philippine studies: historical and ethnographic viewpoints

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

Aljamiado Hispanofilipino: The Spanish Language in Philippine Jawi Script

Isaac Donoso

Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints vol. 66 no. 1 (2018): 49–76

Copyright © Ateneo de Manila University

Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints is published by the Ateneo de Manila University. Contents may not be copied or sent via email or other means to multiple sites and posted to a listsery without the copyright holder's written permission. Users may download and print articles for individual, noncommercial use only. However, unless prior permission has been obtained, you may not download an entire issue of a journal, or download multiple copies of articles.

Please contact the publisher for any further use of this work at philstudies.soss@ateneo.edu.

http://www.philippinestudies.net

Aljamiado Hispanofilipino The Spanish Language in Philippine Jawi Script

From the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century Philippine Moros increasingly wrote the Spanish language in Arabic script known as Philippine Jawi. This cultural phenomenon, which went beyond mere code switching, is illustrated through documents found in the National Archives of the Philippines, particularly protocols involving the Tausug and Maguindanao sultanates. The use of Spanish in Jawi documents increased, thanks to Zamboanga's role as a cultural center in the south and Manila's ability to attract sultans politically. Jawi was also used as the script in language primers through the strategic work of the Jesuit Jacinto Juanmartí, who originated Moro philology.

KEYWORDS: ALJAMIADO \cdot SPANISH \cdot JAWI \cdot MORO PHILOLOGY \cdot JACINTO JUANMARTÍ

rom the fourteenth century onwards, the Arabic alphabet plus some additional letters shaped one of the most important cultural tools in Islamized Southeast Asia—the Jawi script. Javanese, Malay, and other languages in the region were written using this script, creating a significant volume of epigraphic, historical, and literary materials. The Jawi script connected Southeast Asia with the wider Islamic civilization, the Abode of Islam or *Dār al-Islām*. Locally Jawi replicated a phenomenon that had occurred elsewhere when Islamized cultures adopted the Arabic script to write their own languages. In the same manner, the Moros adopted the Jawi script in writing their languages, mainly Tausug and Maguindanao.

When the French, Dutch, and English entered the political arena of Southeast Asia, the titles and names of these newcomers were transcribed in Jawi in diplomatic documents.¹ To write French, Dutch, or English names and transcribe them into Jawi was certainly a matter of simple adaptation, and this practice has been seen as mere code switching. Moreover, Southeast Asians might have written Dutch, English, or French words in Jawi, but it would not have had any relation to a former tradition. In contrast, Spanish was a highly Islamized language and at least a language with an Islamic past and present.² On the Iberian Peninsula a vast segment of the population were Muslims and spoke Arabic for centuries, and as late as the seventeenth century the last Iberian Muslims still wrote Spanish using the Arabic alphabet. This writing system was known as aljamiado, so called because the system of writing Spanish using Arabic script was called aljamía—al-'ajamiyya / العجمية (foreign language), as opposed to the system of writing the Arabic language in Arabic script, al-'arabiyya / Ilequis (Arabic language).

From an Islamic and Spanish point of view, Spain stopped Islamization in both the West and the East, al-Andalus and the Philippines. Yet Spain and the Spanish language inherited an undeniably Islamic cultural blend. From an Islamic point of view, Iberian Moriscos and Philippine Moros reacted against hispanization by Islamizing Spanish. It is significant that Islamized people in the Philippine archipelago used Spanish positively, especially but not exclusively in their diplomatic activities. The use of the Spanish language in the Moro chancelleries was not observed in the French, Dutch, or English languages. Moros wrote Spanish words in Jawi, and in the process recaptured unconsciously an Islamic tradition on the Iberian Peninsula.

This article explores the writing of the Spanish language in Philippine Jawi using documents from the National Archives of the Philippines (NAP). Sample documents indicate that Spanish in Jawi script went beyond mere code switching because what Moros wrote in Jawi were not just names and titles but also common words, formulae, and short sentences in Spanish. As a showcase of the Moros' agency, these archival materials illustrate the phenomenon of Spanish in Philippine Jawi manuscripts that I call *aljamiado hispanofilipino*.

The compilation of these documents was the product of three years of research. In 2009 a scholarship granted by the Spanish Program for Cultural Cooperation allowed Julkipli Wadi and I to initially survey the materials preserved in NAP. At the end of the grant period, I continued the research, compilation, classification, and description of the materials over the course of two more years. These documents represent one of the most important Islamic legacies of the Philippines. However, only relatively recently have Philippine Jawi materials been given decisive attention, particularly in the works of Samuel Tan (2003, 2005). For them to be placed within the proper context, Jawi materials must be understood neither as local nor indigenous sources, but as part of a huge cultural and historical corpus that, without doubt, forms an intangible Philippine heritage.

Proving the presence of Spanish in Jawi script beyond mere code switching is the *Cartilla Moro–Castellana*, a literacy primer or manual (*cartilla*) in Spanish and Maguindanao. In the formulation of this cartilla, which represents the origins of Moro philology, the Spanish Jesuit Jacinto Juanmartí played a crucial role.

Development of the Philippine Jawi Script

Islamization motivated the adoption of the Arabic script, due to Islam's capacity to spread a universal message and adjust traditions through a common spiritual exercise—the reading of scripture. Wherever Islam was adapted, a written tradition emerged immediately. Most importantly, Arabic language was the medium to transmit an international heritage, and the Arabic script became the means to intellectualize the local heritage. Beyond religion, Islam allowed an intellectual revolution to flourish, like European humanism. Certainly, Islamic thought was a further step in the development of a Malay intellectual system.

In Southeast Asia Islamization nurtured the development of the Jawi script, with the Malay language as the lingua franca of the Islamized parts of the region. The original genealogies of the sultans (tarsilas from the Arabic silsila / سلسلة,) were probably codified in Malay. In the fifteenth century Malay culture provided a model to be imitated in the commercial entrepôts within island Southeast Asia.

In the Philippines the development of the Jawi script took place in the areas that came in contact with Islam, such as the Sulu Archipelago, the western coast of Mindanao, as well as the area around Manila Bay, where people began to use Malay as lingua franca. When the Portuguese arrived in Melaka, people from Luzon (*luções*) were part of its commercial activities (Barros 1988, 257; cited in Garcia 2003, 62). In addition to engaging in long-distance trade, a business-based local aristocracy began to consolidate in the port of Manila, a move that caused cultural transformations:

Manila was a bilingual community at the time of the Spanish advent, its bourgeoisie speaking Malay as a second language even as their descendants were later to speak Spanish and English. . . . Indeed, it was probably the language which Sulu royalty spoke with a community of Chinese Muslims in a trading station on the Grand Canal in Shantung province in 1417 . . . and it is significant that the majority of them [foreign words] were already Malay borrowings from civilizations farther to the west at the time of their introduction into Tagalog. (Scott 1984, 42–43)

The use of Malay enabled people from the Philippine islands to participate in the cultural innovations that Islam brought to Southeast Asia. According to accounts, at the advent of Spanish rule some inhabitants who converted to Islam were able to read the Qur'ān in Arabic (Donoso 2014, 14–24). However, the knowledge of Arabic language and script was still in its beginnings. An anonymous document originally dated 1572 states: "Verdad es que algunos que an estado en Burney, entienden alguna cosa, y saben leer algunas palabras del Alcorán; empero estos son muy" (It is true that some people who have been in Brunei somehow understand Islam and are capable of reading some words of the Koran, but these are very few) (Anon. 1898, 29). Eventually the Islamic state in Manila was aborted, yet two main Muslim principalities remained in the south: the Jolo and Maguindanao sultanates.

