lasted for ten years ensued between the forces of Abdul Mubin and Muhuddin. Because of calamity and famine, both forces stopped fighting and neither side won the war.

### **The Sulu Salsila: 1693–1822**

In 1692 Sultan Muhaidin sent a letter to the sultan of Sulu stating that if the sultan of Sulu won the civil war he would give North Borneo (Sabah) to the sultan of Sulu. Sultan Bararuddin was then the sultan of Sulu and sent his two sons, Datu Lagasan and Datu Salikala, and many Sulu warriors to help Sultan Muhuddin. When the Sulus landed in Brunei, they feasted. Afterwards, the Sulus fought against the forces of Sultan Abdul Mubin. Because the Sulus won the civil war, North Borneo was ceded to the sultan of Sulu in 1693.

To recall, in 1690 Sultan Sahabuddin abdicated his throne in favor of Sultan Safiuddin, his brother, and in the same year Sultan Safiuddin abdicated his throne in favor of Sultan Bararuddin. But the seal of Sultan Sahabuddin was still used because the datus of Sulu did not yet confirm or acknowledge Bararuddin as their sultan. It is therefore safe to say that the seal of Sultan Sahabuddin was still used in collecting tribute in 1693, but the formal cession took place in Brunei in 1698, as written in the bronze document (*Pangiran Tumbaga*). In 1690, because Sultan Safiuddin abdicated his throne, Sultan Bararuddin became the sultan of Sulu. In 1718 he was officially declared Sultan by the datus of Sulu and his seal was dated 1718. But his reign began in 1690 during the lifetime of both Sultans, Sahabuddin and Safiuddin, who both abdicated their thrones.

According to Majul:

... after the cession, the Sulus had to subjugate some of the coastal peoples and put some of their datus there in control. For example,

even after the cession, Sultan Badar ud-Din I (reigned from ca. 1718 to 1732) had to pacify the Tiruns in the north-east coast of Borneo during the earlier part of his reign and even before that. Again, around 1769, the Sulus under the leadership of royal datus had to wage war on the Orang Tedong (Tiruns) of Kuran and Berow (Buru) and force them to pay tribute. The point here is that after the cession, it was necessary for the Sulus to demonstrate that they had the effective power to keep the territory tributary to them (Majul 1973, 182).

According to Datu Tumanggung Bantilan (Tuban):

In 1769, North Borneo was reoccupied by the Tiruns of Buru and Kulan. . . Sultan Alimuddin I was already old so he sent his son Rajamuda Mohammad Israil I and many Sulu warriors to North Borneo to drive out the Tiruns who were defeated . . . From thereon, the people of North Borneo paid tribute to the Sultan of Sulu.<sup>4</sup>

When Sultan Alimuddin I was in Manila, Muizuddin (Bantilan I) (r. 1748–63) proclaimed himself sultan and ascended the throne as a *de facto* ruler. He was the son of Sultan Sahabuddin and the cousin of Sultan Alimuddin I. According to Majul (1973, 21), he was a younger brother of Alimud Din I.

Sultan Israil I (r. 1773–78) succeeded his father, Sultan Alimuddin I. Sultan Alimuddin II (r. 1778–89) was the son of Sultan Muizuddin (Bantilan I). He succeeded Sultan Israil I. According to Majul (1973, 22), he reigned from 1778 to 1791. Sultan Sharifuddin I (r. 1789–1805) succeeded his cousin Alimuddin II. He was “the eldest son of Alimuddin I by a concubine” (Reber 1966, 77–78). According to reliable sources Sultan Sharifuddin was a son of a concubine of Sultan Alimuddin I. According to Majul (1973, 22), he reigned from 1791 to 1808. Sultan Azimuddin Sali (Azimudin III) (r. 1805–07) was the son of Sultan Israil I (Rasul 1970, 97). He succeeded his uncle, Sultan Sharifuddin I. He was also called “Mantellan” (Reber 1966, 79).

Sultan Alimuddin III (Datu Israel Maulana, 1805) was the son of DayangDayang Fatima Piandao, the daughter of Sultan Sharifuddin. He was nominated by his mother, DayangDayang Fatima Piandao to succeed his grandfather, Sultan Sharifuddin. But according to the Sulu sultanate law, no female descendant can claim the throne unless nominated by the Sultan, her father. In this case, therefore, Datu Israel Maulana (or Alimuddin III to his mother) was not nominated by his grandfather Sultan Sharifuddin I to succeed him and so he

was not a sultan of Sulu but a reigning datu of Maimbung, a town in Jolo island, where he and his mother resided. Sultan Alimuddin III (Datu Israel Maulana) died on the same day as his grandfather, Sultan Sharifuddin I, in 1805. According to Majul (1973, 22), Sultan Azim ud-Din III was the son of Sharaf ud-Din.

