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## Muslims in the Philippines

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entirely Chinese nor entirely Asian, but 'strong' enough to withstand a pure Chinese racial and cultural onslaught. The bourgeois Overseas Chinese cannot be expected to be anything but fair-weather allies while they are deprived of basic human rights and surrounded by fear and hatred. China herself cannot be expected to feel sympathetic to the world while the world is patently not sympathetic towards her. Nor can we in the West make the world around us a safer and better place unless we make a supreme effort to involve ourselves in the welfare of the world, and not just the welfare of our own countries. (p. 249).

A thoughtful reader will sift from these lines certain food for reflection with regard to constructive policies towards the Chinese in Southeast Asia.

Charles J. McCarthy, S.J.

MUSLIMS IN THE PHILIPPINES. By Cesar Adib Majul. Quezon City: Published for the Asian Center by the University of the Philippines Press, 1973. ix, 392 pp.

Those familiar with Dr. Majul's writings on Philippine Islam over the last decade have long awaited this history of the Muslim Filipinos to the end of the nineteenth century by a Filipino Muslim scholar at home in the European-language, Arabic, and Filipino source materials. They will not be disappointed, for this is an important book, and if not definitive, will be the necessary starting point for any future study of Muslim Filipino history. Placing the history of Philippine Islam in the larger context of Southeast Asian Islam, Majul has moved away from the Hispanocentric perspective and made considerable use of Dutch printed and manuscript sources hitherto unused by historians of the Philippines. This is especially important for the periods when the Spanish presence was absent from Mindanao and Sulu, periods till now largely unknown because absent from Spanish writings.

The periodization of the book is essentially that earlier set out by Majul in his article, "The Role of Islam in the History of the Filipino People," (*Asian Studies* 4 [1966], 303-315), though as a history the book effectively comes to an end with the Revolution of 1896. A preliminary chapter attempts the reconstruction of the chronology of the Maguindanao and Sulu sultanates, based largely on the *tarsilas*, but complemented by certain later European sources. The second chapter is concerned with the spread of Islam in the Malay-populated lands of Southeast Asia, and specifically in the Philippines to the coming of the Spaniards. After a third chapter which sets general perspectives on the relations between Spaniards, Christian Filipinos and Muslim Filipinos, the heart of the book is to be found in the chapters dealing with the so-called "Moro Wars", punctuated by two intermediary chapters dealing chiefly with Maguindanao-Sulu relations with other European and Asian powers. The ninth chapter on the political

institutions of the Sulu sultanate, which would seem more appropriately placed among the appendices, is followed by a relatively brief conclusion entitled "The Heritage". The four appendices deal with Sulu in Chinese sources, the institution of the *juramentado*, and genealogical questions. A glossary of Arabic and Islamic terms and an extensive bibliographical essay complete the book.

Not only is a long-felt need for a comprehensive history of the Muslim South during the period prior to the twentieth century largely filled here, but it is a history which presents Muslim society in its own terms, in relation to Islamic values and Islamic jurisprudence. Too long have texts of Philippine history, if not totally ignoring the Muslim South, presented it from the perspective of hostile Spanish sources. Whether aiming at the extermination or the Christianization of the Muslims, few Spaniards made any significant, or at least successful, effort to understand Muslim society, a fact which is itself not surprising in the light of the historical relationship of *Reconquista* Spanish Catholicism and Islam. Writing from a Muslim point of view, Majul casts important light on such subjects as piracy, slavery, and the depth of Islamic faith and practice in the territory of the sultanates. Yet this corrective to Spanish perspectives is sometimes carried to a point which seems to this reviewer likely to lead to an opposite distortion. Undoubtedly the suppression of piracy was often a pretext for Spanish conquest of Muslim lands. Likewise it is true, as the author points out, that the sultans frequently had not authorized their vassals who engaged in piratical raids on the Visayas or were unable to prevent them (p. 344). Still the normal practice of sharing in the booty of these raids seems scarcely compatible with a real desire to keep the treaties of peace. To say that the Sulu sultan being himself a trader indicates that he was opposed to piracy (pp. 107, 344), is not very convincing when Sulu trade was rather with the lands to the south and west, and this was of course in no way hindered by the raids on northern Philippines. Similarly it is true that at certain periods the Spaniards enslaved Muslim Filipinos captured in war. But they did not carry on a systematic slave-trade. Nor is it convincing to say (pp. 166-167) that the slaving expeditions were only a part of the wars against Spanish imperialism, and that slave-taking did not become significant until the Dutch demand for plantation labor in the latter part of the seventeenth century stimulated it. For the Jesuit complaints of the early seventeenth century that the Manila government was unjust in its neglect of the defense of the Visayas after having taken away from the Visayans the arms by which they formerly defended themselves against slave raids, would have no meaning had not slave raids on the Visayas taken place before the coming of Spanish rule. Undoubtedly the missionary formation of towns in place of the scattered barangays, as well as Spanish efforts to conquer Muslim territories, led to an increase of the slaving raids, but they did not create them. One need not be surprised of course at piracy and the slave-trade among sea-faring peoples in the century of Francis Drake and John Hawkins, knighted by the Queen of England for their piratical exploits against Spain when she had received her share of the loot, or when Portuguese, Dutch and English competed in the African slave-trade, but it