The contact of local people with Islamized Malays certainly helped in the spread of Islamic civilization. I surmise that written documents in Tagalog using the Arabic alphabet existed during the sixteenth century. But with the introduction of Christianity a new element altered the transition from *baybayin*, the indigenous system of writing, to Jawi. Romanization became a major cultural trend in the Philippines, although baybayin was still strong at least during the seventeenth century and was taught during the eighteenth century.

The core of the Spanish colonial administration needed to forge diplomatic and political relations with its neighboring polities. The Muslim chancelleries were remarkably instrumental in consolidating the political status of these southern sultanates. Through written protocols, language determined a level of political autonomy and cultural advancement.⁵ Jawi script allowed Tausug and Maguindanao to act as political languages and cultural artefacts. A rich tradition and most importantly a huge corpus of documents emerged. Due to the diplomatic relations between the Spanish colonial state and the sultanates, Jawi corpora became quite abundant in both Tausug and Maguindanao.⁶ These documents used to be featured in two versions, original Jawi and Spanish translation. The Jawi version also often transcribed Spanish words. Thus, Islamization was for the Philippine archipelago a new frontier for developing a written tradition connected with a world civilization.

Zamboanga and Spanish in Philippine Jawi

The Spanish language became a part of the Philippine cultural landscape through the centuries. The political relation of the Spanish administration with the southern sultanates, diplomatic exchanges, religious missions, military confrontations, and cultural developments in Zamboanga and its environs produced, as well, a cultural transformation for Muslims in the Philippines. Unlike other Southeast Asian colonized regions, the Philippines underwent a singular transformation that substantially altered prehispanic society (Zialcita 2005, 168). The process of acculturation in the Philippines went far deeper than in any other colonized region of Southeast Asia, except for the Portuguese colonies. With Christianization and hispanization the Philippines became part of a worldwide network that connected the archipelago with Spain and the Americas. These cultural processes transpired not only in Luzon and the Visayas, but also in Mindanao.

Zamboanga was created as early as 1635 (Retana 1897, 222–24). From the eighteenth century onwards, a distinctive creolized lingua franca evolved

Presupues	to de gasto	DE JOLÓ		,"
SECCION CAPTURO ANTICULO NOMINA de los haberes que ha al inclividuo que se relacione	n correspondido e	Co A n los meses que á co	IGACIONE NSIGNACION. SIGNACION. signacion superior De	se expresan
Saida ANULL.	NOMI	BRES,	a an 1 · da	Total HAUER. Peros. Cont.
Beclaro b de fondos g ditada en es	83 segun disposicias Islas fecha — lido anual del presenjo mi responsabili merales, provincial ta nomina.	on del axemo. Sr. Conte mes	a cantidad ue la acre-	200 10
	SOUTH AND THE SECOND SE	16 3/ de Licien El Gobernai	chiq do 18	5.001

Fig. 1. Document signed by the Governor of Jolo, Juan Arolas, showing the monthly salary of Sultan Amīr al-Mu'minīn Hārūn al-Rashīd of Sulu (1886-1894)

Source: NAP 1887

in the region as is evident in what can be called the *Tarsila Zamboangueña*, the genealogical account of Zamboanga's rulers, written in creolized Spanish by Escandar Serri Chucarnain / Kawasa Anwar al-Dīn Dhū l-Qarnayn (1805–1830), Sultan of Mindanao (Donoso 2012). Hispanization affected Moros as well, undoubtedly during the last part of the nineteenth century. Chabacano became a dominant koine from Zamboanga to Cotabato and Davao during the turn of the century. Also evincing cultural transformation, Jolo was erected *ex novo* with a grid plan, and sultans signed Spanish documents to indicate receipt of their monthly salary (fig. 1).

Furthermore, the linguistic process went beyond the simple transcription such as of formulae or titles. Accordingly, the presence of Spanish words and phrases became more consistent in the Jawi script to the point that it became potentially unintelligible for a Tausug or Maguindanao speaker to read historical Jawi texts without a basic knowledge of Spanish. This notorious hispanization of Philippine Jawi manuscripts is what we have called aljamiado hispanofilipino.

Interestingly, the Jawi alphabet possesses some additional characters suitable to transcribe Spanish /p/ and /ñ/, as i and i, respectively. Noteworthy, however, is the readjustment of the transcription into familiar phonetics with the /p/ as in <Pransiskū> for Francisco and the ξ [η] in <dung> for Don. To compare the transcription system, one can look at the first and oldest Philippine sample and the earliest document preserved in the NAP (1753) titled, "Letter of Mu'izz al-Dīn Sultan of Sulu" dated 3 Dhū-l-Ḥijjah 1166 / 1 October 1753 (fig. 2). Based on this document, one can make a preliminary inference that the transcription of Spanish was at first transmitted orally. In the eighteenth century the diplomatic relations between Spanish Manila and the sultanates resulted in a more accurate and effective use of formulae and titles, a literate convention. Observable in this system are the variations in the use of consonants (کوبرندور/ کو هرندر; kūhirnadur / kūbirnadūr for Gobernador or Governor), diacritical points (عفين كفتن / and كفين ; kapitan / kapin and kapītan for Capitán or Captain), and maybe phonetic transformations (جنرار / jinirār but هنرال / hinirāl for General).

An essential element in the development of this new southern culture was the erection of Zamboanga. This fort, port, and entrepôt developed its own social fauna, integrating Sama, Subanon, Spanish, Mexican, mestizos, and natives from different ethnic groups. Zamboanga was the remotest

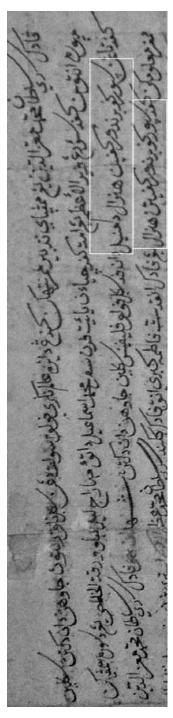


Fig. 2. Detail of Letter of Mu'izz al-Dīn Sultan of Sulu dated 3 Dhū-l-Ḥijjah 1166 / 1 Oct. 1753. Source: NAP 1753

Table 1. Transcription and Spanish translation of Jawi texts highlighted in fig. 2

JAWI TEXT	TRANSCRIPTION	SPANISH
سپور کوبرندور کفین هنرال د منیل	Siñūr Kūbimadūr Kapin Hinirāl di Manīla	Señor Gobernador Capitán General de Manila
سپور کوبرندور کفیتن هنرال	Siñūr Kūbirnadūr Kapītan Hinirāl	Señor Gobernador Capitán General

PSHEV 66, NO. 1 (2018)

frontier of the Spanish empire, the destiny of soldiers, missionaries, deserters, renegades, adventurers, opportunists, and trailblazers; it was a good refuge for starting a new life. Being the farthest garrison in the empire, Zamboanga comprised a diverse population who were mostly illiterate; those able to speak Spanish did so in different Spanish dialects (cf. Fernández García de los Arcos 1996). In this context emerged the *Guachinango*, a Nahuatl word that means "in the islands a person of suspicious credibility and origin."