Sultan Aliyuddin I (r. 1807–08) succeeded his first cousin, Sultan Azimuddin Sali. He was the son of Sultan Sharifuddin. He died in 1808 (Saleeby 1963, 84). According to Majul (1973, 22), he reigned from 1808 to 1821. Sultan Sakirawllah (r. 1808–23) succeeded his elder brother Sultan Aliyuddin I. He was the youngest son of Sultan Sharifuddin I. According to Majul (1973, 22), he reigned from 1821 to 1823.

### **The Sulu Salsila: 1823–1884**

When Sultan Sakirawllah died in 1823, there was chaos in the sultanate of Sulu. There were four claimants to the throne: Sultan Israil II became sultan of Patikul; Sultan Jamalul Kiram I proclaimed himself sultan of Maimbung; Sultan Aliyuddin II became sultan of Buansa; and Sultan Tumanggung Bantilan Alimuddin IV ruled as sultan in Basilan but later transferred to Dungun, Tawi-Tawi, Sulu. Obviously, upon Sultan Sakirawllah's death, the power of the Sulu sultanate disintegrated because the four claimants, who were jealous of each other, refused to join forces under one leader.

While the three claimants or sultans, Israil II, Aliyuddin II, and Tumanggung Bantilan Alimuddin IV, were fighting with each other, Sultan Jamalul Kiram waited for them to be exhausted. Then, he took the opportunity to sit on the throne with the support of his men from Maimbung. As a result of the civil strife, Tumanggung Bantilan Alimuddin IV went to Dungun, Tawi-Tawi, Israil II to Patikul and reigned there as sultan, and Aliyuddin II returned to Buansa. However, the reign of Israil II in Patikul continued despite the reign of Sultan Jamalul Kiram I as Sultan in Maimbung and Jolo. The reign of Sultan Jamalul Kiram I witnessed the courtship of the sultan by the Spanish and the subsequent peaceful response of the sultan to the Spanish (Rasul 1970, 98). The feud between the House of Kiram and the House of Sakirawllah was temporarily suspended when Sultan Jamalul Kiram the First's daughter, DayangDayang Fatima Lana Albaini Jamala-Rah married Sultan Aliyuddin III of Patikul, the son of Sultan Israil II.



Sultan Israil II (r. 1823–62) succeeded his father Sultan Sakirawllah. He was the only son of Sultan Sakirawllah. There was a decree of his father, Sultan Sakirawllah, that Israil should succeed him as sultan of Patikul, despite the fact that Jamalul Kiram I was reigning as sultan of Sulu.

Sultan Aliyuddin II (r. 1823) was the son of Sultan Aliyuddin I, the son of Sultan Sharifuddin. Unfortunately, he died after a few weeks of his reign. Sultan Tumanggung Bantilan Alimuddin IV (r. 1823–62) was the son of Sultan Azimuddin Sali (Azimuddin III) and the grandson of Sultan Israil I, the legitimate son of Sultan Alimuddin I. He was also a great grandson of Sultan Alimuddin II. Sultan Jamalul Kiram I (r. 1823–42) was the son of Datu Israel Maulana or Sultan Alimuddin III of Maimbung. He was a grandson of DayangDayang Fatima Piandao, the daughter of Sultan Sharifuddin.

Sultan Moh. Pulalun (Pogdar) (r. 1842–62) was the son of Sultan Jamalul Kiram I. When Sultan Pulalun died, the throne was offered to his uncle Datu Aranan (Majul 1973, 289), a grandson of Bantilan III, the son of Sultan Alimuddin II.<sup>5</sup> Datu Aranan was a sultan in Parang, Sulu, sometime in 1814 (Majul 1973, 266; Moore 1837, 36). According to the Sulu Salsila, Datu Aranan became sultan of Sulu for a year, but because of old age offered the crown to Jamalul Alam, the son of Sultan Pulalun, on condition that Jamalul Alam would abdicate when the son of Sultan Aranan reached manhood. However, because of ambition Sultan Jamalul Alam continued to reign and tried to liquidate the descendants of Sultan Alimuddin II (Bantilan II). This was the reason why the descendants of Sultan Alimuddin II retreated to Dungun, Tawi-Tawi, where the Kirams dared not reach.

Sultan Jamalul Alam (r. 1862–81) succeeded his father Sultan Moh Pulalun. On 22 January 1878, Sultan Jamalul Alam leased North Borneo to the British North Borneo Company, represented by Baron Gustavus von Overbeck. It is understood among the Sulus that *padjak* means lease. Therefore, when a property is leased like the Sulu possessions in the North Borneo territory, the owner has the right to recover it, or the land has to be returned to the rightful owner. Thus, from the date of the lease contract to 22 January 1878, the government of Sabah, Malaysia through the Malaysian Federation, would have to return Sabah to the Sulu people and Sultanate.

