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Characteristics of Southeast Asian Islam as Factors in A Theology of the Christian Mission to Philippine Muslims

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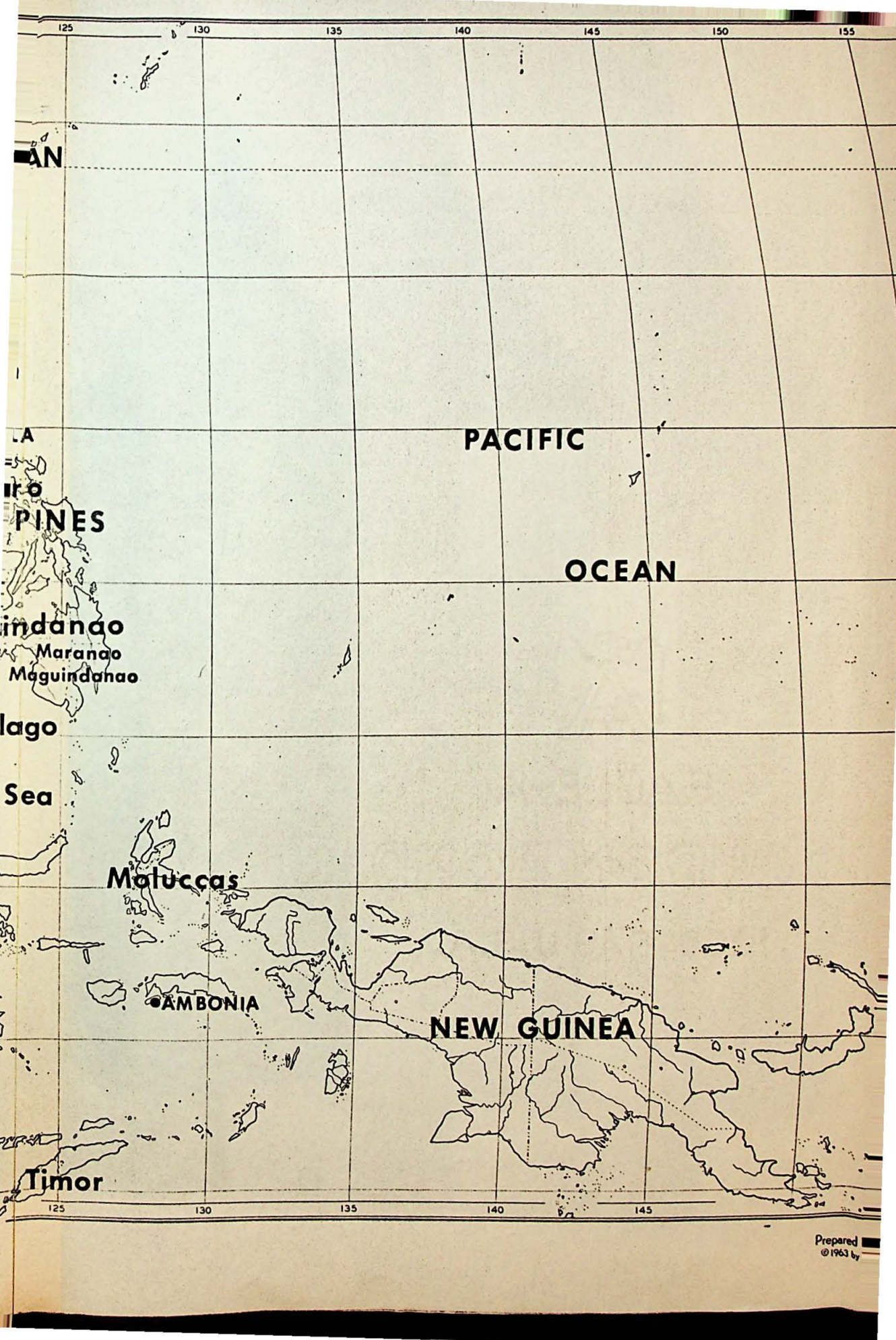
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CHARACTERISTICS OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN ISLAM AS FACTORS IN A THEOLOGY OF THE CHRISTIAN MISSION TO PHILIPPINE MUSLIMS

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis
Department of Systematic Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Theology

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by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Christian mission to Islam offers one of the greatest challenges which the Christian Church has ever faced. In 1962 the Lutheran Church in the Philippines, in spite of its limited manpower and resources, accepted the challenge of the Christian mission to Philippine Islam. At the initial stage of this mission it is well to analyze the problem in detail. This demands a thorough understanding of Philippine Islam. The objective of this study is a clear picture of the Muslim situation in the Philippines together with implications for the Christian mission to Philippine Islam.

This task is approached from a Lutheran theological perspective. While it would be a worthy project to have a full statement of the theology of the Christian mission, such a task falls beyond the scope of this thesis. No time is spent in justifying the Christian mission to Islam; it is accepted as a part of the task of the Lutheran Church in the Philippines. The hypothesis is that there are certain major factors which must be explored in arriving at a relevant theology of the Christian mission to Philippine Muslims. These factors are presented in detail.

According to the 1960 census of the Philippines, the

Muslim population of the Philippines represents less than five per cent of the total population or, roughly, around one and a half million people. This Muslim population is concentrated in the western end of the large island of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, a group of small islands which extends to Borneo. This means that Philippine Islam is contiguous to Indonesian Islam, which represents the largest Muslim population of any nation in the world. The importance of the Christian mission to Philippine Islam lies not only in reaching the Muslims of the southern Philippines, but also in its potential implications for the Christian mission to Islam in Indonesia. The writer has been serving as a missionary to the Philippines since 1955. In 1962 he was assigned as a missionary to the Muslims in the Philippines. He plans to continue in this work indefinitely. Therefore the thesis takes on a special importance in helping to develop a positive, Christian outreach to the Muslims of the Philippines.

The Mindanao District of the Lutheran Church in the Philippines has adopted objectives for the Christian mission to Philippine Islam. It has also resolved to draw up a strategy for reaching these objectives. A thorough understanding of the type of Philippine Islam underlying such objectives and strategy is needed. This study is designed to help to fill this need. The thesis will also indicate the extent to which the traditional conflicts between Islam

and Christianity result from irreconcilable theological contradictions, and the extent to which they reflect non-theological factors. The thesis proposes to help supply the necessary motivation and guidance for this mission to Philippine Islam. The mission to Islam must be related to the Church and must not become merely a private project depending on the interest and work of a small number of individual Christians.

Because Philippine Islam came from Indonesia and also because historical developments have meant that Philippine Islam has been more closely related to Indonesian Islam than it has been to the predominantly Roman Catholic Philippines, it is necessary to look at Philippine Islam from the point of view of Indonesian Islam. Much of what is said about Indonesian Islam is directly applicable to Philippine Islam, and vice versa.

Since the Lutheran Church in the Philippines has chosen to begin its mission to Philippine Islam among the Maranao Muslims of the Lake Lanao region of Western Mindanao, special attention is given to the Maranaos. Thus, while the scope of this thesis is as broad as Southeast Asian Islam, it is primarily interested in Philippine Islam among the Maranaos of Mindanao. The ramifications of traditional Muslim theology lie outside the scope of this thesis.[1]

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[1]Four standard introductions to Muhammad and Islam are now available in paperback editions: Tor Andrae, Mohammed:

The thesis deals primarily with the historical, sociological, anthropological, and religious characteristics of Islam as it is found in Southeast Asia. The expansion of Islam to Southeast Asia after it was founded by Muhammad in Arabia is traced through its various developments and influences. The coming of Islam to the islands resulted from historical, political and religious developments in other parts of the world. Islam became established in Southeast Asia before Christianity reached this part of the globe.

Islam confronted Christianity for the first time in Southeast Asia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, during the age of exploration by the nations of Europe. Islam came into contact not only with Western Roman Catholic Christianity as represented by the Spanish and the Portuguese,

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The Man and His Faith. Translated from the German by Theophil Menzel (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1960; first published in 1935). H. A. R. Gibb, Mohammedanism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962; first published in 1949). Includes a good bibliography. Bernard Lewis, The Arabs in History (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1960; first published in 1954). W. Montgomery Watt, Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman (London: Oxford University Press, c.1961). A condensation of two books, Muhammad at Mecca and Muhammad at Medina.

The best general annotated bibliography on Islam which includes major works available in European languages by both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars is: Claude Cahen, Jean Sauvaget's Introduction to the History of the Middle East (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, c.1965). J. D. Pearson, compiler, Index Islamicus, 1906-1955 and Index Islamicus Supplement, 1956-1960 (Cambridge, England: W. Heffer & Sons Limited, c.1958 and 1962).

but also with other forms of Western Christianity as represented by the Dutch and the British.

For a better understanding of the background of the Christian mission to Islam in Southeast Asia a brief historical sketch of Christian relationships with Islam in the western world is given. This outlines some of the early contacts between Islam and Christianity. It also traces the medieval Western Catholic mission to Islam and gives some of the thoughts of Luther and his contemporaries about the Christian mission to Muslims. The Christian mission to Indonesian Islam is described during the various administrations of European powers in Southeast Asia into the twentieth century under the American administration. The characteristics, beliefs and practices of Islam in both Indonesia and the Philippines are described.

In the past few years the Missionary Research Library in its Occasional Bulletin has offered pertinent bibliographies on Southeast Asia, the Christian World Mission, and the Christian Mission to Islam. All the pertinent sources in these bibliographies have been examined either in the library of the University of Chicago or the Concordia Seminary Library in Saint Louis. While the writer was in the Philippines he examined all of the holdings on Philippine Islam in the University of the Philippines Library and in the Lutheran Theological Seminary Library in the Philippines. In

addition, various published and unpublished materials of limited circulation related to Philippine Islam have been thoroughly examined.

A historical study of Islam in Southeast Asia has been made with special attention focused on Indonesian and Philippine Islam. The relationship between Islam and Christianity in this part of the world has been thoroughly researched to gain a better understanding of both Christian and Muslim attitudes toward the Christian mission to Islam. An effort has been made to analyze the history of the Christian mission to Philippine Islam by Roman Catholic and other Christian missions. An analysis of Muslim culture in Southeast Asia has been made to learn some of its characteristic beliefs and practices. Field experience during ten years in the Philippines, including three years in the Muslim area, has provided an opportunity for evaluation of the various data available on the Christian mission to Philippine Islam. All of these various studies have implications for a theology of the Christian mission to Philippine Muslims.

This study does not claim to offer conclusive information for the Christian mission to Islam. Rather this is a beginning of the study of the Christian mission to Islam which must continue seeking the answers to the problems related to the Christian mission to Philippine Muslims.

These answers are not found in books and previous studies in this field. They will come from many years of working and witnessing to the Gospel of Christ among Philippine Muslims. However the findings of this study can prove valuable in making a proper Christian approach in a practical and theologically defensible manner to the Muslims of the Philippines. Certainly, there is much in the past in the relationships between Christians and Muslims in Southeast Asia of which the Christians cannot be proud. The findings do show that there is a real possibility for a positive Christian witness to the Muslims of the Philippines and also the Muslims of Southeast Asia. The tolerant type of "Folk Islam" found in Southeast Asia is much different from the Islam that is found in the Middle East and North Africa. The fact that the Christian mission is permitted in both the Philippines and Indonesia already points to tremendous possibilities and opportunities. The findings do not indicate that this task will be an easy task, but they do indicate that there is much that we can learn from the past history and that there is much to be learned from sociological and anthropological studies which will be useful in the Christian, specifically the Lutheran, mission to Philippine Muslims.