Most intriguing is that the people of this last frontier took charge of the diplomatic relations between the Spanish administration of Zamboanga and the Muslim sultanates. In fact, the authorities signing the agreements between the Spanish government and the Maguindanao sultanate in 1805 were two Mexicans: Enríquez (Spanish ambassador and a crook) and Gaspar María (secretary of the sultan and a renegade):

Poco después, entrado el mes de Noviembre [1805], estaba de vuelta en Zamboanga D. Ponciano con la ratificación de las paces, una carta del sultán de Mindanao, otra de un dato nombrado Nasín, y una certificación de los motivos que le habían demorado allí más tiempo del necesario. Este documento estaba autorizado por el secretario de Estado de S. A., que era un desertor mexicano, llamado Gaspar María, que había sido cabo de escuadra del regimiento del Rey. En cuanto al embajador Enríquez, era también mexicano, presidiario en Manila y algo pariente de Bayot. Tales personajes manejaron la negociación diplomática, y claro está que habían de hacer bien su papel de farsantes en esta comedia de príncipes quiméricos. (Barrantes 1878, 279)

Soon afterwards, in November [1805], D. Ponciano was back in Zamboanga with the ratification of peace, a letter from the Sultan of Mindanao, another from a datu named Nasin, and a certification explaining why he was delayed longer than necessary. This document was authorized by the secretary of State of H. M. [His Majesty], who was a Mexican deserter, called Gaspar María, former corporal of the squadron of the regiment of the King. As for Ambassador Enríquez, he was also Mexican, a convict in Manila and a relative of Bayot [Zamboanga's Governor]. Such characters handled the diplomatic negotiation, and of course they had to do their role of clowns well in this comedy of chimerical princes.

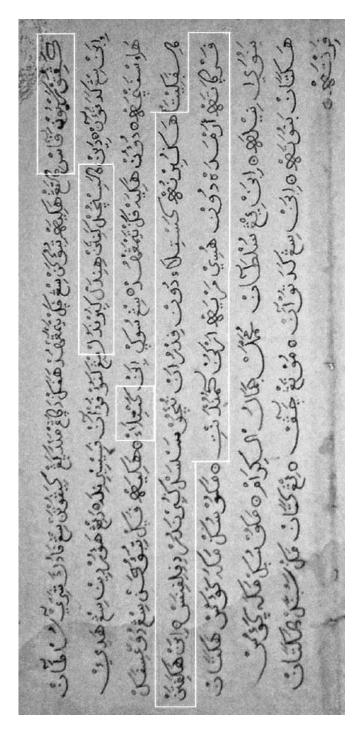


Fig. 3. Detail of aljamiado hispanofilipino in Capitulaciones de Paz (1836). Source: NAP 1836

Having these bizarre dignitaries deal with the sultanates and sign the official documents and protocols could not guarantee the linguistic correction required in high-level diplomacy:

Fue puesto [a prisionero] en la galera de Cavite y de allí conducido a Zamboanga con su grillete; en el presidio encontró gobernadores de los que dicen *dempués*, *estogamo*, y, como él era muy avilucho, llego a ser el todo hasta que murió el que le protegía. (García Valdés 1998, 127)

He was put [as a prisoner] in the galley of Cavite and from there driven to Zamboanga with his shackle; in the presidio, he found governors among those who say *dempués* [for *después*], *estogamo* [for *estómago*]. But as he was very smart, he became the boss until the person that protected him died.

In this scenario the linguistic reality of Zamboanga consisted of a continuum where the normative Spanish evolved with pidginization, resulting in the formation of a creole variety (cf. Donoso 2012). Zamboanga created an original

Table 2. Transcription and Spanish translation of Jawi texts highlighted in fig. 3

JAWI TEXT	TRANSCRIPTION	SPANISH
كَڤِتُورَسيُون دِڤاس	Kapitūrasyūn di pās	Capitulación de paz
هَبِيهُر كَقِتَن هِنِرَل گَيْرِنْنُر	ha-Siñur Kapitan Hiniral Gubirnadur	Muy Señor Capitán General Gobernador
كَسْتِلاء	Kastilā'	Castila (Español)
هَكُبِرنُهُ كَسْتِلاء دُون فِدْرُان تُنَهُو سَلَّسَر گَلِبُرْنَدُر دِفِلِفِنَس	ha-Gubirnua Kastilā' dūn Pidru Antunñū Salasar Gubirnadur di Filipinas	(del) Gobierno Castila (Español) Don Pedro Antonio Salazar Gobernador de Filipinas
اِبَنْ هَكَفِتْن فَرْكِتَة أَرْمَدَه دُون هُسِي مَرْية أَرْكُن كَمَنْنَتَتِ	iban ka-Kapitan Fragata Armada dūn Husī Marīa Arkun Kumandanti	(y el) Capitán de Fragata de Armada Don José María Halcón Comandante

culture in an area where many languages were spoken, causing interrelation among them and the genesis of particular linguistic phenomena. Interestingly, the influence of Zamboanga on the sultanates caused the hybridization of protocols, scriptoria, and chancelleries because, as already mentioned, many of the sultana' Spanish-speaking secretaries were renegades, deserters, and traitors. As a result, Spanish increasingly entered the Jawi documents.

The entry of Spanish in Jawi documents is best illustrated in the significant document (NAP 1836; cf. fig. 3) titled

Capitulaciones de Paz, Protección y Comercio otorgadas al Muy Excelente Sultán y Dattos de Joló, por el Yllmō Sōr Capitán General, Gobernador de las Yslas Filipinas en nombre de las Alta y Poderosa Soberana de S. M. C. siendo tratadas y convenidas por ambas partes á saber: en representación del Gobierno Español, como Plenipotenciario del M. Y. Sōr Capitán General D. Pedro Antonio Salazar Gobernador de Filipinas, el Capitán de Fragata de la Real Armada D. José María Halcón, Comandante Jefe de las Fuerzas Navales que hay en la Rada de Joló; de la otra parte el Sultán Mogamad-Diamalul-Quiram Raxa de Joló y los Dattos que firman, cuyas partes otorgaron (23 de septiembre de 1836).

Capitulations of Peace, Protection and Commerce granted to the Very Honorable Sultan and Datus of Jolo by the Illustrious Captain General, Governor of the Philippine Islands in the name of the High and Powerful Sovereignty of S. M. C. [His Catholic Majesty]. For the agreement of Brotherhood being treated and agreed to by both parties known: in representation of the Spanish government as Plenipotenciary of the Very Illustrious Captain General Don Pedro Antonio Salazar, Governor of the Philippines, Navy Captain of the Royal Army Don José María Halcón, Chief Commandant of the Naval Forces in the Spanish army in Jolo; from the other party the Sultan Muhammad Jamal al-Kiram and the Datus who signed and granted the agreement.

It is a diplomatic treaty of capitulation entered into by the sultanate of Sulu with the governor-general of the Philippine Islands, signed in Jolo on 23 September 1836.