As Datu Tuban said in his letter to Kurt Waldheim:

Sovereignty right is vested in the Sultan of Sulu and the people of Sulu in general from the beginning when the Sultan of Brunei ceded North

Borneo to the Sultan of Sulu as a gratitude of war aid . . . in 1769 the Orang Tiruns reoccupied the territory of North Borneo, which was reconquered by the Sulu warriors under the leadership of Sultan Moda Mohammad Israil I. Because the Orang Tiruns were defeated and the people of North Borneo paid tribute to Sultan Moda Mohammad Israil I, Sultan Alimuddin I awarded North Borneo to his son, Sultan Moda Mohammad Israil I. In 1878 Sultan Jamalul Alam leased North Borneo to Baron Gustavus von Overbeck and he issued the temporary and nontransferable designation as Rajah Bendahara or Rajah of Sandakan to Baron Gustavus von Overbeck. The temporary designation ceased upon the death of Baron Gustavus von Overbeck and the sovereignty right should be returned to the original owner, Sultan Israil . . . In 1899 the American government recognized the sovereignty right of the Sultan of Sulu over the territory of North Borneo (Sabah). Therefore, the transfer of sovereignty from Baron Gustavus von Overbeck to the British Government then to the Malaysian Government is *political aggression* and must be resolved by the United Nations . . . for . . . fair and final judgment, that Sabah must be returned to the direct descendants of Sultan Moda Mohammad Israil I . . . (a letter of Datu Tuban to Kurt Waldheim, the U.N. Secretary General dated 1 August 1977).

When Sultan Jamalul died, he was succeeded by his son Sultan Bararuddin II (r. 1881–84). When Sultan Bararuddin II died, he was succeeded by Sultan Aliyud Din III of Patikul.

Sultan Aliyud Din III (r. 1884–96) succeeded his father, Sultan Israil II, the son of Sultan Sakirawllah, as Sultan in Patikul in 1862. In 1884, Sultan Aliyud Din III succeeded Sultan Bararuddin II. He made his son, Pangiran Sarafuddin II, his Raja Muda. Later Pangiran Sarafuddin crowned his nephew, Datu Tuban Wizer Han Alimuddin I, a son of his sister, DayangDayang Sarirah Mariam, as sultan in 1917.

According to the Salsila, Jamalul Kiram I made a decree that the rule of the Kirams must end after the reign of his son, Sultan Moh. Pulalun, and they should give up the throne in favor of Aliyud Din III. Sultan Jamalul Kiram I made this decree upon the protest of his only daughter, Pangian Lana Fatima Albaini Jamala-Rah, who wanted her husband Sultan Aliyud Din III to succeed her brother Sultan Pulalun as sultan. She contended that Sultan Aliyud Din III was the rightful sultan to the sultanate of Sulu. Sultan Aliyud Din III was the grandson of Sultan Sakirawllah, and Sultan Jamalul Kiram I was the great grandson of Sultan Sharifuddin I whose daughter

DayangDayang Fatima Piandao was the grandmother of Jamalul Kiram I. Sultan Bararuddin II, in fact, followed the decree of his great grandfather, Sultan Jamalul Kiram I that Sultan Aliyud Din III would be his successor.

In 1881, Sultan Aliyud Din III took over the throne when Sultan Bararuddin II went to Mecca. Upon his arrival in Jolo from Mecca, Sultan Bararuddin II again ascended the throne until he died on 22 February 1884 (Majul 1973, 303).

### **The Sulu Salsila: 1884–1936**

In 1884 Sultan Aliyud Din III succeeded Sultan Bararuddin II. However, Datu Amirul Kiram (later Sultan Jamalul Kiram II), a son of Sultan Jamalul Alam, protested because he was the brother of Sultan Bararuddin II. At any rate, Sultan Aliyud Din III continued to reign as sultan because he was older than Amirul and a rightful sultan to the sultanate of Sulu. Meanwhile, the Spaniards courted Harun Ar Rasid, a great, great, great, grandson of Sultan Alimuddin I. On 24 September 1886 they crowned Harun Ar Rasid sultan in Manila (Majul 1973, 306).

As pointed out by Saleeby, Sultan Aliyud Din III proclaimed himself sultan in Patikul, and Datu Amirul, as sultan in Maymbung. Gen. Parrado offered his good office and tried to overcome the difficulty by suggesting that Amirul Kiram be elected Sultan but that Aliyud Din should act as regent during the minority of the former. He went as far as to name a new and general Council of State to meet at Maymbung and decide the question. He submitted this proposition to both parties threatening to leave them to their fate if they did not comply with his advice. The Maymbung party accepted the Governor's proposition, but the Patikul party did not; consequently both candidates were proclaimed Sultan, one at Patikul and one at Maymbung, and both prepared to fight (Saleeby 1963, 137).