is not good history so to explain them away that they seem to be merely Spanish-created prejudices. Further perspective is helpful to historical understanding, but dismissing the issue is not. "vegetable and" belittles. A. This reviewer found rather disconcerting the so frequent use of such expressions as "most probably" and "undoubtedly" pretoid. The impression created by these expressions leads one either wrongly to undervalue what the author has in fact established convincingly, or on the other hand, to accept a picture which depends largely on a series of inferences from what is orthodox Islamic practice to what Muslim sultans must have done. One need only think of the principles enunciated in the *Deyeside Indids* and innumerable royal *cedulas* of the Spanish King as well as the teachings of the Christian gospel, and then compare them with actual practice by Spanish officials and priests in the Philippines to know how fragile and deceptive such inferences are. Something similar might be said of the efforts to explain and refute the various testimonies of European observers, not all of them hostile (pp. 89 ff.) that the influence of Islamic law was much less among the ordinary Maguindanos than at the court of the sultan. Unfortunately, this type of argumentation often gives the book a tone which is not merely sympathetic but apologetic or subjective and by intention not. The apologetic note appears most clearly in the preface and conclusions, in which the significance of the "Moro Wars" is seen, in their being the response to colonialism, imperialism, and "Christianization." The implication, which to some extent runs through the book, that Islam is in some sense more indigenous to Southeast Asia and the Philippines, than a Christianity which is fundamentally European ignores the very real parallelism between the Islamization and the Christianization of the Philippines. Both religions originated in the world of the Mediterranean and Near East; both were brought into the Philippines as the religion of the Arab and Spanish rulers who imposed themselves on the fragmented *barangays* and united them under a centralized rule whose binding force was largely, if not principally, religious in nature; both Philippine Catholicism and Philippine Islam, as they penetrated more deeply into society as a whole, have felt themselves part of a larger religious unity transcending the geographical boundaries of the Philippines, be it *dar-ul-Islam* or world Catholicism. But if the two religious traditions have looked to religious centers outside the Philippines for normative orthodox belief, and have depended on Arab or European missionaries to strengthen religious instruction, both religions too have indigenized themselves as truly Filipino expressions of world-wide faiths. The parallelisms of the two evangelizations are striking in their coincidence, and in the light of them the differences in the process appear rather the result of historical accident than substantial. It is true that Islam arrived in what are now the geographical boundaries of the Philippine Republic prior to Christianity. But, apart from Sulu, Islamization does not seem to have been achieved significant depth below the ruling class much before the beginnings of Christianization. Certainly the Islamization of many if not most of the Maranaos, for example, took place considerably later than the Christianization of most of the lowland peoples of Luzon and the Visayas, as Majal himself notes (p. 140) and has argued elsewhere.