It was reproduced alternatively in Spanish and Tausug. Interestingly, many aljamiado Spanish segments can be read in the Jawi version identified in figure 3 and listed in table 2.9 Noteworthy is the intrusion of alien words within the Tausug narration. Furthermore, to accommodate the Spanish segments, Tausug particles were adapted, namely, the preposition ha / ف meaning "at" or "to" introduced several words: ha-Siñur / هَلُونُ الله-Gubirnua / هَكُونُكُ (to the Governor); ka-Kapitan / هُكُونُكُ (to the Captain) (Bangahan 2015, 54).

A New Spanish Aljamiado

In the course of three centuries the southern world that developed around Zamboanga and the sultanates materialized in a vernacular creole variety of Spanish and a Philippine Jawi that was distinct from the rest of the Malay world. The official documents should have been written in Spanish and the Tausug or Maguindanao text in Jawi. However, most of the documents reflected the mixture of these cultures, with letters written in Chabacano and aljamiado hispanofilipino.

Noteworthy is the transformation of the formulae and headings of the letters, such as "Excelentísimo Señor," يئكسر نتيسم سچور / Ēksirintīsimu Siñūr (Very Honorable Sir) (figs. 4 and 5). This transformation is remarkable since Islamic letters irremediably ought to begin with the invocation of God's name (the basmala): "In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful" (بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم / bismi-llāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm). In its place we find the Spanish bureaucratic heading rather than the Islamic pious invocation. In terms of cultural change this substitution is remarkable. No other such phenomenon has been reported in other Southeast Asian areas that suffered colonial intromission. Official Islamic letters, whether in Tausug (fig. 4) or Maguindanao (fig. 5), altered the traditional caption for the structure of a foreign diplomatic letter in a foreign language in Jawi. Although Islamic documents were usually introduced by the basmala, God's invocation, at the end of the nineteenth century some Philippine Islamic letters replaced the basmala with a heading saying "Excelentísimo señor" (Most Excellent Sir).

Dozens of Spanish words and sentences appeared increasingly in the Jawi manuscripts at the end of the nineteenth century. These are shown in figures 6 and 7 (cf. tables 3 and 4), such as the entire motto of the Spanish Governor, *Iksilintisimū Sinyur Kubirnadur Kapitan Hiniral Kundī*

لحسين مهول دنند ون يغ تهن ينغ

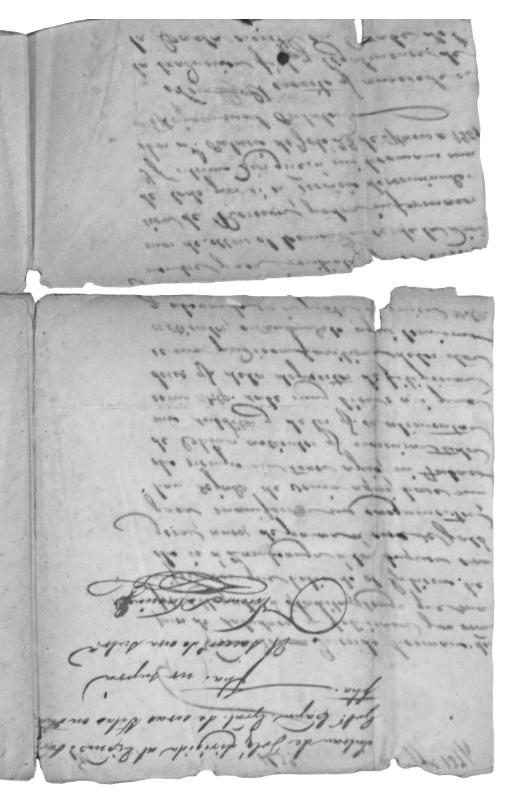


Fig. 4. (previous spread) Sample of an official Islamic letter written in Tausug dated 22 Dec. 1855 Source: NAP 1855

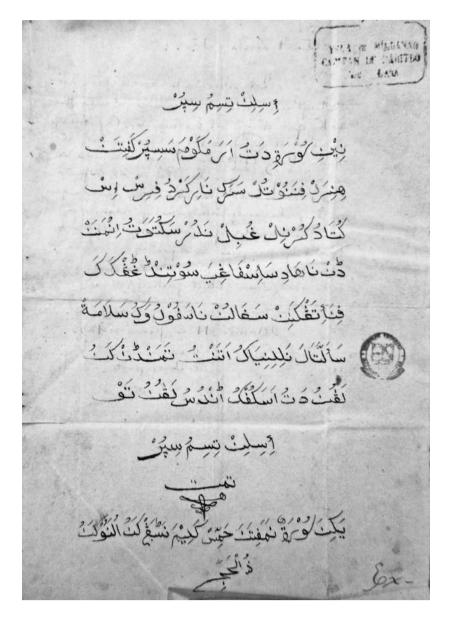


Fig. 5. Sample of an official Islamic letter written in Maguindanao dated June 1895 Source: NAP 1895a

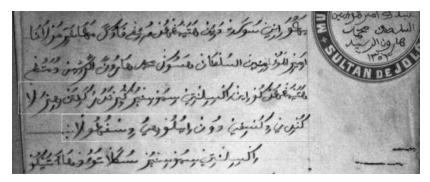


Fig. 6. Sample of a legal record in Jawi script using Spanish words. Source: NAP 1895b

Table 3. Jawi texts highlighted in fig. 6, with their transcription and Spanish equivalent

JAWI TEXT	TRANSCRIPTION	SPANISH
إكسانتي سمو سنير كبرندر كفتن هنرل كنديد كسفي دون إيلوهي دسفهول	Iksilintisimü Sinyur Kubirnadur Kapitan Hiniral Kundī di Kaspi Dūn Iyulūhyu Dispuhūl	Excelentísimo Señor Gobernador Capitán General Conde de Caspe Don Eulogio Despujol

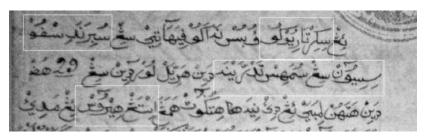


Fig. 7. Sample of a legal record in Jawi script using Spanish words. Source: NAP 1861

Table 4. Jawi texts highlighted in fig. 7, with their transcription and equivalents in Spanish

JAWI TEXT	TRANSCRIPTION	SPANISH
سكرتاريو	Sikritary ū	Secretario
سبرن دسفوسسيون سڠ سمهس تد رينة	Subirana disp ū sisy ū n sing Su Mahistad Rayna	Soberana disposición de Su Majestad la Reina
إستغهيروس	Istangh ī r ū s	Extranjeros

di Kaspi Dūn Iyulūhyu Dispuhūl (Very Honorable Sir Governor and General Captain Count of Caspe don Eulogio Despujol). In addition, Spanish words were incorporated completely such as sikritaryū / سكرتاريو (secretario, secretary) or istanghīrūs / استغهيروس (extranjeros, foreigners). As noted previously, Spanish was accommodated within the Tausug grammar, using particles as sing/ سخ ("of"), such as: Subirana dispūsisyūn sing Su Mahistad Rayna (Soberana disposición de Su Majestad la Reina, Sovereign Disposition of Her Majesty the Queen) (Bangahan 2015, 484).