CHAPTER II

ISLAM COMES TO THE ISLANDS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

The Island World of Southeast Asia

Islam in Southeast Asia represents one of the largest segments of the Muslim world. Southeast Asia generally refers to the area including Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, North and South Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos, Indonesia and the Philippines. The entire area has a tropical climate. The staples are rice and fish. External influences in the past came mainly from India and China. The basic social unit is the family, living in small villages and supported by agriculture. Women play a greater role than they do in India or China. Social and political relations are personal rather than legal. In the past, the strongest person generally became the local ruler in his generation. The entire social organization rests upon religion, personal custom and duties.[1]

In this part of the world Islam takes on a form different from that found in other Muslim areas. This area of the Muslim world can be distinguished from other Muslim areas by

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[1] J. S. Furnivall, Progress and Welfare in Southeast Asia (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1941), pp. 4-5.

referring to it as Malayan Islam, because it is primarily among the brown-skinned Malayan race that Islam is found. The Malayan race occupies the Malayan Peninsula, the Indonesian Archipelago and the Philippine Islands. In the past this area was sometimes referred to as Malaysia. A better description of Islam in this area is Islam in the Islands or tropical island Islam. Basil Mathews, an English missiologist, has said:

> The narrow Malay Peninsula, which juts out from the mass of Southeast Asia, escapes from being an island in the archipelago by the accident of a narrow isthmus. By race, by commerce, and by religion, however, Malaya belongs to the island world.[2]

In this island world Islam is the predominating religious force in Indonesia and Malaysia. In the Republic of the Philippines the large majority of the population are Roman Catholic Christians. Filipino Muslims represent the eastern extremity of the entire Muslim world and, particularly, of tropical island Islam.

Although, in recent years, the political aspirations of the three newly-independent nations of Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines have often been at variance, Islam can be a real binding power among the Muslim people living here. There is a general similarity in language, culture, economics and politics. Islamic law can become a real unifying power

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[2]Basil Mathews, Unfolding Drama in Southeast Asia (New York: Friendship Press, c.1944), p. 31.

among all the Muslims in the area.[3]

Pre-Islamic Influences in the Islands

While it is impossible, due to the lack of adequate, reliable evidence, to state exactly how and when Islam arrived in the islands of Southeast Asia, it is possible to suggest the most probable method and date of arrival. There is a great difference of detailed opinion among various scholars, but a thorough investigation reveals a degree of basic unanimity. This consensus divides the time of arrival of Islam in the islands into two major periods--before and after the thirteenth century.

The earliest, mythical reference to the date of the arrival of the "true faith" in Southeast Asia comes from a Philippine Muslim legend which goes all the way back to the time of Noah! This legend tells of a man named Skander Jokanin who was on the ark with Noah. After the ark landed on Mount Ararat, Jokanin dreamed of uninhabited islands in the world. As a result of his dream, he visited the three islands of Java and Celebes in present-day Indonesia, and Jolo in the southern Philippines. He then returned to Ararat and took a man and a woman to each of these three places.

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[3]Norton Ginsburg and Chester R. Roberts, Jr., Malaya (Seattle: University of Washington Press, c.1958), p. 11.

In this manner these islands became populated.[4]

In the early history of Southeast Asia the first Indian settlements were established in the islands in the first century A.D. At this time Buddhism was spread among the people together with Indian culture. In the following centuries Indian influence increased in Southeast Asia. By 500 A.D. Indian culture had spread throughout the area together with Hindu religion and art. A conflict between Brahmanism and Buddhism in the area resulted in a composite religious situation with the cult of Vishnu, the Preserver, as the dominant theme.

In the seventh century the Buddhist-ruled Srivijaya Empire was established with its center located at Palembang in Southern Sumatra. By 1180 A.D. this empire was at its height and exerted its influence over the area from Formosa to Ceylon. The Srivijaya Empire was followed by the Majapahit Empire in the fourteenth century. This was a Hindu controlled, commercial empire encompassing Borneo, Sumatra, the Malayan Peninsula and parts of the Philippines.[5]

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[4]Victor Hurley, The Swish of the Kris (New York: E. P. Dutton Co., 1936), pp. 260-265.

[5]Sayyid Fayyaz Mahmud, A Short History of Islam (London: Oxford University Press, c.1960), pp. 290-291. G. H. Bosquet, A French View of the Netherland Indies, translated from the French by Philip E. Lilienthal (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 30-31. Bosquet points out that, at its period of greatest extension, the Hindu Majapahit Empire was virtually identical with the area included in the later Dutch East Indies.

During this period Indian influence was also at its peak in the political, social, religious and aesthetic life in the islands which are now known as the Philippines. Golden images of Hindu gods have been found on Mactan Island near Cebu City and in the province of Agusan in northeast Mindanao. Hindu influence was most strongly felt in the coastal areas and near large bodies of water from Luzon to Mindanao. The Majapahit Empire controlled Sulu, the region of Lake Lanao in Mindanao and the vicinity of Manila Bay in Luzon.[6]

The pre-Islamic period in Southeast Asia accounts for the Buddhist and Hindu influence in the islands. Geography shows why this influence was stronger in the western part of the archipelago than in the east. Hindu and Buddhist merchants and priests came to Malaya and Indonesia from India both before and after the birth of Christ. Therefore a mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism resulted which blended with

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[6]H. Otley Beyer and Jamie C. de Vera, Philippine Saga (Manila: The Evening News, c.1947), p. 28. Sulu and Lanao are now the two main strongholds of Islam in the Philippines. Lake Lanao is of special interest to the study as the home of the writer and of the Maranao Muslims. The lake is in the interior part of the western end of the island of Mindanao and is situated 2,200 feet above sea level. The fact that the Spanish found strong Muslim settlements in the Manila Bay area is an indication that Islam was an immediate successor to Majapahit control also in these islands. Further investigation of these relationships would provide a fascinating historical study.

the animistic beliefs and practices of the masses.[7]

A look at a map will not only show why Indian influences were felt in Southeast Asia, but also why visitors from other lands came in frequent contact with this area. The sea-route to China from Arabia or India passes through this island world. The two main routes to China from the West were via the Malacca Straits between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula and via the Sunda Straits between Java and Sumatra. A third route was through the Celebes Sea which brought ships in contact with the southern Philippines. Since ships depended upon a favorable wind, it is clear why sometimes they sought shelter in one of the islands for a longer or shorter period of time while they waited for such a wind to speed them on their way. This also resulted in colonies of merchants in various islands. In addition to the China trade, there was the lucrative spice trade in the islands themselves. This led outsiders to seek influence in Southeast

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[7]Mathews, p. 32. R. O. Winstedt, an English authority on Malayan culture finds comparatively little Chinese influence in the Malay world, but the predominant external influence is from India. He writes, "With a little exaggeration it has been said of Europe that it owes its theology, its literature and its science to Greece: with no greater exaggeration it may be said, of the Malayan races that till the nineteenth century they owed everything to India: religions, a political system, medieval astrology and medicine, literature, arts and crafts." R. O. Winstedt, "Indian Influence in the Malay World," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1944), p. 186.

Asia in order to satisfy the European demand for spices.

In pre-Islamic times Persian merchants had already established regular trade with China. A Chinese record of 671 A.D. refers to the Persians as "Po-see."[8] Also, long before Muhammad appeared in Arabia, some Arab merchants had established trade contacts with China. The Arab world is sometimes thought of only as a desert world where the camel is the chief means of transportation. But the Arabs of South Arabia were noted for being adventurous sailors. It was only natural for them to venture to India, Southeast Asia and China before and after the time of Muhammad. Although Arab geographers make no mention of Arab settlements in Southeast Asia before the ninth century, Chinese records refer to an Arab settlement on the west coast of Sumatra in 674 A.D.[9]

Early Islamic Influence

After Islam began in Arabia, Arab Muslim traders

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[8]Mahmud, p. 130.

[9]Sir Thomas W. Arnold, The Preaching of Islam (London: Constable and Company, Inc., 1913), p. 364. Cf. Walter Bonar Sidjabat, Religious Tolerance and the Christian Faith (Djakarta: Badan Penerbit Kristen, 1965), p. 30. Bernard Vlekke states that Odorico de Pordenone, a Franciscan, arrived in Indonesia only twenty years after the first penetration of Islam, but no attempt was made to remain and establish Christianity. Evidently this was one of the Portuguese missionaries enroute to China. Bernard Vlekke, Nusantara (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, c.1943), pp. 80-85.

appeared in numbers in south China strong enough to capture Canton in 758 A.D. By the ninth century there were small communities of Muslim traders in various ports on the route between Arabia and China. There is no evidence of Arab settlements of large size in Indonesia at this time since most of the islands were not directly on the trade route to China.[10]

Muslim sailors ranged far and wide from the Persian Gulf and Red Sea ports. They travelled to India, Ceylon, Southeast Asia and China in an easterly direction. It is not so generally recognized that they also sought markets and goods in such places as Sweden and Iceland.[11] However, because they found conditions for trade much better in the East, Islam began to spread in that direction. The Arab settlers of East Africa, South India and Indonesia were predominantly Hadramautians from Southeast Arabia.[12] They carried Islamic culture to China, the west coast of India and later still to Sumatra and Malacca.[13]

After the death of Muhammad, the early period of Islamic

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[10]D. G. E. Hall, A History of South-East Asia (New York: St. Martin's Press, c.1955), p. 176.

[11]Bernard Lewis, The Arabs in History (New York: Harper and Row, 1958), p. 87.

[12]Mahmud, p. 4.

[13]Ibid., p. 12.

expansion was under the Umayyad Dynasty at Damascus. This was a time of unrest and internal struggle for power. Such conditions were not conducive to trade with the Far East. Later, under the later Abbasid rulers at Baghdad, trade with the Far East began to flourish in the ninth and tenth centuries. During this period the Chinese records describe trade with the Arabs and classified them as the richest foreigners. Enroute to China, these Arab traders made calls in various Southeast Asian ports. In later centuries they became more interested in the spices from these islands than the goods from China. With the fall of the Srivijaya Empire in Sumatra and the transfer of the center of power to Kadiri in Java, there was a power vacuum in the islands, leaving only small, petty, local kingdoms.[14]

An early record of Arab contact with Malaya and Indonesia is found in the middle of the ninth century in the writings of Arabic-Persian geographers. References are made to the

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[14]G. R. Tibbetts, "Early Muslim Traders in South-East Asia," Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, XXX (1957), 1-16. Cf. J. M. van der Kroef, "The Arabs in Indonesia," Middle East Journal, VII (1953), 302. G. E. Marrison, "The Coming of Islam to the East Indies," Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, XXIV (1951), 33. R. O. Winstedt, "The Early Muhammedan Missionaries," Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, LXXXI (March 1920), 5-6. Here Snouck Hurgronje, a Dutch Islamicist, suggests that the early Muslim missionaries to Southeast Asia came from both Gujarat and Malabar in South India. He maintains that it was only after the advent of the steamship that direct Arab influence became strong in the islands.