In 1887 Gen. Arolas attacked Patikul and Lati which made Aliyud Din flee to Siasi (Saleeby 1963, 137). However, he came back to join the waiting forces of Kalbi and Julkarnain, and again in 1890, a civil war ensued between the forces of Sultan Aliyud Din III and Datu Amirul Kiram (Jamalul Kiram II). In 1894 Harun Ar Rasid ended his *de facto* rule. The Spaniards were now banking on Datu Amirul Kiram whose mother Putli' Insih Jamila or DayangDayang Sayah, of

Spanish descent, requested help from the Spaniards. With the aid of the Spaniards, Datu Amirul's forces outnumbered the forces of Sultan Aliyud Din III. In 1896, during the civil war, Sultan Aliyud Din III was wounded and retreated to Basilan and then to Laminusa, Siasi. He went back to Patikul where he died. Sultan Aliyud Din III was called the second *Amirul Mu'minin*. According to Saleeby (1963, 137), Aliyud Din died in 1892 in Patikul. The rule of Amirul Kiram was recognized only in 1894 by the Spanish authority (Majul 1973, 308).

Sultan Harun Ar Rasid (r. 1886-94) was a great, great, great grandson of Sultan Alimuddin I. Sultan Jamalul Kiram II (r. 1896-1936) was a son of Sultan Jamalul Alam. Sultan Pangiran Sarafuddin II (r. 1892-1917) was the son of Sultan Aliyud Din III. He lived mostly in Laminusa, Siasi, Sulu. Sultan Tuban Wizer Han Sultan Alimuddin I is now the recognized sultan of Sulu by the majority of Sulu datus. His uncle, Sultan Pangiran Sarafuddin crowned him sultan in 1917.

When Sultan Jamalul Kiram II died on 7 June 1936, there was chaos in his house with regard to his successor. DayangDayang Piandao, the only daughter of Sultan Bararuddin II and the niece of Sultan Jamalul Kiram II, wanted her husband, Datu Ombra Amil-bangsa, to succeed Sultan Jamalul Kiram II. But Governor Gulamu Rasul and his father, Hadji Butu Abdul Baqi Rasul, a datu bendahara during the reign of Sultan Jamalul Kiram II, had long wanted Datu Tuban, a grandson of Sultan Aliyud Din III and a direct descendant of Sultan Alimuddin I, to be sultan. However, Datu Tuban was in Zamboanga. So they sought Datu Julaspi Kiram, who claimed to be the son of Sultan Jamalul Kiram II. Unluckily, Datu Julaspi Kiram was in Sitangkai, Sulu. To frustrate the claim of DayangDayang Piandao, Hadji Gulamu Rasul decided to crown Datu Tambuyung as Sultan Jainal Abirin to end their dispute over the successor to the sultanate of Sulu.

One may wonder why Hadji Butu Abdul Baqi Rasul or Hadji Gulamu Rasul did not crown Datu Ismail Kiram sultan, if he was really a Kiram?<sup>238</sup> Why did Hadji Gulamu Rasul crown Datu Tambuyung sultan instead? Hadji Gulamu Rasul gave his reasons why he crowned Datu Tambuyung sultan. Firstly, Datu Ombra Amil-bangsa, the husband of DayangDayang Piandao, was not a descendant of any sultan of the sultanate of Sulu. Secondly, Datu Ombra Amil-bangsa would ultimately be his political enemy, so Hadji

Gulamu Rasul had to put an end to Datu Ombra's political career by setting up Datu Tambuyung as Sultan Jainal Abirin in the absence of Sultan Tuban Wizer Han Sultan Alimuddin I,<sup>6</sup> who is now the recognized Sultan of Sulu, Tawi-Tawi, Basilan, Palawan and North Borneo by the majority of the datus of Sulu.

Sometime in 1962 Hadji Gulamu Rasul accompanied Datu Julaspi Kiram to Sabah, where for a time Datu Julaspi Kiram pretended to rule as sultan in his elegant dungeon, surrounded by the Malaysian artillery and in hiding from his relatives.

### Notes

1. "Philippine Government To Drop Sabah Claim," *Malaya*, 11 November 1987, p. 1. Philippine Bill 206, sponsored by Senator L. R. Shahani, deletes provisions of Republic Acts 3046 and 5446 defining Sabah as part of Philippine territory.
2. See for example the following books: Cesar A. Majul (1973); Jainal Rasul (1970); Najeeb M. Saleeby (1963).
3. *Ibid.*
4. Found in Datu Tuban's letter to Datu Harris Salleh, Chief Minister of Sabah, Malaysia, dated August 1, 1977, which strongly claims that Sabah must be returned to Sulu. See *Bulletin Today*, 13 January 1978, p. 7.
5. Sulu Salsila. Datu Aranan's direct descendant is Sultan Tuban. Sultan Aranan is Tumanggung Bantilan Alimuddin IV.
6. He is presently in Jolo.