Jacinto Juanmartí and the Origins of Moro Philology

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Moros were not the only agents writing and promoting Jawi, but also the Spanish people in Mindanao who started to use it. This observation can be inferred from the system of acquiring literacy through cartillas, *catones*, and *silabarios*, this is to say, readers and primers; in Muslim areas, the script used for these literacy manuals could not but be Jawi (Donoso and Macahilig-Barceló 2012).

The aljamiado hispanofilipino is clearly evident in the *Cartilla Moro-Castellana para los Maguindanaos*. Although its author was not named, we can confidently assume it was the Jesuit Jacinto Juanmartí (cf. Retana 1897, cxxxix).¹⁰

Fr. Jacinto Juanmartí y Espot (1833–1897) played a dramatic role in the development of Mindanao society and culture, a role that has remained quite neglected to this day. Born in the Catalan town of Llarvent (Lleida), Juanmartí entered the Society of Jesus in 1857. He arrived in the Philippines in 1864, a few years after the Jesuits had been readmitted to the country (Lorenzo García 1999, 651–54). He took up assignments in the Normal School (*Escuela Normal de Maestros*) and the Ateneo Municipal. In 1867 he moved to the Jesuit mission in Mindanao, at a time when the Spanish project was to firmly develop the region. He started working with the Tiruray (now known as Teduray), learning the language and rescuing slaves captured by Muslims.

Tamontaca, a strategic town located in the fifth district near Cotabato, which, as the capital of the Maguindanao sultanate, became the center of the Spanish campaigns in the region until eventually Cotabato became the capital of the entire Mindanao. In 1874 Juanmartí settled down in Tamontaca. Until his death more than twenty years later, Juanmartí dedicated his life to establishing schools for girls and boys, residences for rescued children and

local Muslims, and a new and complete system of education (Arcilla 2001, 2160–61).

Using a modern and brilliant approach, Juanmartí went beyond simple attraction by adopting an inner point of view, what in modern anthropology is called the emic perspective. He wanted to provide a way for people to understand Christianity without altering the vernacular cosmos. In addition, the process was to learn, teach, and preach in the vernacular—the Moro language of the Maguindanao. Accordingly, he became the pioneering builder of Moro philology through the study of the language, writing, grammar, and lexicography of the Maguindanao tongue (Borràs i Feliu 1993, 21–22; Sueiro 2003; García-Medall 2008), 12 as can be gleaned from the list of his works (cf. Retana 1897; Arcilla 1981):

- Catecismo de la Doctrina Cristiana en Castellano y en Moro de Maguindanao por un P. Misionero de la Compañía de Jesús. Con las licencias necesarias (Catechism of the Christian doctrine in Spanish and the Moro tongue of Maguindanao written by a priest missionary of the Society of Jesus with due licenses [attributed] [Juanmartí] 1885)
- 2. Cartilla Moro–Castellana para los Maguindanaos (Moro-Spanish primer for the Maguindanao people [Juanmartí 1887])
- 3. Catecismo de la Doctrina Cristiana en Castellano y en Moro de Maguindanao por un P. Misionero de la Compañía de Jesús (Catechism of the Christian Doctrine in Spanish and the Moro tongue of Maguindanao written by a missionary of the Society of Jesus [Juanmartí 1888b])
- 4. Appendix ad Rituale Romanum: Admonitiones faciendae in sacramentorum administratione lingua vernacula Moro-Maguindanao et Tiruray (Appendix to the Roman Ritual: Admonitions to administer the holy sacraments in the vernacular language of the people from Maguindanao and Tiruray. [Juanmartí 1888a])
- 5. Compendio de historia universal desde la creación del mundo hasta la venida de Jesucristo, y un breve vocabulario en castellano y en moro-maguindanao por un padre misionero de la Compañía de Jesús [attributed] ([Juanmartí] 1888c) (Compendium of universal history from the creation of the world to the coming of Jesus Christ, and a brief vocabulary in Spanish and in Moro-Maguindanao by a missionary of the Society of Jesus)

LECCIÓN 4.3 Allajutahala.—Dios. Su Languit.—El Cielo. Su Duñia.—El mundo. Su manusia.—La gente. Su Senang.—El Sol. Su ulan-ulan.—La luna.

Fig. 8. Maguindanao words and their equivalents in Spanish in an excerpt from Cartilla moro—castellana (Juanmartí 1887)

Fig. 9. Sample of Aljamiado hispanofilipino in an extract from Cartilla moro-castellana (Juanmartí 1887)

Table 5. Jawi texts in fig. 9, with corresponding transcription and translation in Maguindanao, Spanish, and English

JAWI TEXT LINE	TRANSCRIPTION	MAGUINDANAO	SPANISH	ENGLISH
A (right)	All ā h taʻalà	Allajutahala	Alá todopoderoso	Almighty God
A (left)	Diyuš	Allajutahala	Dios	God
B (right)	S ū langit	C. I X	El cielo	The sky
B (left)	Il sīilu	Su lan ğ uit		
C (right)	S ū duñīa	Su duñia	El mayon do	The world
C (left)	Il mundu	Su dunia	El mundo	The world
D (right)	S ū manusīa	Ci-	Lananta	Themende
D (left)	La ^h inti	Su manusia	La gente	The people
E (right)	Sū sunang	C	FI!	Th
E (left)	Il sul	Su senang	El sol	The sun
F (right)	S ū ulan ū lan	Su ulan-ulan	Laluna	The meen
F (left)	La l ū na	Su utan-utan	La luna	The moon

- 6. Gramática de la lengua de Maguindanao según se habla en el Centro y en la costa Sur de la isla de Mindanao por el P. Jacinto Juanmartí de la Compañía de Jesús (Juanmartí 1892b) (A Grammar of the Maguindanao tongue according to the manner of speaking it in the interior and on the South Coast of the Island of Mindanao, Translated from the Spanish of Rev. Father J. Juanmartí, Order of Jesuits, by C. C. Smith, Captain, Fourteenth U.S Cavalry [Juanmartí 1906])
- 7. Diccionario Moro–Maguindanao–Español (Moro–Maguindanao– Spanish dictionary [Juanmartí 1892a])

The Cartilla Moro-Castellana (number 2 above) is an extraordinary document. It is a 56-page-long bilingual reader in Maguindanao-Spanish, with each entry written in two alphabets, that is to say, both Maguindanao and Spanish are depicted simultaneously in two scripts, Roman and Jawi. It begins with the Islamic basmala as though it were an Islamic book. In addition, the whole first Qur'anic sura is reproduced rather than the Pater Noster, the Lord's Prayer (fig. 8). This feature is remarkable because, as has been shown, the Muslim sultans adopted the Spanish caption rather than the basmala; however, this time a Spanish Jesuit did precisely the opposite, that is, the Islamic formulae were used instead of the Christian ones. Obviously, something was going on in the southern Philippines in terms of cultural transformation which might be difficult to find in other areas of Southeast Asia at the end of the nineteenth century. Astonishingly, Juanmartí wrote the Spanish language in Jawi, in Arabic script, a system that Iberian people had not used for several centuries since the last Moriscos were expelled from Spain in 1609 (fig. 9, cf. Table 9). The book is composed of thirteen lessons, from the Roman and Jawi alphabets to basic words, numbers, days of the week, parts of the body, sentences, and Our'anic sections.