Malay Peninsula and to Sumatra. In 955 A.D., an Arab writer, Mas'udi, described the various spices available in the islands.[15] Muslim traders also left evidence of their presence in Southeast Asia along the coast of the China Sea as early as 977 A.D.[16] There is a gravestone near Surabaya in Eastern Java with an Arabic inscription which indicates that a Muslim princess was buried there in 1082 A.D.[17] Another tombstone inscribed in Arabic near Gresik in Java is the earliest evidence of Muslims in that part of the islands. The date on the stone is near the beginning of the twelfth century. There is no evidence of the existence of Islam in this part of Java until four centuries later.[18]

In this period of early contacts with Islam, merchants from Arabia and India established semi-permanent settlements in Southeast Asia.

> These settlements were established solely for commercial reasons and it is doubtful if any Muslim missionary work was carried on. The rapid conversion of South-East Asia during the fourteenth century was thought to be the work of zealous Indian converts, although there can be no doubt that the existence of Muslim settlements, some of

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[15]Hall, p. 51.

[16]S. Q. Fatimi, Islam Comes to Malaysia (Singapore: Malaysia Sociological Research Institute, Ltd., c.1963), p. 38.

[17]Ibid., p. 67.

[18]Hall, p. 176.

> two or three centuries standing, did much to influence local populations and prepare the way for later proselytizing.[19]

Although Muslim merchants paved the way for Islam, the dedicated Muslim teachers who followed did much of the real work of persuasion and spreading of Islam in Southeast Asia.[20] Here there are differences of opinion as to motivation. Sir Thomas Arnold's treatment of the expansion of Islam contends that Muslim merchants came to the island world not to make a profit and not to establish themselves as superior, but primarily to present the teachings of Muhammad and to establish Islam.[21] However, Snouck Hurgronje expresses a contrary view:

> Those who sowed in the Far East the first seeds of Islam were no zealots prepared to sacrifice life and property for the holy cause, nor were they missionaries supported by funds raised in their native land. On the contrary, these men came to seek their own worldly advantage, and the work of conversion was merely a secondary task. Later on too, when millions had in this way been won over to Islam, it was the prospect of making money and naught else that attracted hitherward so many teachers from India, Egypt, Mecca and Hadramaut.[22]

The truth probably lies somewhere in between the two views stated above. No doubt there were different motives

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[19]Tibbetts, p. 44.

[20]Fatimi, p. 87.

[21]Arnold, pp. 365-366.

[22]C. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1906), II, 278-279.

in different merchants and even mixed motives in some. In any case Muslim merchants who came to the tropical island world in the early Islamic period were instrumental in introducing Islam there. S. Q. Fatimi, a Muslim scholar, has suggested the following chronology for the history of Islam in the islands:

1st: Earliest contacts--from 674 A.D.
2nd: Islam obtains a foothold in the coastal towns from 878 A.D.
3rd: Islam begins to achieve political power--from 1204 A.D.
4th: Decline sets in--from 1511 A.D.[23]

Islamic Influence after the Thirteenth Century

A classical Malay history dates the coming of Islam to Sumatra precisely at 1204 A.D. The Annals of Acheen have this precise account of the introduction of Islam:

> On Friday the 1st of Ramadan in the year 601 of the flight of the Holy Prophet of God, Sultan Johan Shah came from the windward and converted the people of Acheen [Acheh] to the Mohammedan faith. He married the daughter of Baludri at Acheen and by her had a son, and died on Thursday, 1st of Rajab, 631 (1233 A.D.) after a reign of 30 years 11 months and 26 days and was succeeded by his son Sultan Ahmad.[24]

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[23]Fatimi, pp. 69-70. John Crawfurd, History of the Indian Archipelago (Edinburgh: A. Constable and Co., 1820), III, 207, gives following dates for establishment of Islam among various people: 1204 A.D., The Achehnese; 1278 A.D., The Malays of Malacca; 1478 A.D., The Javanese; 1495 A.D., The Spice Islanders. Crawfurd was a British scholar who travelled widely throughout Southeast Asia in early 19th century.

[24]Ibid., p. 38.

In 1292 A.D. Marco Polo, on his return voyage from China, visited the northwestern Sumatran area now known as Perlak and reported that it had already been converted to Islam.

> This kingdom, you must know, is so much frequented by Saracen merchants that they have converted the natives to the Law of Muhammad--I mean the townspeople only, for the hill people live for all the world like beasts and eat human flesh, as well as other kinds of flesh, clean or unclean.[25]

This northern port of Perlak was still under Majapahit suzerainty when Marco Polo called there. He writes in his Travels that the spread of Islam was due to intermarriage between the Muslim merchants and local inhabitants, often with local rulers' families.[26] This is the earliest, reliable report of the conversion of the native population of Sumatra to Islam. The area along the coast of Sumatra was converted to Islam by the latter half of the fourteenth century. Although there are isolated instances of Islamic influence, "there is little evidence suggesting the spread of Islam to the Peninsula before the fifteenth century."[27]

Although contacts with Arabian merchants are reported in the early decades of Islam, it was not until the thirteenth century that Islam gained a significant influence in Indonesia. The dominant type of Islam that spread to the Indies was of

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[25] Ibid., p. 8.

[26] Mahmud, pp. 290-291.

[27] Hall, p. 176. This refers to the Malay Peninsula.

the Shafi'ite branch of the Sunni school. The development that took place as it passed through India included Indian influences of toleration. Islam rapidly and easily gained followers due largely to its adaptability and tolerance. The main Muslim teachings were presented, but many of the old pre-Islamic beliefs and customs persisted. The Muslim settlers intermarried with the local population and became integrated with the local community. The Islamization of Indonesia was a very gradual process, beginning in the thirteenth century, gaining considerable momentum during the sixteenth, and, in differing ways continuing until the present day.[28]

World events in the Muslim heartlands and in Europe had their effects on the spread of Islam to Southeast Asia. After the fall of Baghdad to the Mongol forces in 1258, the overland trade route to India was disrupted. This led to an increase in the use of sea routes across the Indian Ocean and through the Malay Straits to China. When the Mongol rulers were subsequently converted to Islam this gave new impetus to the expansion of Islam throughout Asia. The collapse of the Hindu-Javanese Empire of Majapahit left a power vacuum and abetted the spread of Islam in the islands.[29]

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[28]Lawrence Rosen, "The Islamization of Indonesia" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Chicago, 1965), p. 11.

[29]Van der Kroef, p. 302. Cf. R. O. Winstedt, "The Advent of Muhammedanism in the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago," The Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,

Local rulers were converted to Islam and through force and persuasion led their subjects to become Muslims. In this manner Islam spread through Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, the Sulu Archipelago and western Mindanao in the Philippines. Java and Bali offered some resistance, but gradually at least the towns in Java were converted to Islam.[30]

J. C. van Luer writes of this period:

> A second imprint on Indonesian civilization was made by Islam. Islam was a missionary community in the early Christian sense, with every believer a potential missionary for spreading its doctrine. However, though, it had already been present for centuries in the foreign colonies in the East--on the west coast of Sumatra circa 674, in China arriving along the sea route in the seventh century, in Java and Farther India known from the tombstones dated for the years 1082 and 1039--Islam began to exert wider influence only in the fourteenth century. . . .
>
> The expansion of the new religion did not result in any revolutions or any newly arrived foreign colonists

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LXXVII (December 1917), 171-175, reports Arab traders in Kedah in Sumatra in 915 A.D., but believes that Islam was not established there until the early 15th century according to the dates on the Arabic tombstones found in Sumatra and Java. Winstedt writes that in 1478 Muslim princes of Java combined to overthrow Hindu empire of Majapahit. At that time a ruler named Demak reportedly proclaimed himself Sultan. Arnold, p. 2 adds, "When the Mongol hordes sacked Baghdad (A.D. 1258) and drowned in blood the faded glory of the Abbasid dynasty,--when the Muslims were expelled from Cordova by Ferdinand of Leon and Castile (A.D. 1236), and Granada, the last stronghold of Islam in Spain, paid tribute to the Christian king,--Islam had just gained a footing in the island of Sumatra and was just about to commence its triumphant progress through the islands of the Malay Archipelago." Joh. Rauws, et al., The Netherland Indies (London and New York: World Dominion Press, 1935), pp. 99-101.

[30]Fay-Cooper Cole, The Peoples of Malaysia (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., c.1945), pp. 23-28.

> coming to power--the Indonesian regime did not undergo a single change due to it. It is not clear what the causes were that the great proselytization for the new gospel in Southeast Asia began only in the thirteenth century though it had already been known for centuries. Perhaps it was a repercussion of the Mongol wars and the threat to the Moslem caliphates, perhaps too more forceful counter-propaganda arose as a result of the coming of Christian missionaries during the rule of the Mongol khans. The expansion of Islam later gained strength through the eruption of the struggle with the Portuguese in Asia after which the Moslems consciously counteracted every Christian influence.[31]

A description of the manner in which Islam became established in the islands is given by J. Rauws, a Dutch missionary to Indonesia.

> In 1416 Atjeh [Acheh] and Deli, the northern part of Sumatra, were entirely won over for Islam, and from here it penetrated into regions beyond. About the year 1500 it reached Java. It was not a conquest by the sword, but peaceable propaganda by preaching, and especially by the influence of social ascendency. The leading part was played by merchants, who on their journeys, had come in contact with Islam and adopted it. Every merchant is a propagandist. He adopts the tongue and the customs of the people among whom he trades, wins their hearts by marriage with the daughters of the land, makes an impression by his superior knowledge and civilization and by the purchase of slaves increases his own importance. The people among whom he labors become envious of his position and soon imitate him.[32]

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[31] J. C. van Leur, Indonesian Trade and Society (Bandung: Sumur Bandung, c.1955), pp. 138-139. R. L. Archer, "Muhammadan Mysticism in Sumatra," Muslim World, XXVIII (1938), 231. Archer doubts that Sumatra was converted to Islam between 1270 and 1275 as some suppose. He bases this on the fact that the tombstone of the reputed founder of Islam in the kingdom of Sumatra Pasari in Northern Sumatra bears the Muslim date of 1297 A.D. The introduction of Islam in Sumatra occurred in the early centuries of the Hijrah when Arab traders established trading stations along the coasts on the route to China where there were large numbers of Arab traders.

[32] J. Rauws, "Islam and Christianity in Malaysia," Moslem World, I (1911), 241.

There seems to be agreement in both Muslim and Christian sources that Muslims from India were instrumental in this spread of Islam in the islands. Stanley Karnow writes:

> Indian Moslem merchants from Gujarat and Bengal also brought Islam to South-East Asia, and the creed adapted itself to the new environment. It syncretized with earlier Brahmanism and Buddhism or fused with local mysticism; and it is an Islam that few Arabs would recognize. Except for the Darul Islam insurgents of Java and other fanatic bands elsewhere in Indonesia, most of whom agitate hopelessly for a theocratic state, Indonesian Moslems are tolerant, unorthodox and almost casual about religion. In Malaya as well, it appears more a formality than a fervent faith. . . .[33]

The same author adds:

> The Indian Moslems--like the Hindus and Buddhists before them and the European to follow--recognized the advantage of establishing themselves closer to their sources of raw materials. They moved into the islands of Indonesia, and eventually they based their firms in the conveniently located Malayan town of Malacca.[34]

Malacca thus became a trading center for Southeast Asia dominated by Indian Muslims. It also became a center from which Islam spread to the local rulers in insular Southeast Asia. This spread of Islam preceded the European countries' influence in this area.[35]

A Muslim historian, S. F. Mahmud, adds his views concerning the role of the Indian Muslim merchants in the spread

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[33]Stanley Karnow and the Editors of Life, South-East Asia (Amsterdam: Time-Life International, c.1964), p. 12.