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## Appendix A

### Letter of the Four Datus

Jolo, Sulu, Philippines  
November 8, 1967

His Excellency  
President Ferdinand E. Marcos  
President of the Republic of the Philippines  
Malacañang Palace, Manila  
Manila, Philippines

Sir:

Before we begin to write this letter, may God bless you and your family and will protect you always and give you good health to reign our beloved country the Philippines for many more years.

We have the honor to inform you, your Excellency, that we the undersigned are the direct descendants of Sultan Fernando Alimud Din-I, Sultan Sakirawl Lah, Pangian Lana daughter of Sultan Jamalul Kiram-I, and also Eledgi son of Dayang Dayang Agtah daughter of Sultan Bararud Din-I owner of the North Borneo Territory. As proof, we respectfully submit the following:

1. A diagram showing the Sulu Sultanate and the descendants of Sultan Fernando Alimud Din-I.
2. Photostat of Sultan F. Alimud Din-I with the Spaniards.
3. Two Photostats of the History of Sulu showing The Struggle for Sultanate—Pages 136 to 137 and;
4. That Sultan Aliyud Din- fled to Laminusa, Siasi, in 1892—Pages 142 to 143. Authored By Dr. Najeed P. Saleeby.

On with North Borneo:

That sometime in 1704, North Borneo was ceded to Sultan Alimud Din-I son of Sultan Bararud Din-I by the Sultan of Brunei as a gratitude of War Aid. Elegi the Nephew of Sultan Alimud Din-I joined the War, and the living descendant of Eledgi is Panglima Jumadil Eledgi.

It is therefore safe to say that North Borneo Territory belongs to Sultan Alimud Din-I son of Sultan Bararud Din-I and their succeeding direct descendants, and also Eledgi and the living descendants. Sultan Bararud Din-I was succeeded by his son Sultan Alimud Din-I. Sultan Alimud Din-I was succeeded by Sultan Israel-I, and Sultan Israel was succeeded by Sultan Muizuddin Bantilan and succeeded by Sultan Alimud Din-II and then succeeded by Sultan Sarafud Din son of Sultan Alimud Din-I.

Sultan Sarafud Din has three sons namely, Sultan Alimud Din-III Sultan Aliyud Din-I and Sultan Sakirawl Lah. In 1823, Sultan Sakirawl Lah died. Three children of the three Sultans claimed to be Sultan of Sulu and proclaimed themselves Sultans of their own places.

a. Sultan Israel-II son of Sultan Sakirawl Lah proclaimed himself Sultan of Patikul. Sultan Israel-II was succeeded by his son Sultan Aliyud Din-III.

b. Sultan Aliyud Din-II son of Sultan Aliyud Din-I proclaimed himself Sultan of Matanda, Buansa and Silangkan.

c. Sultan Alimud Din-IV (Datu Tuban Han Alimud Din) son of Sultan Alimud Din-III proclaimed himself Sultan of Lamitan, Basilan facing Zamboanga.

d. Sultan Maulana proclaimed himself Sultan of Maimbung.

e. Sultan Jamalul Kiram-I succeeded as Sultan of Maimbung in the same year 1823-1841. Sultan Jamalul Kiram-I has two children namely Datu Mohammad Pulalun (Pogdar) and Pangian Lana.

The living descendant of Pangian Lana is Datu Tuban Wizer (Datu Juan S. Tuban).

Sultan Jamalul Kiram-I was succeeded by his son Sultan Mohammad Pulalun (Pogdar).

Sultan Mohammad Pulalun (Pogdar) was succeeded by his son Sultan Jamalul Alam.

Sultan Jamalul Alam was succeeded by his son Sultan Bararud Din-II.

Sultan Bararud Din-II was succeeded by Sultan Harun Ar Rasid a datu of Palawan was later deposed.

Sultan Harun Ar Rasid was succeeded by Sultan Jamalul Kiram-II (Datu Amirul Kiram) who proclaimed himself Sultan of Maimbung in 1896-1936.

Sultan Aliyud Din-III (Datu Pangiran Isnain Aliyud Din) son of Sultan Israel-II the grandson of Sultan Sakirawl Lah was also proclaimed Sultan of Patikul. Datu Tuban Wizer succeeded Sultan Aliyud Din-III his grandfather in 1917.

This means, that Sulu had two famous Sultans when Sultan Bararud Din-II died in 1884. One Sultan in Patikul, Sultan Aliyud Din-III and one Sultan in Maimbung, Sultan Jamalul Kiram-II. Sultan Jamalul Kiram-II has no definite successor.

When Sultan Ombra Amilbangsa was proclaimed Sultan, his Rajam was Datu Esmail Kiram, soon after Datu Esmail Kiram was proclaimed Sultan in Maimbung, to succeed Sultan Jamalul Kiram-II.

In 1962, Sultan Esmail Kiram ceded North Borneo to the Philippine Government. This means that Sultan Esmail Kiram ceded the sovereignty of the House of Sultan Jamalul Kiram-I only, because Sultan Esmail Kiram is only having sovereignty and control over the House of Sultan Jamalul Kiram-I.