Learning from the Moros and the Zamboangueños who had transformed Spanish in Jawi, this Jesuit culminated the process of acculturation of the Spanish language in the Philippines. After the aljamiado of Iberian Moros, it may be said that on the other side of the Islamic world Philippine Moros—and Jesuit missionaries—recovered the legacy of Arabizing Spanish, without knowing that they were reviving the legacy of al-Andalus (Donoso 2015, 247–73).

Conclusion

From the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century Philippine Moros increasingly wrote Spanish words first, then subsequently formulae and syntagmas, using Jawi script. The singularity of Philippine Jawi in relation to other Southeast Asian Jawi scripts was due to the history of hispanization of the Philippines.

The use of the Spanish language increased, thanks to the capacity of Zamboanga to become a cultural center in the south and the ability of Manila to attract politically the sultans and the sultanates. Chabacano has been traditionally and largely studied as a singular linguistic case (Donoso 2012). However, attention has not been given to other linguistic phenomena in the same area. The pidginization of Zamboanga's variety of Spanish, beyond a dialect to become a creole, runs together with the transformation of Tausug and Maguindanao, languages seldom studied from an historical point of view. Beyond their obvious historical value, Jawi documents can help to expose some clues in cultural and linguistic terms as evidence of linguistic change. Spanish political intromission altered not only the Muslim sultanates, but also the cultural practices in the southern Philippines. We have seen how the Spanish language was accommodated using prepositions (for instance, ha and sing) and adapted to the level of meaningful phrases and complete sentences (Iksilintisimū Sinyur; Kapitūrasyūn di pās). We do not have evidence for the evolution toward relexification, but there exists an evident scenario of language interference and calques that until now has not been pointed out. Most importantly, this transformation affected not only the languages of the sultanates but their writing too.

Furthermore, the Jesuit missionaries published readers and primers to spread the Christian doctrine in Moro languages, but in doing so they Islamized—again—the Spanish language, dressing it with Arabic costumes. Indeed, the Jesuit activity in Mindanao at the end of the nineteenth century proved to be very advanced in the cultural sense, as confirmed by the role of Father Juanmartí, who wrote and taught Spanish in Jawi script, published books and dictionaries, and initiated modern Moro philology.

Further studies may shed greater light on the impact of Juanmartí on Maguindanao culture. More work also needs to be done to recover, study, edit, and translate Jawi documents than is possible in the present study, not only to recapture a Philippine cultural treasure but also to establish the history of Tausug and Maguindanao languages and literatures. Evidently, the

study of Muslims and Islam in the Philippines can reveal remarkable cultural facts. Beyond problematizing Philippine Islam as an unnatural reality within the only predominantly Catholic country of Asia, scholars should expose the valuable cultural legacy that Islam represents for the Philippines.

Finally, we should note the striking connection between two extreme sides of the Islamic world—the former al-Andalus on the Iberian Peninsula and Philippine Islam. Through the Arabization of the Spanish language, Iberian Moros and Philippine Moros responded to the aggression of the outsider by transforming the Other into becoming a part of themselves. By appropriating the culture of the colonizer Moros broke the hierarchy, exposing the real essence of culture, which is transformation. By being hispanized, the Philippine Moros Arabized and Islamized the Spanish language. In doing so, they recaptured the role of the last Spanish Moriscos, a factual yet surprising historical continuum from West to East in the Dār al-Islām. We may have to study in greater depth why Philippine Moros and Spanish Moriscos found similar linguistic solutions in writing Spanish with Arabic script, despite the vast temporal and spatial distances that separated them.

Notes

All archival materials reproduced in this article are courtesy of the National Archives of the Philippines (NAP).

- 1 See specific documents published in Gallop 2015. See also the documents displayed in Gallop and Kratz 1994.
- 2 We just have to read samples of the literature written by Moriscos, such as the poetry of Ybrahim de Bolfad in Mami 2002.
- 3 As a sample see Donoso 2012, which contains an analysis and edited version of the eighteenth-century tarsila (sultan's genealogy) from Zamboanga written in highly creolized Spanish.
- 4 "Jawi means 'people of Java' which also refers to 'Malays' because the Arabs in the past considered all the people in the Malay Archipelago as Javanese; therefore the Malay writing using Arabic characters is called Jawi script" (Nor bin Ngah 1983, viii).
- 5 Together with language, political symbols within the chancelleries emerged as well, such as epigraphy and sigillography (cf. Gallop 2002).
- 6 For a general state of Jawi corpora in both Tausug and Maguindanao, see Tan 2002. For the contemporary evolution of Jawi script in the Philippines, see Abubakar 2013. Samuel K. Tan (2005) has undertaken relevant research to compile and translate Jawi documents mainly from

- the American period. He is also author of many references about Philippine Jawi documents (Tan 1996a, 1996b). See also the forthcoming catalogue of Jawi documents at the National Archives of the Philippines to be released in 2018.
- 7 The best sample of writing that describes life in Zamboanga during the eighteenth century is an excerpt from Vicente Alemany's (1922) Tercera parte de la vida del gran tacaño: "Desembarazado ya de la residencia, envié dos embajadores a Jolo y Sibugey diciendo a aquellos sultanes y reyes como mi ánimo era vivir en buena armonía con SS. AA. y que, olvidando los disgustos pasados, frecuentaran sin recelo esta plaza con sus embarcaciones de comercio como antiguamente se practicaba . . . Mis embaiadores llevaron para el comercio cargadas las embarcaciones. que tuvieron buenas ferias, y a la vuelta las acompañaron otras de aquellos reinos con gran consuelo mío pues, a más de la gran ganancia que me dejaba su comercio, que sólo gozaba yo por tenerlo prohibido severamente a todos, como los moros y sangleves son tan amigos del juego, lo permitía yo, sin embargo del bando, y ninguna noche bajaba de cincuenta pesos la saca. De esta suerte me quedaba yo con sus géneros y su plata. Iban y venían por desquitarse pero siempre era yo el que ganaba a dos manos: por el comercio y el juego" (cited in García Valdés 1998, 146, italics added) (Having already arrived at the residence, I sent two ambassadors to Jolo and Sibuguey telling those sultans and kings how my intention was to live in good harmony with their Highnesses. Forgetting past unpleasantness, they frequented without hesitation this $\textit{place} \ \text{with their merchant vessels as formerly practiced.} \ldots \text{My ambassadors carried the boats}$ loaded with trade, which had good markets. On their return they were accompanied by others of those kingdoms to my great satisfaction, for the great profit of my trade, which I alone enjoyed, having severely forbidden all others from engaging in it. Because Moros and Chinese are such friends of gambling, I allowed it, despite the ban, and there was not a night when the bag was lower than fifty pesos. With this luck, I took their goods and their silver. They were coming and going for revenge, but it was always I who won in two hands: for commerce and gambling).
- 8 Although the Mexican presence in the archipelago is generally neglected, the influence of Nahuatl in Philippine languages proved to be very important (Franco 2013, 25–58).
- 9 The full transcription of the texts in fig. 3, with the Spanish parts in bold font, is as follows: Kapitūrasyūn di pās hitang hakīa tibu'kan sing ñak taymanghud hapang duguān mandagang kiputan sing Pāduka Srī Sultān | iban sing kadatu'an * daīn ha-Siñur Kapitan Hiniral Gubirnadur sing kapu'pu'a'n pasīsīr nila * da'ing ha'ur din sing hari' ha-Ispanña * du'un hakīa pag taymanhud * sing Sug iban Kastilā' * hakīa pag tubi'ukan sing dūa'sipak | hipakita' ha-Gubirnua Kastilā' Dūn Pidru Antunñū Salasar Gubirnadur di Filipinas * iban ka-Kapitan Fragata Armada dūn Husī Marīa Arkun Kumandanti * makūsug makah gu's ha-katān | banūay nīla * iban ing Sultān Muḥammad Jamāl al-Kirām * makūsung makah gu's | ha-katān banūata * iban sing kadatū'an * mu'tang ñap * 'ing katān hag sabunal makatān | purinta *
- 10 The role of Jacinto Juanmartí, together with the cultural task of the Jesuits in Mindanao in the last part of the nineteenth century, has been studied by the late Miguel Bernad, SJ (2004) and José Arcilla, SJ (1989). It is important to note that there has appeared a good English translation by Father Arcilla (2006) of the letters of Jesuits (1881, 1883, 1887, 1895) (Cartas de los PP. de la Compañía de Jesús de la Misión de Filipinas) related to the mission in Mindanao. These are valuable sources that need further studies to unearth the rich data that they contain.
- 11 Jernegan (1914, 240–41) stated, "In 1865 the Jesuit Normal School was opened in Manila to educate teachers for the primary schools. The government tried to have Spanish taught in the