[34]Ibid., p. 32.

[35]Ibid.

of Islam:

> The conversion of coastal Sumatra to Islam was really the work of Gujrati and Bengali Muslim merchants. . . . Once the door of South-east Asia had been opened to Islam, the religion spread with great rapidity.[36]

He explains that this was because all the foreign trade had been in the hands of the Muslims for six hundred years. Merchants had come from Arabia, Persia, and India with goods from Europe which were traded for silks and spices. Thus Islam made its first appearance in the Malayan Peninsula in the fourteenth century. Malacca was the first state which became Muslim. It was from Malacca that Islam continued its spread to the islands of Southeast Asia.[37]

The Malays along the coast were generally a seafaring people and were the first to be converted to Islam. In the interior areas the animistic tribes offered greater resistance to the intrusion of Islam. Therefore it was the seventeenth century before Islam gained a firm footing in the interior sections of Southeast Asia. There was one exception, a stronghold of Islam developed in south-central Sumatra, near the west coast, among the Minangkabao tribe which became entirely Muslim in the fifteenth century.[38]

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[36]Mahmud, p. 281.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Gottfried Simon, The Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra (London, Edinburgh and New York: Marshall Brothers, Ltd. Publishers, 1912), p. 8. The significance of the

The Influence of Sufism on the Spread of Islam in the Islands

Another factor to consider in the spread of Islam in the islands is the Muslim mystical movement known as Sufism. Sufism has often been opposed by the legalists in Islam. Sufi extremism has led to its disrepute and neglect in modern Islam. Yet Sufism has supplied Islam's greatest missionaries to win converts in Africa, India and Indonesia. It has also provided for a measure of spiritual care for the masses in traditional Muslim areas. Louis Massignon has remarked, "It is thanks to mysticism that Islam is an international and universal religion."[39]

As has been previously mentioned, the spread of Islam to the Malayan race came after the defeat of the Muslim empire state. Islam was spread by the Sufi mystics who came and lived their interpretation of Islam among the people without the support of any external authority. For example, they reinterpreted the Hindu drama, Ramayana, and filled it with Islamic content. A process of assimilation resulted in conversion to Islam of the Malay masses in Java and elsewhere in Southeast Asia.[40]

Minangkabao is evident in the following statement. "The country of Menangkabao in Sumatra is however, beyond dispute, the parent country of the Malay race. Menangkabao, contrary to all other Malay states, is an inland country." Crawfurd, II, 371-372.

[39]John Alden Williams, editor, Islam (New York: George Braziller, c.1961), pp. 136-137.

[40]Shirle Gordon, "Editorial," Intisari, I, 1, 3-4.

> The second half of the thirteenth century saw a great upsurge of the Sufi evangelical movement throughout the world of Islam and this was the main factor in the spread of Islam in Malaysia.[41]

This does not contradict the fact that the Indian Muslim merchants helped in the spread of Islam. It is possible that these merchants were Sufis or greatly influenced by the Sufis. Some scholars have also held that Bengal is the main source of Sumatran Islam.[42] This does not mean that the spread of Islam in the islands was due exclusively to Indian Muslims. Further evidence shows that contributions to the propagation of Islam in Southeast Asia also came from Arabian and Chinese Muslims.[43]

Fatimi says of the influence of Sufism in Malaysia:

> I am inclined to believe that it was the Sufis who actually propagated and finally made it possible for Islam to become established among the people. With regard to Malaya, I feel almost certain that Islam was propagated by the Sufis. There may not be direct evidence to support this theory, but it is valid to the extent that there is circumstantial evidence in its support.[44]

Islam Reaches the Philippines

The Sulu Archipelago between Indonesia and the Philippines

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[41] Fatimi, p. 23.

[42] Ibid., p. 25.

[43] Ibid., p. 36.

[44] Syed Naguib al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute Ltd., c.1963), p. 21.

served as a stepping-stone by which Islam entered the southern islands of the Philippines from Borneo and the Celebes. Thus the Muslim merchant and missionary brought Islam by way of India, Malaya and Indonesia to the Oriental terminus at the Pacific Ocean in the Philippines. With this the Muslim world extended from the Atlantic Ocean in North Africa to the Pacific Ocean in the islands of Southeast Asia. It is significant that in its spread Islam did not cross these two major bodies of water.[45]

The earliest date of the Philippines and Borneo coming to the attention of the Chinese rulers is in the year 977 A.D. A trader by the name of Abu Ali is listed as having brought goods to Canton from Mindoro. Evidently, this was the same Muslim trader whose name appears again in the Chinese records in the year 982. This trade between the Chinese and the Philippines and Borneo continued over the following centuries.[46] According to H. Otley Beyer, the foremost Philippine anthropologist,

> the first specific date in Philippine history is 982 A.D., in which year an Arab ship arrived in Canton, China, with a cargo of goods from "Na-i," which is taken to mean the island of Mindoro.[47]

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[45]Mathews, p. 87.

[46]Beyer and de Vera, pp. 29-31.

[47]"Mindanao Papers" (Unpublished manuscript, Philippines Studies Program, University of Chicago), I, iii.

He also states that "the Mohammedan empire of Malacca and its successors had an active part to play in the cultural history of Sulu."[48]

Although much is uncertain about the exact manner in which Islam came into the southern Philippines, scholars would generally agree with the following statement:

> Whatever our doubts about the mechanism by which Islam came to the Philippines, its arrival from the south via Borneo, is beyond dispute. Its rapid success there, more sweeping than in Borneo itself, is attested in Spanish history, and is still evident to this day.[49]

From Sumatra Islam spread to the other islands of the archipelago and entered the Philippines from Borneo by two different routes. One route was via Balabac and Palawan to Luzon and Manila Bay. The other route was via Tawi-Tawi and Sulu to Cotabato on the island of Mindanao. Islam is believed to have reached Sulu by the year 1380.[50]

A legendary report of the early history of Sulu comes from a Filipino Muslim genealogy which states, "the first person who lived on the island of Sulu is Jamiyun Kulisa.

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[48] Ibid.

[49] Tom Harrison, "Bisaya: Borneo-Philippines Impacts of Islam," Sarawak Museum Journal, VIII (June 1956), 44.

[50] C. S. Lobinger, "The Origin of the Moros," Moslem World, IX (1919), 62. As late as 1911, an Arab from Mecca was a leader among the Maranaos. R. B. Fox, "A Consideration of Theories Concerning Possible Affiliations of Mindanao Culture with Borneo, the Celebes, and Other Regions of the Philippines," Philippine Sociological Review, V (1957), 7, 11.

His wife was Indra Suga. They were sent here by Alexander the Great."[51] Another account tells about a later arrival in Sulu who became the ruler there in the person of Rajah Baginda. He is reported to have come from Minangkabao, Sumatra. (Muslim legend regards Minangkabao as the cradle of the Malay race and its princes are said to stem from Alexander the Great.)[52]

The commonly accepted traditional version of the arrival of Islam in the Philippines has Islam introduced in Sulu around 1380 by the preaching of a Muslim teacher called Makdum. This was ten years before the reported arrival of Rajah Baginda from Minangkabao. Islam therefore was already established in Sulu when Abu Bakr arrived in 1450 and married Parimisuli, the daughter of Rajah Baginda. One version states that Abu Bakr was also a descendant of Alexander the Great (whose name in Malay is rendered as Iskander Shah). This same Abu Bakr reportedly came from Mecca via Malacca, Palembang (Sumatra) and Borneo to Sulu. He was considered an authority on religion and law who propagated the doctrines of a Muslim

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[51] C. L. Pickens, "The Moros of the Sulu Sea," Moslem World, XXXI (1941), 5.

[52] Ibid. The early Indian Muslim teachers in Indonesia found it necessary to devise a substitute for the Hindu epics which had spread among the people. They developed the story of Alexander the Great as a champion of the faith of Abraham and a forerunner of Muhammad. The Malay royalty reportedly was descended from the marriage of Alexander to the daughter of Kaid, an Indian ruler. Winstedt, "Indian Influence in the Malay World," p. 191.

preacher known as Abu Ishaq.[53] After Abu Bakr married Parimisuli he became the first to bear the title of Sultan Sharif[54] of Sulu. The sultanate established by Abu Bakr continues until the present time in the Sulu area of the southern Philippines.[55]

Cesar Majul, a Muslim historian at the University of the Philippines, suggests that Islam was introduced first by Arab or Persian traders in the Sulu archipelago in the fourteenth century and Islam was later strengthened by contacts with parts of Islamized Malaysia. He believes that the sultanate developed as an Islamic institution as a result of the gradual Islamization of the area. He quotes a Roman Catholic priest, Francisco Gainza, whose description of the Islamization of the Maguindanaos of southern Mindanao is representative of what also took place at Sulu.

> The social institutions of these people must have been very similar to those of the rest of the Philippine archipelago until some Arab missionaries arrived and

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[53] Ibid., p. 6.

[54] Sharif is a title for a descendant of Muhammad. In the Philippines it becomes "sarip" or "salip."

[55] Najeeb M. Saleeby, The History of Sulu (Manila: Filipinia Book Guild, 1963), pp. 30-34. In the introduction of this latest edition Cesar Majul suggests the possibility that the first Muslim missionaries to Sulu may have come from South China (p. xiii). Saleeby believes that the Makdum who arrived in Sulu in 1380 was a noted Arabian judge who had previously established Islam in Malacca around 1350 by converting Sultan Muhammad Shah. Makdum died in Sulu and is buried on the island of Sibutu (pp. 42-43). Makdum in Arabic means "he who is served" and is sometimes used as a title for a Sufi teacher. Cf. Al-Attas, pp. 31-32.

> preached Islam to them. These established themselves in the Rio Grande in Maguindanao where they were well received by docile people. Introducing some religious practices, they married local women, learned the native language, and adopted many customs of the country and adjusted themselves to the social order. In time they were able to acquire many slaves to increase their prestige until they were able to join the ranks of the datus. Working with more unity, skill and coordination than the natives, and having slaves like them, they progressively increased their power and formed a sort of confederation among themselves until they were able to establish a monarchy which they declared to be hereditary in a family and from which the native datus elected a sultan.[56]

In 1775 Captain Thomas Forrest, a British naval officer, visited Mindanao and reported that Islam had been there 300 years and that the tomb of the first Arab teacher, a Sharif from Mecca, was still known. Just as tradition gives Abu Bakr the honor of being the first sultan of Sulu, so tradition in Mindanao also gives this honor to Sharif Kabongsoan. In 1475 Kabongsoan is reported to have come from Johore, on the Malay Peninsula, to Mindanao where he introduced Islam in a peaceful manner and married daughters of local chieftans. Kabongsoan later extended his rule by conquering the neighboring tribes and forming the first sultanate of Mindanao.[57]

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[56]Cesar Adib Majul, "Political and Historical Notes on the old Sulu Sultanate." Unpublished manuscript presented as Paper No. 30 at the International Conference on Asian History, University of Hong Kong (August 30-September 5, 1964), p. 9. Arnold, p. 365, offers similar information from Gainza.