The major difference which existed between the development of the two religious traditions in the Philippines is therefore not in their relative foreign or indigenous character, but in the fact that the introduction of Christianity was effected from a foreign source which was a highly centralized empire, such as did not exist in this period in the Islamic world, which was highly fragmented. (On this latter point, it does not seem correct to say with Majul that the coming of the Westerners "caused the fragmentation" in the Malay world [p. 11]; it did prevent the unification of that fragmented world into a single empire, but it is impossible to say whether such unification would have occurred in the absence of Western imperialism). As a result of this difference, the Christianization of the peoples under Spanish rule led historically to a unification with a social and economic progress which the independent Muslim sultanates, without a strong Islamic political power behind them, were not able to achieve, in spite of the relative superiority in political, social, and economic organization which they enjoyed relative to the peoples of northern Philippines at the time of the coming of the Spaniards. From this point of view Majul is undoubtedly correct in decriing the "attempt to convince Muslims that all their economic and social ills at present are due to Islam" (p. 346), as well as the concept that "Christianizing the Muslims in the Philippines would transform them into better and more loyal citizens". One can only agree that the loss of Islam would not necessarily imply the Christianization of Muslim Filipinos, and that "it is desirable for the Muslims in the Philippines to know Islam more intensively" (*ibid.*). But it may be suggested that such an intensification must be within the framework of the secular state, such as is the Republic of the Philippines. The efforts of the Propaganda Movement and the Revolution, to the exposition of whose thought Dr. Majul has contributed so extensively and perceptively, began the process by which Filipino Catholics were able in the twentieth century to disengage their religious loyalty to Catholicism from its Hispanic roots. Similarly, the new nationalism of the post-independence period has helped the Filipino Protestant churches to detach themselves from their American origins without abandoning their faith, but rather indigenizing it. Cannot the Islamic faith of Filipino Muslims, while remaining orthodox and in relation with Muslims of other countries, leave aside certain forms which have perhaps been traditional in an officially Islamic state so as to achieve fuller integration into a pluralistic Philippine state? Though historical scholarship cannot alone supply the bonds of integration, it can contribute a great deal to its achievement. If this reviewer has somewhat differed on certain points with the author as to the interpretation of that history, this is not meant to detract from the thoroughness of the scholarship which has gone into the book. Much however still remains to be done with regard to the nineteenth century history of Mindanao and Sulu, which does not receive the same thoroughness of treatment here as do the earlier centuries. Though the monograph of Reynaldo Ileto on Maguindanao (reviewed in *RS* 20 [1972]: 661-665) appeared when Majul's book was already in press, and though the reviewer finds himself closer to Majul than to Ileto in the interpretation of late

nineteenth-century Spanish policy towards the Muslims, Ilet's work indicates some other areas which have yet to be researched. In spite of the evident prejudices of Jesuits like Fathers Pastells and Ricart, there are indications, for example, that the relations between many of the Maguindanao datus and the Jesuits were not completely hostile, and that Tamontaka was becoming a center of considerable cultural interaction between Muslims and Christians. Other aspects of this nineteenth century history need investigation, and of course the history of the twentieth century and American policy towards the Muslim peoples has yet to be studied at all in any depth. If much still remains to be done, Majul's book is a major step forward, and will for the foreseeable future remain the basic work from which future research and writing must begin. In the light of its importance, it is unfortunate that the publishers, while laudably providing for the proper transcription of Arabic terms, have allowed rather frequent printing errors in the English text. More disappointing is the incompleteness of the glossary of Arabic terms used in the text, and the inadequacy of the index, which lists only proper names. In a book which is certain to be used as a frequent reference, this lack of a subject index is most unfortunate.

John N. Schumacher

ECUMENISM AND VATICAN II (Logos 9 / Cardinal Bea Studies III). Ed. by Pedro S. de Achútegui, S.J. Manila: Loyola School of Theology, 1972. 198 pages, ₱27.

The present book is mainly a re-edition, "in an enlarged and updated version," of articles which were published in various issues of *Philippine Studies*. The articles give us some "Select Perspectives," ranging from a full commentary on *Dei Verbum* to a critical study of some particular points of other Council documents.

Understanding the Council documents is not easy because the final texts emerged after a long and complex development. This is particularly true for *Dei Verbum* which developed from a defensive Counter-Reformation document, written in the style of Trent and Vatican I, into "one of the most heart-warming (ecumenical) declarations of the Council" (p. 9). The article of Fr. Joseph J. Smith ("An Introduction to the Constitution on Divine Revelation") presents an excellent and richly documented commentary of *Dei Verbum*, which enables the reader to discover the revolutionary change which took place in the growth of the document and which is often hidden in rather obscure "compromise" formulations.

In the first part of the article ("The preparation of the text"), the author very briefly describes the different drafts of the document. After having indicated the major objections to the first draft, he comments on the historical intervention of Pope John (Nov. 20-21, 1962), which