- schools. Text-books in the Philippine languages were ordered translated into Spanish.... Other wise [sic] regulations were made, but these reforms were poorly carried out because Church and State did not work in harmony. But we should not judge the past by the standards of the present. Spain did more for the education of the Filipinos than many nations have done for their colonies. Small as the results seem, they were of great value and one of the greatest benefits that the Filipinos received from the Spanish government."
- 12 At the beginning of the twentieth century British and especially American works would follow the Jesuit studies of the Philippine southern language: Cowie 1893; Porter 1903; Buffum and Lynch 1914; Cameron 1917. It is surprising that no recent work has mentioned the essential works of Juanmartí and others, but more surprising is the disregard of the crucial role of Spanish scholarship on Philippine languages. This kind of reduced picture does not help to better understand the history of Philippine philology. Cf. Salazar 2012.

References

- Abubakar, Carmen A. 2013. Surat Sug: Jawi tradition in southern Philippines. Theme issue, "Civilización Filipina y relaciones culturales Hispano-Asiáticas/Philippine civilization and Asian-Hispanic cultural relations." Cuaderno Internacional de Estudios Hispánicos y Lingüística (CIEHL) 19:31–37.
- Alemany, Vicente. 1922. Tercera parte de la vida del gran Tacaño. Obra inédita, publicada con prólogo y notas de W. E. Retana. New York: n. p.
- Anon. 1898. Relación de la conquista de la isla de Luzón. In Archivo del bibliófilo filipino. Recopilación de documentos históricos, científicos, literarios y políticos y estudios bibliográficos, vol. 4, comp. Wenceslao E. Retana, 1–37. Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez.
- Arcilla, José S. 1981. A manuscript bibliography of the Philippine Jesuits, 1859–1900. *Philippine Studies* 29(3/4): 549–66.
- . 1989. The Jesuit letters and Mindanao. Philippine Studies 37(3): 357–66.
- 2001. Juanmartí, Jacinto: Misionero. In Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús: Biográfico Temático, vol. 3: Infante de Santiago-Piatkiewicz, ed. Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquín María Domínguez, 2160–61. Madrid: Universidad Pontifica Comillas.
- ——. ed., annot., and trans. 2006. Jesuit missionary letters from Mindanao. Quezon City: Center for Integrative and Development Studies, University of the Philippines.
- Bangahan, Benj S. 2015. English-Bahasa Sūg. Anggalis-Bahasa Sūg. Dictionary. Kitab-Maana. Quezon City: Vibal.
- Barrantes, Vicente. 1878. Guerras piráticas de Filipinas contra mindanaos y joloanos, corregidas é ilustradas por don Vicente Barrantes. Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernández.
- Barros, João de. 1988. Terceira decada da Asia de Ioam de Barros: Dos feytos que os portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente: Segunda década. Edição fac-similada da edição prínceps. Lisbon: Imprenta Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- Bernad, Miguel A. 2004. The great island: Studies in the exploration and evangelization of Mindanao. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

- Borràs i Feliu, Antoni. 1993. Escriptors jesuïtes catalans a les Filipines. Esbós d'una bibliografia (1581–1902). Analecta sacra tarraconensia: Revista de ciències historicoeclesiàstiques 66:11–30.
- Buffum, Katharine G. and Charles Lynch. 1914. Joloano Moro. Manila: McCullough.
- Cameron, Charles Raymond. 1917. Sulu writing. An explanation of the Sulu-Arabic script as employed in writing the Sulu language of the Southern Philippines. Zamboanga: Sulu Press.
- Cowie, Andson. 1893. English–Sulu–Malay vocabulary, with useful sentences, tables, etc. London: British North Borneo.
- Donoso, Isaac. 2014. Manila y la empresa imperial del Sultanato de Brunéi en el siglo XVI. *Revista Filipina* 2(1): 14–24.
- 2015. The Philippines and al-Andalus: Linking the edges of the classical Islamic world. Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints 63(2): 247–73.
- ------. ed. 2012. Historia cultural de la lengua española en Filipinas: Ayer y hoy. Madrid: Verbum.
- Donoso, Isaac and Heidi Macahilig-Barceló. 2012. El español y la historia de la lectura en Filipinas. In Historia cultural de la lengua española en Filipinas: Ayer y hoy, ed. Isaac Donoso, 385–427. Madrid: Verbum.
- Fernández García de los Arcos, María Fernanda. 1996. Forzados y reclutas: Los criollos novohispanos en Asia (1756–1808). México: Potrerillos.
- Franco Figueroa, Mariano. 2013. El español de Filipinas. Documentos coloniales. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz.
- Gallop, Annabel Teh. 2002. Malay seal inscriptions: A study in the Islamic epigraphy from Southeast Asia. PhD diss., University of London.
- ——. ed. 2015. A Jawi sourcebook for the study of Malay palaeography and orthography. *Indonesia* and the Malay World 43(125): 13–171.
- Gallop, Annabel Teh and Ernst Ulrich Kratz. 1994. *The legacy of the Malay letter*. London: British Library and National Archives of Malaysia.
- Garcia, José Manuel. 2003. As Filipinas na historiografia portuguesa do século XVI [The Philippines in the Portuguese XVIth century historiography]. Lisbon: Centro Português de Estudos do Sudeste Asiático.
- García-Medall, Joaquín. 2008. Vocabularios hispano-asiáticos: Traducción y contacto intercultural. Soria: Diputación Provincial de Soria.
- García Valdés, Celsa Carmen. 1998. Andanzas del Buscón don Pablos por México y Filipinas: Estudio y edición de la Tercera parte de la vida del gran tacaño de Vicente Alemany. Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra.
- Jernegan, Prescott F. 1914. A short history of the Philippines, for use in Philippine schools. New York: D. Appleton.
- [Juanmartí, Jacinto] 1885. Catecismo de la doctrina cristiana en castellano y en Moro de Maguindanao por un P. Misionero de la Compañía de Jesús. Con las licencias necesarias. Manila: Imprenta de C. Valdezco, impresor de la Real Casa de S. M.
- Juanmartí, Jacinto. 1887. Cartilla moro-castellana para los Maguindanaos. Manila: Imprenta y Litografía de M. Pérez, Hijo.