[57]Arnold, p. 399. Cf. Horatio de la Costa, The Jesuits in the Philippines (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, c.1961), pp. 297-298. The following account

Emerson B. Christie gives the following account of how the Mindanao pagans became Muslims:

> The great Moro wave of immigration into the southern Philippines is a myth. What really happened is that at about the same time that Sulu was converted, Mohammedan Malays and Sulus, together with a very few true Arabs, came to Mindanao and while fishing and trading preached the doctrine of Mohammed. It is likely that if not in the earliest days of this preaching, at least shortly afterwards, these few outsiders had fire arms, which of course where unknown to the natives. The rude unlettered aborigines, the Monobos, the Tirurays, Subanun, etc., could not but feel the great superiority of the new culture, and gradually accepted the new institutions. Those who were converted were organized by their teachers into a petty state with an organization which, if rude, was still much stronger and more coherent than the primitive Malayan anarchy around them, and so the new converts themselves became a powerful force for further religious and civil conquest. The Maguindanao Moros, in fact, together with the Ilanuns, do not differ to any appreciable extent and blood from the neighboring pagans.[58]

The Spanish historian, Antonio de Morga, gives additional

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of how Kabongsoan came to Mindanao is related. "Sarip Kabungsuwan . . . set out on a sea voyage with a large number of followers from Johore. . . . A very strong wind blew and scattered them in all directions, so that they lost track of one another. As a result Sarip Kabungsuwan arrived at Maguindanan. The others scattered to Bulunai [Brunei], Kuran, Tampasuk, Sandakan, Palimbang, Bangjar, Sulug [Sulu], Tubuk and Malabang [Maranao area]." The account describes how Kabongsoan persuaded the local datus or chiefs to become Muslims. They performed the ceremonial ablutions in the river where Kabongsoan had landed. As a result this spot was called Paigoan, meaning bathing place, and still retains this name today. Infra, pp. 196-197.

[58]H. O. Beyer and T. D. Holleman, "Beyer-Holleman Collection of Original Sources in Philippine Customary Law." (Unpublished manuscript, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. and Philippine Studies Program, University of Chicago, n.d.) Paper No. 162, Account No. 23, "The Moros of Sulu and Mindanao" by Emerson B. Christie, pp. 18-19.

information about the spirit of Islam in the Philippines and indicates how recently Islam had penetrated the Philippines before the Spanish arrival to establish a permanent colony in the year 1565. In the northern island of Luzon, and also in Mindoro, the Spanish were able to drive out the Muslims. The same thing could have happened in the southern islands, if the Spanish efforts had been concentrated there at that time, because all indications are that Islam was just beginning to gain a foothold in the south when the Spanish forces arrived. This account by de Morga also gives information about the time and method of the spread of Islam in the northern Philippines. The Gazizes and Morabitos mentioned in this Spanish account could refer to the warriors of the faith and the Sufi teachers, respectively. If the reference to the Red Sea is accurate it could mean Arabian teachers from Mecca, showing a direct Arabian influence over Philippine Islam.

> A few years before the Spanish subdued the island of Luzon, certain natives of the island of Borneo began to go thither to trade, especially to the settlement of Manila and Tondo; and the inhabitants of the one island intermarried with those of the other. These Borneans are Mahometans, and were already introducing their religion among the natives of Luzon, and were giving them instructions, ceremonies, and the form of observing their religion by means of certain Gazizes whom they brought with them. Already a considerable number, and those the chiefest men, were commencing, although by piecemeal, to become Moros, and were being circumcized and taking the names of Moros, had the Spaniard's coming been delayed longer that religion would have spread throughout the island, and even

> through the others, and it would have been difficult to extirpate it. The mercy of God checked it in time; for, because of being in so early stages, it was uprooted from the islands, and they were freed from it, that is, in all that the Spaniards have pacified. . . . That religion has spread and extended very widely to the other islands outside of this government, so that now almost all of their natives are Mahometean Moros and are ruled and instructed by their Gazizes and other Morabitos; these often come to preach and to teach them by way of the trade of Ma[la]ca [sic] and the Red Sea, through which they navigate to reach these islands.[59]

Pigafetta, the historian who accompanied Magellan on his voyage to the Philippines in 1521, makes reference to a Muslim called a "Moro merchant" in the account of the Cebu occupation. This Muslim was evidently a visitor and not an inhabitant of the Philippines, however the king of Cebu asked for his advice when Magellan requested permission to land. This Muslim merchant considered the Spanish to be no different from the Portuguese with whom he had previously come in contact in Malacca and also in the Muslim court in India. After Magellan had been killed by Lapu-Lapu at Mactan Island, just off of Cebu, the ship which Pigafetta was on continued on a visit to Tidor in the Celebes. Here they found Muslims there who had been there for fifty years. Islam had been in neighboring Ternate for more than eighty years.[60]

Francisco de Sande, the Spanish governor of the

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[59]Emma Helena Blair and James Alexander Robertson, The Philippine Islands (Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company, 1909), XVI, 134-135. Hereafter referred to as BR.

[60]Ibid., XXXIII, 18. Arnold, p. 388.

Philippines, in 1578 sent a report to King Philip II of Spain which indicates the widespread contact the people of Southeast Asia had with each other in Borneo. He states that in Borneo he found people from China, Cochin, Cambodia, Siam, Malaya, Java, Sumatra, Minangkabao, Acheh, the Batak area, the Moluccas, Mindanao and other islands. This suggests the possible Muslim influence on the southern Philippines by virtue of trading contacts with merchants from these other parts of Southeast Asia.[61]

On June 27, 1588, the first Bishop of Manila, Domingo Salazar, wrote to King Philip II about the arrival of Islam in the southern islands of the Philippines, especially the island of Mindanao.

> The law of Mahoma [sic] has been publicly proclaimed for somewhat more than three years, by preachers from Burney [Borneo] and Terrenate who have come there--some of them even, it is believed, having come from Mecca. They have erected and are now building mosques, and the boys are being circumcized, and there is a school where they are taught the Alcoran.[62]

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[61] BR, IV, 131.

[62] Ibid., VII, 69. In the same letter the bishop makes reference to a Spanish ship falling into the hands of "the Lutherans" (pp. 66,67) and regrets that "the Lutherans" remained free to attack and capture Spanish ships in Philippine waters with impunity. In all probability, he was referring to the Dutch. He also states that the natives of the Philippines have little regard for the things of God and the Christian religion "seeing that we who profess to be Christians" pay so little attention to the practice of the faith. He adds: "Even the Moslems, at least those in the Philippines did not compel anyone to accept their religion by force. They

Some anthropologists hold that Islam arrived in the southern Philippines at the end of the fourteenth century, but they differ on the manner it was introduced. This was a peaceful invasion by Arabian merchants and teachers who intermarried with the families of local rulers. They introduced Islam and were followed by Muslim missionaries. The spread of Islam continued in Sulu and Western Mindanao among the pagan tribes. Gradually certain local rulers extended their influence over Sulu and western Mindanao as sultans. After becoming firmly established in this area of the Philippines Islam was spreading into the northern islands when it came into conflict with the Spanish in the latter half of the sixteenth century. This was the beginning of a "holy" war which lasted for over three centuries.[63]

Summary of the Penetration of Islam into Southeast Asia

Many scholars point to the fifteenth century as the period when Islam made its greatest advances and became firmly established as one of the dominant religious forces in Southeast Asia. Islam came from Arabia and India into Sumatra in the twelfth century, to Java in the fifteenth, Borneo in the

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used persuasion and the example of a good life; that was why they had so many converts; would that the Spaniards who prided themselves on being good Christians would do the same!" Costa, p. 104

[63]Cole, pp. 194-198.

sixteenth. From these bases Islam spread to the Celebes and the Philippines.[64] During the fifteenth century when Islam was threatening to engulf Europe, it was rapidly expanding in Asia and, especially, Southeast Asia. The coming of Islam to Indonesia was due to many forces of history, culture and religion. "The history of the spread of Islam in Indonesia can be written as the history of one protracted acculturation process the end of which is not in sight."[65]

It took a long period of time for Islam to become the dominant religion of Indonesia. It came in a peaceful manner. From the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, there was no organized Muslim mission effort in the archipelago. It was almost a spontaneous religious movement. Some sociologists believe that one of the main attractions to Islam was the opportunity to be liberated from the Hindu caste system. This was especially true for the lower classes. In Java this explains why the royal courts remained the last strongholds of Hinduism. The Muslim tenet of equality of all Muslims was a dynamic force directed against the Hindu social structure.[66]

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[64] C. R. North, An Outline of Islam (London: The Epworth Press, 1957), pp. 99-100.

[65] C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze, Aspects of Islam in Post-Colonial Indonesia (The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve Ltd., c.1958), p. 29.

[66] Ibid., pp. 35-36.

The type of Islam brought to Indonesia by Muslim merchants was spread through long residence resulting in intermarriage with the local population. The simplest rudiments of the faith were introduced in a way which did not contradict the eclectic, monistic character of the indigenous religious beliefs of the tropical island world of Southeast Asia. An early Muslim trader in Indonesia expressed his feeling as follows:

> So long as we live we are in the power of the ancestors of those who live in this land. We must therefore serve the ancestors of our heathen relatives. But so long as we do not eat pork and are buried in Muslim fashion we will wind up in heaven with our Muslim ancestors with whom we feel at home. . . . So long as we let our children become Muslims they will take care of the veneration of our souls. . . . Ancestor worship is for this life, Islam is for the life to come.[67]

Summarizing the coming of Islam to the islands, it was introduced by Arabian, Indian and Chinese merchants and mystics. It was welcomed by the people since it was simple and considered superior to their animistic, Hindu-Buddhist belief. The missionary of Islam, whether spice merchant or Sufi, was not a paid professional, but one who out of a sincere conviction that his religion was to be shared with all, taught what he knew of Islam by word and deed. The social aspect of inter-marriage was also a contributing factor to the acceptance of Islam as a natural outgrowth of such

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[67]Justus M. van der Kroef, "Problems of Dutch Mission Policy in Indonesia," Practical Anthropology, VII (1960), 268.

marital relationships. This removed the obstacle of approaching the people from a superior cultural and religious background which has often been a problem for the Christian mission. The ease with which simple people could learn the basic tenets of Islam and the concept of allowing these tenets merely to supplement, not supplant, their previous beliefs also explains why Islam spread so readily and easily in Southeast Asia. By the ninth century Muslims had come to the islands, but Islam was not established among the Malayan people until the thirteenth century when Sufis appeared and presented Islam in an acceptable manner.[68]

By the end of the fifteenth century Islam had come to the island world of Southeast Asia, and it had come to stay. In some areas of the islands it had not reached the interior or was not accepted in all parts with equal fervor. It could have been stopped from spreading further in areas which came under European hegemony, as it was by the arrival of the Spanish in the Philippines. However, in the other parts of the island world of Southeast Asia, Islam was actually motivated and aided in its spread and penetration by the arrival of Western Christian powers from Europe. Thus the paradox, the spread of Islam in Southeast Asia attracted the attention of the Western world to that area; the arrival of the Western

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[68]Fatimi, pp. 99-100.

powers in Southeast Asia resulted in the further spread and stronger hold of Islam in Malaya and the Indonesian archipelago.[69]

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[69]Kranow, p. 12. Cf. Cesar Adib Majul, "Theories on the Introduction and Expansion of Islam in Malaysia," Silliman Journal, XI (1964), 335-398. B. Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies (Bandung: Sumur Bandung, c.1955), p. 12.