That Datu Tuban Wizer Sultan Alimud Din-I and Sultan Sakirawl Lah (Datu Juan S. Tuban) has sovereign rights over the Two Houses of Sultan Alimud Din-I and Sultan Sakirawl Lah being the direct descendant and direct heir.

THE SUCCESSORS OF THE THREE HOUSES

Successor and Descendants: The House of Sultan Jamalul Kiram.

1. Sultan Mohammad Julaspi Kiram claimed to be the son of Sultan Jamalul Kiram-II, presently in North Borneo.
2. Sultan Esmail Kiram—the nephew of Sultan Jamalul Kiram and;
3. Datu Rajamuda Pungungan Kiram both of Jolo, Sulu.

Successor and descendants: House of Sultan Fernando Alimud Din-I.

1. Datu Tuban Wizer Sultan Alimud Din-I (Datu Juan S. Tuban) son of Datu Anni Tito Tuban (Datu Aniceto Tuban) great grandson of Sultan Alimud Din-III.
2. Datu Rubin Sug son of Dayang Dayang Piandao Sultan Alimud-III.
3. Salip Hussin Abubakar son of Dayang Dayang Rukiya Sultan Alimud Din-III.

Successors and descendants: The house of Sultan Sakirawl Lah:

1. Datu Tuban Wizer Sultan Alimud Din-I and Sultan Sakirawl Lah (Datu Juan S. Tuban) son of Datu Anni Tito (Datu Aniceto Tuban) and Dayang Dayang Fatima Sarirah Mariam daughter of Sultan Pangiran Isnain Aliyud Din (Sultan Aliyud Din-III) son of Sultan Israel-II the children of Sultan Sakirawl Lah.
2. Datu Saip Rajamin Baasal son of Dayang Dayang Kabayan daughter of Sultan Pangiran Isnain Aliyud Din (Sultan Aliyud Din-III).
3. Hadji Arsad Sali son of Hadji Sali the adopted son of Sultan Israel Israel-II, and descended from Datu Marajah Dindah.
4. Mr. Laurence Baird and Susan Baird children of Dayang Dayang Fatima Tamila Omat daughter of Sultan Pangiran Isnain Aliyud Din (Sultan Aliyud Din-III) and others not mentioned.

Panglima Jumadil Eledgi and Attorney Bakuin P. Aradani are the descendants of Dayang Dayang Agtan daughter of Sultan Bararud Din-I. That since Eledgi is the grandson of Sultan Bararud Din-I, therefore the descendants are also members of the house of Sultan Alimud Din-I.

Since we belong to the two houses, namely the house of Sultan Alimud Din the First and the House of Sultan Sakirawl Lah, we are the majority, and since we are the majority, we supercede the claim of the heirs of Sultan Jamalal Kiram I to the North Borneo Territory.

For these reasons, we are appealing to you, Sir, that a preventive sale of North Borneo be published and that the representatives of the descendants of Sultan Alimud Din-I and Sultan Sakirawl Lah, being the majority, be considered to seat in banc for whatever be deemed proper for the interest



of all concerned. As citizens of the Republic of the Philippines, we hope sir for your kind and benevolent consideration and we pray for a reply, we remain—

Very truly yours,

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Datu Salip Rajamuda Bassal Pulalan<br>Grandson of Sultan Sakirawl Lah | 3. Panglima Jumadil Eledgi                                      |
| 2. Datu Rubin Sug<br>Grandson of Sultan Alimud Din                       | 4. Salip Hussin Abubakar<br>Grandson of Sultan<br>Alimud Din-II |

Copy furnished:

1. The Queen of England, London, England
2. The President of the United States of America
3. The Secretary General of the United Nations, New York, USA
4. The Prime Minister of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

## Appendix B

### Salsila of the Sulu Sultanate and Descendants

1. Sultan Shariful Hashim Abubakar (r. 1450–80). He established the Sultanate of Sulu when he married DayangDayang Paramesuli, the daughter of Datu Raja Baginda.
2. Sultan Kamaluddin (r. 1480–1505). As the eldest son, he succeeded his father, Sultan Abubakar.
3. Sultan Amirul Umara (r. 1505–27). He succeeded his father, Sultan Kamaluddin.
4. Sultan Muizzul Muttawaddin Upoh (r. 1527–48). He succeeded his father, Sultan Umara.
5. Sultan Nasifuddin Awwal Dirugan (r. 1548–70). As the eldest son, he succeeded his father, Sultan Upoh.
6. Sultan Pangiran Buddiman (r. 1570–85). As the eldest son, he succeeded his father, Sultan Nasifuddin.
7. Sultan Batarasa Sha Taga (r. 1585–1600). He succeeded his father, Sultan Buddiman.
8. Sultan Muwallil Wasit Raja Bungsu (r. 1600–39). He succeeded his father, Sultan Taga.
9. Sultan Nasiruddin Ahir (r. 1639–48). He succeeded his father, Sultan Bungsu.