—. 1888a. Appendix ad Rituale Romanum: Admonitiones faciendae in sacramentornm administratione lingua vernacula Moro-Maquindanao et Tiruray. Manila: Imprenta y Litografía de M. Pérez, Hijo. –. 1888b. Catecismo de la doctrina cristiana en castellano y en moro de Maguindanao por un P. Misionero de la Compañía de Jesús. Manila: Imprenta de M. Pérez, Hijo. -. 1888c. Compendio de historia universal desde la creación del mundo hasta la venida de Jesucristo, y un breve vocabulario en castellano y en Moro-Maguindanao por un padre misionero de la Compañía de Jesús. Singapore: Impr. de Koh Yew Hean. 1892a. Diccionario Moro-Maguindanao-Español. Manila: Amigos del País. –. 1892b. Gramática de la lengua de Maguindanao según se habla en el centro y en la costa sur de la isla de Mindanao. Manila: Tipografía Amigos del País. 1906. A grammar of the Maguindanao tongue: According to the manner of speaking it in the interior and on the South Coast of the Island of Mindanao, translated from the Spanish of Rev. Father J. Juanmartí, Order of Jesuits, by C.C. Smith, Captain Fourteenth U.S. Cavalry. Washington: Government Printing Office. Lorenzo García, Santiago. 1999. La expulsión de los jesuitas de Filipinas. Alicante: Universidad de Alicante. Mami, Ridha, 2002, El manuscrito morisco 9653 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Madrid; Fundación Ramón Menéndez Pidal. National Archives of the Philippines (NAP). 1753. Letter of Mu'izz al-Dīn Sultan of Sulu dated 3 Dhū-l-Hijjah 1166 / 1 Oct. 1753. Spanish Period Documents 1552–1900. Mindanao y Sulú, Rare 3 1749– 1754, fol. 59. -. 1836. Capitulaciones de Paz, Protección y Comercio otorgadas al Muy Excelente Sultán y Dattos de Joló, por el Yllmō Sōr Capitán General, Gobernador de las Yslas Filipinas en nombre de las Alta y Poderosa Soberana de S. M. C. siendo tratadas y convenidas por ambas partes á saber: en representación del Gobierno Español, como Plenipotenciario del M. Y. Sōr Capitán General D. Pedro Antonio Salazar Gobernador de Filipinas, el Capitán de Fragata de la Real Armada D. José María Halcón, Comandante Jefe de las Fuerzas Navales que hay en la Rada de Joló; de la otra parte el Sultán Mogamad-Diamalul-Quiram Raxa de Joló y los Dattos que firman, cuyas partes otorgaron (23 de septiembre de 1836). Spanish Period Documents 1552-1900. Mindanao y Sulú, SDS 9276 [1836-1898], exp. 2, fol. 2. –. 1855. Petición del Sultán de Joló para tener el monopolio del anfión, 22 Dec. Spanish Period Documents 1552-1900. Mindanao y Sulú, SDS 9330 [1860-1896], exp. 34, s. 414. -. 1861. Expediente promovido por el Sultán de Joló en solicitud de que se establezca el estanco de opio y tabaco de China en aquella Ysla. Spanish Period Documents 1552-1900. Mindanao y Sulú, SDS 9251 [1780-1898], exp. 26, s. 107. –, 1887. Nómina de los haberes que han correspondido en los meses que ha continuación se expresan en el individuo que se relaciona, con sujeción a lo prevenido en el Superior Decreto del Gobierno General. Joló, 30 de noviembre de 1887. Spanish Period Documents 1552-1900. Mindanao y Sulú, SDS 9246 [1774-1887], exp. 35, s. 561.

–. 1895a. Ascenso del Datu Harak, June. Spanish Period Documents 1552–1900. Mindanao y

Sulú, SDS 9330 [1860-1896], exp. 33, s. 344.

- . 1895b. Expediente promovido por el ex-Sultán de Joló, datto de la Paragua Harum Nasarrid. Spanish Period Documents 1552–1900. Mindanao y Sulú, SDS 9241 [1750–1898], exp. 313, s. 1120.
- Nor bin Ngah, Mohammed. 1983. Kitab Jawi: Islamic thought of the Malay Muslim scholars. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asia Studies.
- Porter, Ralph S. 1903. A primer and vocabulary of the Moro dialect (Magindanau). Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.
- Retana, Wenceslao E., ed. 1897. Historia de Mindanao y Joló por el P. Francisco Combes de la Compañía de Jesús, obra publicada en Madrid en 1667, y que ahora, con la colaboración del P. Pablo Pastells, de la misma Compañía, saca nuevamente a luz W. E. Retana. Madrid: Minuesa de los Ríos.
- Salazar, Marlies S. 2012. Perspectives on Philippine languages: Five centuries of European scholarship. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Scott, William Henry. 1984. Prehispanic source materials for the study of Philippine history. Quezon City: New Day.
- Sueiro Justel, Joaquín. 2003. Historia de la lingüística española en Filipinas (1580–1898). Lugo: Axac.
- Tan, Samuel K. 2002. The Surat Sug: The Jawi tradition in the Philippines. *Journal of Sophia Asian Studies* 20:197–210.
- 2003. Filipino–Muslim perceptions of their history and culture as seen through indigenous written sources. Zamboanga City: SKT Publications.
- ——. 2005. Surat Sug: Letters of the Sultanate of Sulu. Manila: National Historical Institute.
- comp., ed. 1996a. Annotated bibliography of Jawi materials of the Muslim South. Jawi Documentary Series 1. Quezon City: Mindanao Studies Program, Center for Integrative and Development Studies, University of the Philippines.
- comp., ed. 1996b. Surat Maguindanaon. Jawi Documentary Series 2. Quezon City: Mindanao Studies Program, Center for Integrative and Development Studies, University of the Philippines.
- Zialcita, Fernando. 2005. Authentic though not exotic: Essays on Filipino identity. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Isaac Donoso is assistant professor, Arabic and Islamic Studies, Department of Modern Philology, Universidad de Alicante, 03690, San Vicente del Raspeig, Spain. He has published a critical edition of *Noli me tangere* (2011) and the prose of Rizal (2012), as well as the legendary novel *Los pájaros de fuego* by Jesús Balmori (2010). He is editor of *More Hispanic than We Admit. Insights into Philippine Cultural History* (2008) and *Historia cultural de la lengua española en Filipinas: Ayer y hoy* (2012), and author of *Literatura hispanofilipina actual* (2010) and *Islamic Far East: Ethnogenesis of Philippine Islam* (2013). A specialist on Islamic and Philippine studies, he was visiting faculty for three years at the Philippine Normal University in Manila and holds a doctorate degree from the University of Alicante. <isaacdonoso@ua.es>