CHAPTER III

THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Contacts Between Christianity and Islam in the West

From the time of Islam's inception on the Arabian Peninsula under the leadership of Muhammad, Islam and Christianity have come into conflict. Although this conflict began on a small scale before the death of Muhammad in 632, in the century after his death it became widespread as Islam advanced into the Christian world of the Mediterranean Basin. As Islam continued to spread into Central Asia, Christianity suffered additional losses. Therefore more than thirteen centuries of contact between Christianity and Islam have generally been marked by hostility, suspicion and misunderstanding. The Christian mission has rarely been presented to Muslims during this period in a positive manner.[1]

Kenneth Scott Latourette declares:

> In the thousand years between 500 and 1500, moreover, in the rise and spread of Islam, Christianity experienced what until the triumph of Russian Communism in 1917 was its most serious territorial reverse. Islam, while deeply indebted to its older rival, won from it much of

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[1] James Thayer Addison, The Christian Approach to the Moslem (New York: Columbia University Press, c.1942), p. 1.

western and central Asia, most of northern Africa and part of the Iberian Peninsula.[2]

The Muslim attitude toward Christianity was strongly influenced by the contact that Muhammad and the early Muslim leaders had with the Christians in the middle of the seventh century. The situation has not generally improved over the centuries. The Muslims in the Middle East still look upon the Christians as inferior. The various Christian Churches have been isolated into distinct communities in Muslim lands. They have had a history of quarreling with one another. Christians have generally been on the defensive. The Crusades left bitter memories in the minds of the Muslim. In the nineteenth century Christianity was distrusted by Muslims, because it was associated with Western imperialism in the Middle East. In the recent past some European powers supported Christian missions in Muslim areas partly out of political motives.[3]

Christianity Arrives in Southeast Asia

Before the arrival of European powers in the Indian Ocean, the Arab and Persian traders had engaged in a three-way struggle to gain control of the spice trade from the Indian

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[2]Kenneth Scott Latourette, The First Five Centuries, Vol. I in A History of the Expansion of Christianity (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, c.1937-41), xviii.

[3]Latourette, Northern Africa and Asia, VI, ibid., 6-9.

merchants. One result of this was the spread of Islam to Southeast Asia through these Muslim merchants. Another result was to bring Muslim traders into direct conflict with Christian traders when the European powers began to penetrate this area in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The Arab traders brought an anti-Christian prejudice with them to Southeast Asia, and this was further strengthened among the Malays by the intrusion of the European Christian powers. Thus, when the Muslim rulers of Sulu in the southern Philippines heard that these Christian powers had arrived in the central Philippines, they were alarmed and determined to fight against them. C. L. Pickens, an Episcopalian missionary to China who made a study of the Sulu Muslims, concludes:

> We can understand how the Moros, seeing this rapid spread of Christianity, in parts which had been under their own control would not be enthusiastic in their reception of a Gospel which was preached to them at the point of a sword. The Moros were cruel, and still can be cruel, but it is not fair to attribute all evils to them without considering the cruel methods used by their Christian adversaries.[4]

One of the earliest records of Christianity in Southeast Asia is from the year 1294. At that time a Franciscan friar named John of Monte Corvino travelled by sea through this area to reach the courts of China in the hope of converting

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[4]C. L. Pickens, "The Moros of the Sulu Sea," Moslem World, XXXI (1941), 11-13.

Kublai Khan. This was the beginning of fifty years of Christian missionary efforts directed toward the Mongol court. As these missionaries travelled to China, they stopped in various Southeast Asian ports. They sent various reports back to Europe, but no mention is made of any plan to evangelize the people there. A young Venetian merchant, Nicolo De'Conti, travelled extensively in Southeast Asia and returned to Venice in 1444. He reported that during his travels he had been forced to renounce his Christianity and to profess Islam in order to save his life. Other Italian merchants brought back almost unbelievable reports about cannibalism and head-hunting by the people of Southeast Asia.[5]

It is one of the ironies of history that the success of the forces of Islam in Europe was a factor in leading the Christian powers of Europe to seek new routes to Asia. With the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Muslims in 1453, the Portuguese and Spanish were compelled to seek new sea routes to the source of the spices which were in such demand in Europe. This quest for a route to the "Spice Islands" led Vasco de Gama around the southern tip of Africa, the same quest also led to the discovery of America and the first circumnavigation of the earth by the Spanish seeking a route

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[5]D. G. E. Hall, A History of South-East Asia (New York: St. Martin's Press, c.1955), pp. 188-191.

to the East by sailing West. This search for the source of spices brought about the introduction of Portuguese and Spanish Roman Catholicism to the island world of Southeast Asia.

Other nations, notably the Dutch and English, also sought their share of the lucrative spice trade and were soon venturing into the Orient. Colonial empires arose in India, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, and the Philippine Islands. Thus the search for spices changed the course of world history by bringing contact and conflict between the East and the West. It also served to bring both Roman Catholic and other Western forms of Christianity to this part of the world.[6] Latourette writes:

> On the eve of the coming of the Europeans, Islam also made its way into the region and became the dominant faith in the Malay Peninsula, in Java, and in the southern portions of the northern extension of the East Indies which was conquered by Spain[7] (i.e., the Philippines).

The Portuguese Arrive in Southeast Asia

The fifteenth and sixteenth century Portuguese expansion into Asia was motivated by commercial, religious and

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[6]Fay-Cooper Cole, The Peoples of Malaysia (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., c.1945), pp. 1-2.

[7]Kenneth Scott Latourette, The Twentieth Century Outside Europe, Vol. V in Christianity in a Revolutionary Age (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, c.1950-1962), 416.

adventurous interests. "Religious zeal, nourished in the tradition of the Crusades and the remembrance of the bitter struggle with the Moors in the Iberian Peninsula certainly continued to be an essential motivation."[8] Thus expansion into Muslim areas of Asia seemed a God-pleasing action to the Portuguese. Indeed Albuquerque, the leading Portuguese colonizer of this period, considered it an opportunity to destroy Islam and remove its influence from the face of the earth. His ambitious plans included diverting the Nile so that Muslim Egypt would become weak with no more trade going through it, the capture of Arabia and destruction of the holy city of Mecca, and the elimination of Muslim influence in India. In a sense, this was a continuation of the crusade ideology. As a result, the Sultan of Egypt sent word to the Pope threatening to destroy the holy places in Palestine and to wreak vengeance on all Christians unless Spain stopped forcing Muslims to become Christians and unless Portugal stopped its voyages to the Indies.[9]

European influence began in Asia in 1498 with the arrival of the Portuguese explorer, Vasco da Gama, in Calicut in southwest India. He was looking for "Christians and spices" in his history-making journey around the Cape of Good Hope.

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[8]B. Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies (Bandung: Sumur Bandung, c.1955), pp. 37-39.

[9]Ibid.

When the nations of Europe discovered that the Muslim traders controlled the spice trade, they decided to break this monopoly and at the same time renew the assault on Islam which had become stalemated in the Crusades. This gave a splendid opportunity for getting a measure of revenge on Islam. Thus began a new "Crusade of faith and commerce" with papal blessing. The Portuguese soon controlled the Indian Ocean and Goa on the Indian mainland.[10]

The Portuguese had a fervent zeal to destroy Islam and planned to use their superior ships to accomplish the task. They had learned that they could out-sail the Arab merchant ships which were built only for sailing under favorable monsoon winds. An English historian, D. G. E. Hall, writes of Portugal's policy:

> Happily it was possible to serve God and Mammon at the same time, for by striking at Arab trade in the Indian Ocean, Portugal aimed a blow at the Ottoman Empire, which drew the major part of its revenues from the spice monopoly.[11]

The German historian, Leopold von Ranke, has written of Portuguese aims:

> The intentions of the Portuguese were concerned directly with the centre of the Arabian faith. They desired to avenge Jerusalem upon Mecca. Their victories were once again fought and won in the enthusiasm of Crusaders. The Spanish operations, on the other hand, being directed

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[10]Stanley Karnow and the Editors of Life, South-East Asia (Amsterdam: Time-Life International, c.1964), p. 12.

[11]Hall, p. 197.

> against heathen, and not against Mohammedans, renewed rather the idea of the Northern Crusades. A grant from the Pope, a proclamation that "the enemy must be converted to Christianity or utterly destroyed," was all the justification that was necessary.[12]

The state of Malacca had accepted Islam and had become its stronghold. Malacca exerted its influence on Borneo, Sulu and the Moluccas. The arrival of the European "infidels" incited the Muslims of Malaya to missionary efforts to convert the Pagan Malayan population on the islands to Islam. This reaction to Portuguese intrusion resulted in Muslim mission efforts in Johore, the Celebes, in Brunei on Borneo and as far away as the southern Philippines and Manila Bay.[13]

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[12]Leopold von Ranke, History of Latin and Teutonic Nations, 1494-1514, translated from the German by G. R. Dennis (London: George Bell & Sons, 1909), p. 17.

[13]Cole, p. 25. Cf. Bernard H. M. Vlekke, Nusantara (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, c.1943), pp. 74-76. After the capture of Malacca on August 10, 1511, Albuquerque tried to extend Portuguese control over the spice trade. In so doing, the Portuguese were aware that they were dealing a severe blow to the Muslim merchants of Syria and Egypt who were under the Ottoman Sultanate. Thus they were taking revenue away from the Ottomans and thereby assisting the Christian powers in the Balkans and the Mediterranean in their conflicts with the Ottoman Muslim power.

Vlekke, pp. 79-80, states that due to the Portuguese control of Malacca, many Muslim merchants transferred their base of operations to Brunei on the north coast of Borneo. Thus Brunei became a trade center where merchants from China came in large numbers. The ruler of Borneo accepted Islam and became an enthusiastic missionary. He gained control of Sulu in the Southern Philippines at the time of Magellan's arrival in the central islands in 1521. No doubt this aided the spread of Islam in Sulu. After the death of Magellan one of Magellan's ships, the Victoria, visited Brunei and later sailed south through the Sulu archipelago where the source of

Malacca had become the most important trading center in Southeast Asia. It was also the main center for the spread of Islam to the islands in the south. The Muslim merchants from Gujarat near Bombay played a part in Malacca's conversion to Islam. These merchants shipped many tombstones with Arabic inscriptions to Malacca with a blank space for placing the name of the deceased. The Portuguese used some of these stones to build their first fort there. The epigram "Java was converted in Malacca" refers to the fact that Islam was spread to Java from Malacca through the spice trade. During this period Islam spread rapidly on the coasts of Sumatra and Java. This dominance of Malacca was successfully challenged by a Christian power from Europe in the early sixteenth century. This gave the Portuguese mastery of the Indian waters and made possible the conquest of Malacca in 1511. This marked the end of Muslim suzerainty in Southeast Asia. From this point on the European powers contended against each other in this area.[14] As a result the Muslims lost the

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spices was discovered in the Moluccas, but the Spanish found the Portuguese there ahead of them. They made the Portuguese aware of the urgency of strengthening their control of the "spice islands." Thus, they had to battle against the rapidly expanding influence of Islam, on the one hand, and their fellow-Christians of the Iberian Peninsula, on the other.