10. Sultan Salahuddin Karamat (Baktir) (r. 1648–66). He succeeded his father, Sultan Ahir.

11. Sultan Sahabuddin (r. 1666–78). As the eldest son, he succeeded his father, Sultan Karamat. He abdicated in favor of his younger brother, Safiuddin.

12. Sultan Safiuddin (r. 1690– ). As the second son of Sultan Karamat, he succeeded his brother, Sultan Safiuddin. He abdicated in favor of Bararuddin, his younger brother.

13. Sultan Bararuddin Awwal (r. 1690–1735). As the youngest son of Sultan Karamat, he succeeded his brother, Sultan Safiuddin. He was officially proclaimed sultan in 1718.

14. Sultan Nasaruddin was the third son of Sultan Bararuddin Awwal I. He acted as a de facto ruler when his father, Sultan Bararuddin I was becoming old and weak. Meanwhile, Datu Lagasan (later S. Alimud Din I) his eldest brother, was in North Borneo as its Sultan. However, when Datu Lagasan arrived in Jolo from his exploits in Borneo in 1735, he ascended the throne as Sultan Alimuddin I and succeeded his aged father Sultan Bararuddin I.

15. Sultan Alimud Din I (r. 1735–73). He succeeded his father, Sultan Bararuddin I. In 1698, he and his twin brother, Datu Tumanggung Bagangan Salikala conquered North Borneo. He was called the first *amirul mu'minin* (the defender of the faithful) and he was also the first sultan who was converted to Christianity, taking the name Fernando de Alimuddin. Datu Alimuddin or Alimud Din and Datu Salikala were sent by Sultan Bararuddin I to Borneo in 1692 because Sultan Muhuddin of Brunei requested help from him and the reward would be North Borneo should the Suluans win the war against Sultan Abdul Mubin. In 1662 Abdul Mubin killed Sultan Mohammad Ali and this resulted in a civil war which ended in 1672. Muhuddin proclaimed himself sultan in 1682 and in 1692 he requested help from the sultan of Sulu.

16. Sultan Muizuddin (Bantilan I) (r. 1748–63). He was the son of Sultan Sahabuddin and the cousin of Sultan Alimud Din I. When Alimud Din I was in Manila, Muizuddin proclaimed himself sultan and he ascended the throne as a de facto ruler.

17. Sultan Israil I (r. 1773–78). He succeeded his father, Sultan Alimud Din I. In 1769, the Sulus under the leadership of Sultan Israil reconquered North Borneo when they defeated the Orang Tiruns. Because of this, Sultan Alimuddin I awarded North Borneo to Sultan Israil I.

18. Sultan Alimud Din II (r. 1778–89). He was the son of Sultan Muizuddin (Bantilan I).

19. Sultan Sarafuddin or Sharifud Din I (r. 1789–1805). He succeeded his cousin, Sultan Alimuddin II. He was a son of a concubine of Sultan Alimuddin I.

20. Sultan Azimuddin Sali (Azimuddin III) (r. 1805–07). He was the son of Sultan Israil I. He succeeded his uncle, Sultan Sarafuddin.

21. Sultan Aliyud Din I (r. 1807–08). He was the son of Sultan Sarafuddin I and he succeeded his first cousin, Sultan Azimuddin Sali.

22. Sultan Sakirawllah (r. 1808–23). As a second son of Sultan Sarafuddin or Sharifud Din I, he succeeded his elder brother Sultan Aliyud Din I.

When Sultan Sakirawllah died in 1823, there was chaos in the sultanate and there were four claimants to the throne: 1. Sultan Jamalul Kiram I became sultan in Maimbung; 2. Sultan Israil II, sultan of Patikul; Sultan Aliyud Din II, sultan of Buansa; and 4. Sultan Tumanggung Bantilan Aranan Alimuddin IV, sultan of Basilan but later transferred to Dungun, Tawi-Tawi.

23. Sultan Israil II (r. 1823–62). He succeeded his father, Sultan Sakirawllah. He was a son of Sultan Sakirawllah who issued a decree that Israil II would succeed him as sultan of Sulu; so Israil II continued to reign as sultan in Patikul.

24. Sultan Aliyud Din II (r. 1823). He was the son of Sultan Aliyud Din I, a son of Sultan Sarafuddin and a brother of Sultan Sakirawllah. Unfortunately, he died after a few weeks of reign.

25. Sultan Tumanggung Bantilan (Tuban Aranan Alimuddin IV) (r. 1823–42). He was the son of Sultan Azimuddin Sali and the grandson of Sultan Israil I, the only son of Sultan Alimuddin I. He reigned as sultan in Parang, Sulu, in Basilan, and Dungun, Tawi-Tawi. He reigned as sultan from 1818 to 1863 in Parang, Sulu.