[14]Sayyid Fayyaz Mahmud, A Short History of Islam (London: Oxford University Press, c.1955), p. 484. Cf. Hall, p. 197. Cf. also Pickens, p. 12, where he describes an interesting

spice trade and, for a time, Lisbon became the spice center of Europe.[15]

The Achehnese Muslims in northern Sumatra set up a rival spice trading center and also spread Islam throughout the Indonesian Archipelago and the Malay Peninsula. "The conversion of the Malayan masses to Islam is due largely to the work of these Achehnese zealots."[16] Although the Portuguese conquered northern Sumatra in 1521 Islam continued to spread in northern Java and reached the area of present day Djakarta by 1527.[17] The Portuguese, by their un-Christian methods, permanently gave a negative image of Christianity to the Muslims of Southeast Asia. F. W. Wertheim, has said, "One can sustain the paradox that the expansion of Islam in

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historical sidelight concerning Ferdinand Magellan. In 1508 Magellan was a member of a Portuguese expedition which failed in an attempt to capture Malacca. Magellan was also a member of the 1511 expedition which captured Malacca. He was rewarded with the rank of captain for his role in the victory and was then sent on a trip to obtain spices in the Moluccas, just southeast of the Philippines where he returned later under Spanish auspices in 1521. He successfully rounded South America, crossed the Pacific and claimed the Philippines for the Spanish crown. He met his death at the hands of a native datu, Lapu-Lapu on Mactan Island just off Cebu. One of the ships finally returned to Spain under the command of Sebastian Elcano and became the first ship to circumnavigate the earth.

[15]Karnow, pp. 41-43.

[16]Norton Ginsburg and Chester F. Roberts, Jr., Malaya (Seattle: University of Washington Press, c.1960), pp. 27-28.

[17]Kenneth W. Morgan, editor, Islam--The Straight Path (New York: The Ronald Press, c.1953), p. 375.

the Indonesian Archipelago was due to the Westerners."[18]

Hall reports:

> The Portuguese have been described . . . as swarming into Asia in a spirit of open brigandage. Against the Muslim peoples their crusading zeal stimulated rather than restrained their cruel and capricious behavior. Even their own historians were ashamed at their crimes in the Moluccas, where the natives were driven into resistance by the injustice of their trading methods. And although priests and monks multiplied in their dominions, they were ineffectual missionaries because of the misdeeds of traders and freebooters.[19]

The Spanish Arrive in the Philippines

A recent anthropological study of Philippine Muslims by Melvin Mednick further indicates why Philippine Islam is so closely related to Indonesian Islam. After enumerating the various racial and social similarities between the Muslim and Christian Filipinos, he suggests that any differences between these two groups are of fairly recent origin and are due to Spanish failure to bring the Muslims of the southern Philippines into the political system which united the non-Muslim areas of the Philippine Archipelago.

> As a result, the southern islands developed in relative isolation from the rest of the Philippines for more than 350 years. During the period of time there was a deepening and spreading of the Islamic influences from Borneo, Malaya, and Indonesia which had begun to make

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[18]S. I. Fatimi, Islam Comes to Malaysia (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Institute, Ltd., c.1963), pp. 88-89.

[19]Hall, p. 206.

> themselves felt through the Philippines in the century before the arrival of the Spaniards. And, it was during this period of time that the Christian Philippines assumed the characteristics which mark them today.[20]

The fact that the Philippines is less than five per cent Muslim while neighboring Indonesia is ninety per cent Muslim is due not only to geography, but also, in large part to the policies of the Spanish in the Philippines. After Spain had lived under varying degrees of Muslim control for seven centuries, Spanish arms drove the last of the Muslim forces out of the Iberian Peninsula in 1492 following the battle of Granada. Spaniards arrived in the Philippines to establish a permanent colony in 1565. The Muslims had begun spreading out to the central islands of the Philippines and to the large northern island of Luzon establishing a stronghold at Manila. Gregorio Zaide calls the battle at Manila between Legazpi's forces and Rajah Soliman in 1567 a "miniature crusade; it was a fight between the cross and the crescent for supremacy. The triumph of the Spaniards over Soliman's warriors meant the victory of Christianity over Islam."[21]

Spain gave the Muslims in the Philippines the name of

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[20]Melvin Mednick, "Encampment of the Lake" (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1965), pp. 3-4.

[21]Gregorio F. Zaide, Philippine Political and Cultural History (Manila: Philippine Education Company, c.1949), I, 41-43.

"Moros"[22] due to the similarity of their religion to that of the Muslim Moors of North Africa. Although Spain was not able to drive the Muslims out of the southern Philippines, she did drive them out of Luzon and the central islands. The Spanish arrived in time to halt the Muslim expansion. Therefore, Spain was responsible for stopping the Muslims in Asia.

Legazpi arrived in Cebu in 1565 with orders to establish the first permanent Spanish colony in the Philippines. He met a Muslim merchant in Cebu and discovered the presence of Islam in Luzon and Sulu.

> Legaspi, coming to the Philippine--thus Indonesian--island Cebu in the first [sic] Spanish voyage across the Pacific, found there in 1565 a Moslem trader, factor of the sultan of Brunei in North Borneo, and on Luzon and off Mindoro Moslem, Chinese and Japanese merchants and ships. . . .
>
> After they had sailed around the Cape and crossed the Pacific, then the Portuguese and Spaniards encountered nautical and military techniques which were on an equal footing with Europe. The Islam which the Portuguese and Spanish nobility had driven back from their own borders southwards into Africa they encountered here once more, from the eastern coast of Africa to the very rim of the Pacific. Christian chivalric war for honour and spoils, carried on here as a sea struggle, brought all the Asian coasts in fire and flame and caused leagues to be formed between the Oriental rulers and

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[22]W. Cameron Forbes, The Philippine Islands (Boston: Mifflin Co., 1928), II, 3. "The word 'Moro' from the Latin Maurus, was used by the Spanish originally to designate the natives of Mauretania in northwestern Africa, and later, the Moors and Mohammedans generally. By American usage the word has come to mean any Mohammedan Filipino of the southern islands regardless of the tribal group to which he belongs."

> requests for support to be sent out reaching from the sultan of Achin [Acheh] to the Ottomans and from Malacca to the court of the Ming Dynasty in Peking.[23]

In 1566 the Spanish colonists of Cebu sent a petition to their king requesting

> that certain Moros, who under the pretext of being traders, preach the Mahometan faith and hinder Spanish trade with the natives, be expelled from the islands and that they not be allowed to marry or settle therein.[24]

King Philip II replied to Legazpi:

> We have also been petitioned in your behalf concerning the Moro Islands in that land, and how these men come to trade and carry on commerce, hindering the preaching of the holy gospel and disturbing you. We give you permission to make such Moros slaves and to seize their property. You are warned that you can make them slaves only if the said Moros are such by birth and choice, and if they come to preach their Mohammedan doctrine or to make war against you or against the Indians Filipinos who are our subjects and in our royal service.[25]

A Spanish historian records the general Spanish conception of the Muslims in the Philippines in this early period.

> This law Mahoma [sic] introduced into the world with force and arms. I am not surprised that these natives were so sorry to leave their religion, for they were persuaded that there was salvation thereby. But they preferred to follow Mahoma--homicide, drunkard, incestuous, robber, and sensual--than Christ, exposed naked on a cross,

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[23] J. C. van Leur, Indonesian Trade and Society (Bandung: Sumur Bandung, c.1955), pp. 131-132.

[24] Emma Helena Blair and James Alexander Robertson, The Philippine Islands (Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company, 1909), II, 156. Hereafter referred to as BR.

[25] Najeeb M. Saleeby, The History of Sulu (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1963), p. 56.

who preached fasting, mortification, chastity, penitence, love for one's enemy and other virtues.[26]

In a letter of June 7, 1576, Francisco de Sande, the Spanish governor of the Philippines recommended that Spanish troops be sent to the assistance of the Portuguese in their fight against the Achehnese Muslims of Sumatra. The Achehnese were reportedly aided by 500 to 600 Ottoman Turkish troops from Mecca. The sultan of Acheh was spreading Islam, not only in his own area of Sumatra, but also, into the Philippines.[27]

In dealing with the Muslims, Spain did not follow the peaceful policy that it applied in the other parts of the Philippines. The Spanish policy for the Moros was to conquer first and convert afterwards. The first of many attempts to conquer the Muslims in Mindanao and Sulu was made in 1578. There were some temporary victories, but Spain's efforts to subdue the Muslims in Sulu and Mindanao were unsuccessful for the entire three and one-half centuries of Spanish rule.[28]

In the early days of Spanish colonization of the Philippines the battle lines were drawn between the Muslims and Christians in Southeast Asia. This was looked upon by the Spanish as a continuation of the "holy war" they had

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[26]BR, XXIII, 199.

[27]Ibid., IV, 65-66.

[28]Frank C. Laubach, The People of the Philippines (New York: George H. Doran Company, c.1925), pp. 56-62.

fought against the Muslims in their homeland for over seven centuries. In this way, the stage was set for the Spanish-Muslim Wars in the Philippines.

The Spanish-Muslim Wars

Spain had a definite missionary purpose to Christianize the Philippines. Spain converted most of the pagan people in the northern and central islands and stopped the spread of Islam from the south, but Spain was not able to eliminate the faith of the Prophet. For over 300 years, Spain was in constant conflict with the Muslims of the southern Philippines. The Muslim threat to the central islands forced the Spanish to build and maintain strong networks of forts in strategic locations.[29]

The fifty-five volume work on The Philippine Islands: 1493-1803 by Blair and Robertson is a collection of Spanish documents and contains a running account of the Spanish-Muslim wars. One account lists five causes for these "Spanish-Moro" wars.

1. To make Mindanao and Sulu colonies of Spain.
2. To convert Philippine Muslims to Christianity.
3. To secure and control the trade of the area.
4. To destroy the sea-faring activities of the Muslims and make them peaceful agriculturists, and

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[29]Cole, pp. 34-38.