26. Sultan Jamalul Kiram I (r. 1823–42). He established the house of Kiram when he usurped the throne from the house of Sultan Sakirawllah. He was the son of Israel Maulana or Alimuddin III of Maimbung. Israel Maulana was the son of the daughter of Sultan Sarafuddin, named Fatima Piandao. Hence, Israel Maulana, whose father was a Maranao and mother, Piandao, was a grandson of Sultan Sarafuddin I. Israel Maulana died at the same time with Sultan Sarafuddin in 1805. In Sulu sultanate law, no female descendant can claim the throne unless nominated by her father, the sultan. Israel Maulana was not nominated by his grandfather, Sultan Sarafuddin to succeed him; hence, he was not a sultan of Sulu but a datu in Maimbung where he and his mother, Piandao lived.

Jamalul Kiram I was friendly with the Spaniards who helped him wrest the power from the house of Sakirawllah. He was a great grandson of Sultan Sarafuddin or Sharifud Din.

27. Sultan Mohammad Pulalun (Pugdar) (r. 1842–62). He was the son of Sultan Jamalul Kiram I.

28. Sultan Jamalul Kiram Alam (r.1862–81). He was the son of Sultan Pulalun.

29. Sultan Bararuddin II (r. 1881–84). He was the son of Sultan Jamalul Alam.

30. Sultan Aliyud Din III or Aliyuddin III (r. 1862–96). He succeeded his father, Sultan Israil II in Patikul in 1862. Sultan Jamalul Kiram I issued a decree that the rule of the Kirams must end after the reign of his son Sultan Pulalun. Sultan Jamalul Kiram I made this decree upon the protest of his only daughter, Pangian Lana Fatima Albaini Jamala-Rah, who wanted

her husband Sultan Aliyud Din III to succeed her brother, Sultan Pulalun, as sultan, because she legally contended that Sultan Aliyud Din III was the rightful sultan to the Sultanate of Sulu. Aliyud Din III was a grandson of Sultan Sakirawllah and Jamalul Kiram I was a great grandson of Sultan Sharifud Din whose daughter DayangDayang Fatima Piandao was the grandmother of Jamalul Kiram I. Sultan Bararuddin II followed the decree. So, in 1881, Sultan Aliyud Din III took over the throne when Sultan Bararuddin II went to Mecca. When he returned from Mecca, Bararuddin II again ascended the throne until his death in 1884. In 1884, Sultan Aliyud Din III succeeded Sultan Bararuddin II as Sultan of Sulu. But Datu Amirul (later Jamalul Kiram II) protested because his legal opinion was that he was the brother of Bararuddin II. Sultan Aliyud Din III continued to reign as Sultan because he was older than Amirul and capable of handling the government and a rightful sultan to the sultanate of Sulu. He hated foreign domination, so he refused to deal with the Spaniards. Meanwhile, knowing that Aliyud Din III was a difficult sultan to deal with, the Spaniards courted Harun Ar Rasid, a great, great, great grandson of Sultan Alimuddin I and they crowned him sultan in Manila in 1886. However, the people of Sulu refused to recognize Harun Ar Rasid as their sultan because they wanted Aliyud Din III to remain as their sultan.

In 1892, a civil war ensued between the forces of Sultan Aliyud Din III and Datu Amirul (Jamalul Kiram II). In 1894, Harun Ar Rasid ended his de facto rule. He stayed mostly in Palawan. The Spaniards were now banking on Datu Amirul whose Mother Putli Insih Jamila or DayangDayang Sayah, a Spanish descent, sought the help of the Spaniards. With the help of the Spaniards, Datu Amirul's forces outnumbered and defeated the forces of Sultan Aliyud Din III. In 1896, during the civil war, Sultan Aliyud Din III was wounded, so he retreated to Basilan then to Laminusa, Siasi. Later, he went back to Patikul where he died.

The popularity of Sultan Aliyud Din III is still engraved in the hearts of the people of Sulu, because he was able to preserve the culture, customs, tradition and Islam in Sulu. He was even called the second amirul mu'minin. The people of Sulu remember Sultan Aliyud Din III as the last true sultan of Sulu.

31. Sultan Harun Ar Rasid (r. 1886-94). He was a great, great, great grandson of Sultan Alimuddin I.

32. Sultan Jamalul Kiram II (r. 1896-1936). He was a son of Sultan Jamalul Alam.

33. Sultan Sarafuddin II (r. 1896-1917). He was the son of Sultan Aliyud Din III. He crowned his nephew, Sultan Tuban Wizer Han Sultan Alimuddin I, as sultan in 1917.

34. Sultan Tuban Aranan Sultan Alimuddin I (r. 1917-). He is the grandson of Sultan Aliyud din III and Pangiran Lana Albaini Jamala-Rah, and a direct descendant of Sultan Alimuddin I.