5. To punish the Muslims for their depredations in Luzon and Visayas.[30]

The year 1578 is generally considered as marking the beginning of the Spanish-Moro wars. It was at this time that the Spanish Governor of the Philippines, Francisco de Sande, sent Captain Rodriquez de Figuero to attack the Muslim stronghold of Jolo with the following orders:

> You shall give them to understand that they are ignorant of God, our Lord, who created and redeemed them, so that they may know and serve him and become good. . . .
>
> You shall order them not to admit any more preachers of the doctrine of Mohammed, since it is evil and false, and that of the Christians alone is good. And because we have been in these regions so short a time, the lord of Mindanao has been deceived by the preachers of Bruney [Borneo], and the people have become Moros. You shall tell them that our object is that he shall be converted to Christianity; and that he must allow us fully to preach the law of the Christians.
>
> And you shall try to ascertain who are the preachers of the sect of Mohammed, and shall seize them and bring them before me and you shall burn or destroy the house where that accursed doctrine has been preached.[31]

These Spanish troops under Figueroa successfully attacked the fort of Jolo and defeated the Muslim forces under the leadership of Sultan Panguian in 1578. Sultan Panguian escaped and swore vengeance against the Spanish. His oath was followed by more than 300 years of Muslim raids and heavy

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[30]Lourdes B. Afable, "The Muslims as an Ethnic Minority in the Philippines," Philippine Sociological Review, VIII (1960), 16.

[31]Saleeby, pp. 49-52.

losses to both Christian and Muslim Filipinos.[32] The forces which the Spanish sent against the Muslims in Sulu and Mindanao were inadequate to subdue and control the Muslims permanently. They might have been adequate for the less organized Filipino groups in the Visayas, but against the Muslims they provoked bitter vengeance and the spread of Islam.[33]

In 1595, Figueroa again began planning an expedition to subject the Muslims of Sulu and Mindanao. This was an attempt to end the slave raids which the Muslims frequently made on the central Visayan Islands. Figueroa again defeated Sultan Panguian of Sulu and forced him to pay tribute, but Figueroa was not able to subdue the Maguindanao Muslims. In a second major attempt to conquer the Maguindanaos in 1596, Figueroa was killed in ambush by a Muslim warrior.[34]

In the early part of the seventeenth century the Spanish tried to avenge a raid which the Sulu Muslims had made in the central islands. Spanish troops landed at Jolo in 1602, but the Muslims withdrew and broke off contact. The Spanish soldiers were ordered to destroy anything of value and "to

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[32]H. Otley Beyer and Prof. Jamie C. de Vera, The Philippine Saga (Manila: The Evening News, c.1947), p. 65.

[33]Saleeby, p. 63.

[34]H. de la Costa, S.J., The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, c.1961), p. 150.

cut down cocoanut groves, trees, orchards, towns, and houses." This order was fully implemented, leaving the Jolo area in ruins. The Maguindanao Muslims with the help of the Celebes Muslims made daring raids in Mindoro and Luzon carrying away goods and captives in the same year. The Spanish retaliation was diverted by the attempts of the Dutch to establish themselves in the Moluccas to control the spice trade in that area.

In October, 1603, the Maguindanaos successfully raided Dulag on the east coast of Leyte. Among their captives was a Spanish Jesuit. The Muslims made a blood compact with several of the datus[35] in Leyte who agreed to help them in driving the Spanish out of the islands. The Muslim raiders returned home via the east coast of Mindanao and enroute were feted by a Muslim datu in Surigao. They then continued south around the tip of Mindanao to their sanctuary on the Polangi River (Rio Grande) of Cotabato.

The Spanish Jesuit prisoner, Melchor Hurtado, was taken to their headquarters at Buayan. Here he saw other Muslim leaders from Sulu and Brunei. He reported that the Muslims "tried to persuade him to be baptized and to receive their law." He replied that he preferred death to becoming a Muslim. To this the Muslims responded that any Muslim worthy of the

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[35] Datu is still used for "chief" or "leader" in Muslim and pagan tribes. In some Christian areas it means "wealthy person."

name felt the same way. Sultan Sirongan of the Maguindanaos was well versed in Islamic law, and he was curious to learn more about Christianity. He enjoyed disputing with Hurtado about religious subjects.[36]

Hurtado was respected by the Maguindanaos and well treated by them until he was released. In 1605, he voluntarily returned to the area and successfully negotiated a treaty with Sultan Sirongan. According to the terms of the treaty, the Spanish recognized Sirongan as "lord of the Maguindanaos." In return Sirongan agreed to swear allegiance to the king of Spain, to make war only in self-defense, to discontinue all raids on Spanish territory, to release all Christian captives, to give assistance to the Spanish government upon request, and to give no assistance to the enemies of Spain. Sirongan even agreed to permit Christian missionaries in Maguindanao territory with the understanding "that we will not be compelled to abandon our own religion for that of the Spaniards; but if any of us should wish of his own free will to embrace the Christian religion he will not be prevented from doing so."[37] This treaty was subject to ratification by the Spanish officials, but, before this was done, the Spanish Governor-general died, and the internal

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[36]Costa, pp. 282-286.

[37]Ibid., pp. 305-306.

situation changed once again among the Maguindanaos. What had promised to be a diplomatic victory for Spain and a real opportunity for the Christian mission was completely lost as hostilities were renewed.

From 1605 to 1635 the Muslims from Maguindanao, who were later joined by those from Sulu, renewed their devastating raids on the central islands, sometimes reaching as far north as Luzon. They took prisoners who were either sold as slaves or ransomed by the Spanish. The Spanish made punitive raids on Jolo, but this only increased the ferocity of the Muslim raids. The building of the first Spanish fort at Zamboanga was begun on April 6, 1635 as a means of keeping the Muslim raiders from sailing north. The situation was complicated further in this period when the Dutch tried to enlist the aid of the Maguindanaos against the Spanish.[38]

In March 1637, the Spanish under the leadership of Governor Corcuera were temporarily able to stop the Muslim raids. The Maguindanao forces under Sultan Kudrat were completely defeated by the Spanish. Spanish forts were set up in the Maguindanao strongholds of Buayan and Maguindanao, now Cotabato City. Later Kudrat was able to regain some of his power and the Spanish forts had to be abandoned. Almost one year later Corcuera captured the fort at Jolo. The Sulu

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[38] Ibid., pp. 322-328.

leader, Bungsu, escaped, but the Spanish were able to maintain the fort at Jolo. The Spanish took much tribute and many Muslims as slaves to Manila where Corcuera was given a hero's welcome.

In 1639, the Maranao tribe of the Lake Lanao area of Mindanao were reportedly still pagans, but some of their leaders were said to be Muslims. They numbered around 8,000, living in four large towns and fifty villages around the lake. A Spanish contingent under the command of Atienza was sent to subject them. By taking six collapsible gun boats overland from near Iligan to the lake and re-assembling them there, the Spanish successfully subdued the entire lake area. "Atienza asked for hostages, tribute and the free preaching of the Christian religion. The datus agreed."[39] The area was then assigned to the Jesuits to establish Christian mission work. These mission efforts will be described in the following chapter.[40]

Sultan Kudrat of Maguindanao encouraged the Maranaos to rebel against the Spanish forces.

> You men of the lake, forgetting your ancient liberty, have submitted to the Castillians. Such submission is sheer stupidity. You cannot realize to what your surrender binds you. You are selling yourselves to

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[39] Ibid., p. 398.

[40] Infra, pp. 121-122.

> slavery to toil for the benefit of these foreigners. . . . Look at the regions that have already submitted to them. Note how abject is the misery to which their peoples are now reduced. Behold the condition of the Tagalogs and the Visayans whose chiefs are trampled upon by the meanest Castillians. If you are of no better spirit than them, then you must expect similar treatment. You, like them, will be obliged to row the galleys. Just as they do, you will have to toil at ship-building and labor without ceasing on other public works. You can see for yourself that you will experience the harshest treatment while thus employed. . . . Be men. Let me aid you to resist. All the strength of my sultanate, I promise you, shall be in your defense.[41]

The Maranaos forced the Spanish to abandon their fort at Dansalan and to withdraw to Iligan. Spanish troops patrolling in the area were frequently ambushed. In 1642 Francisco de Mendoza, a Jesuit priest, accompanied one of these patrols. He was a zealous missionary with a desire to help the Maranaos. He distinguished himself particularly by caring for the sick. He had learned as much practical medicine as possible to be better able to help the Maranaos. He thought that in this way the Maranaos might be disposed to give the Gospel a hearing. In an ambush somewhere between Iligan and Dansalan Mendoza was killed.[42]

In 1645 and 1646 Alejandeo Lopez, another Jesuit, was

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[41]Peter G. Gowing, Mosque and Moro (Manila: Philippine Federation of Christian Churches, c.1964), p. 21. Quoted from Hadji Madki Alonto's article "Islam in the Philippines," Fookien Times Yearbook, 1960, p. 239. It is significant that not a word of religious motivation is evident in Kudrat's appeal to the Lanao datus.

[42]Costa, pp. 384-399.

successful in negotiating a treaty with Sultan Kudrat of Maguindanao and Rajah Bungsu as Sultan of Sulu. This Lopez Treaty was in the form of a defensive alliance between Spain and the two Muslim areas. There was a provision for "the free preaching of Christianity." The Spanish Governor, Atienza, personally visited both areas to ratify the treaty as a representative of the Spanish crown. As a result of this treaty, the Jesuits expanded their mission efforts into Basilan, Sulu and Zamboanga. Later they were able to send men to Borneo from Zamboanga.[43]

In 1651 the Jesuit prospect of converting Philippine Islam was very bright, and plans were made to send missionaries throughout the Muslim areas. However, the period of peace did not last long, as each side began to accuse the other of infractions of the treaty. Lopez was sent on an urgent mission to Kudrat to try to preserve the peace. Lopez told Kudrat that if all the Maguindanaos would become Christians, then the source of all friction would be removed. This proposal infuriated Kudrat (who was later killed by assassins at Buayan). A few months later the Maguindanaos raided the Visayas in 1656 and took one thousand captives. The Sulus also renewed their raiding activities. Due to Chinese threats of capturing Manila, the Spanish troops at Zamboanaga were

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[43] Ibid., pp. 442-445.

recalled to help defend Manila. The Jesuit missionaries were withdrawn with the troops in 1662.[44] Never again did the Spanish missionaries have such an opportunity to freely send missionaries in the Muslim areas of Lanao, Maguindanao and Sulu. It seems that the development of Philippine Islam was in a beginning stage at this period and that a concerted effort could have resulted in mass conversions to Christianity. Instead, the course of events led to renewed hostility between Christianity and Islam and to a permanent division between the two groups in the southern Philippines.

It was 1718 before the Spanish garrison at Zamboanga was restored. In 1737 Alimuddin, the Sultan of Sulu, and Sultan Pakia Maulana Kamza of Maguindanao signed a treaty with the Spanish governor providing for a defensive-offensive alliance and for keeping the peace in their respective areas. This treaty made no provision for granting freedom for Christian missionaries to preach in Muslim areas as the previous treaties had done. In an effort to correct the omission King Philip V wrote to both Sultan Alimuddin and Sultan Kamza asking that missionaries be permitted in their respective areas and stating that the Sultans should embrace the Roman Catholic faith since it was the only true faith. Both Sultans responded that they had always permitted missionaries to preach to their

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[44] Ibid., pp. 447-451.

people. Alimuddin added that his own son, Prince Israel, was being instructed by one of the Jesuit fathers. He responded favorably to King Philip that special considerations were given to the Jesuits,

> because of the edifying and virtuous life of these priests, who are regarded by all in our kingdom as dedicated men. Many of my subjects who have journeyed on their lawful occasions to the islands of your Majesty have been so graciously and hospitably received by these fathers that they cannot but show them the most respectful consideration. Your Majesty invites me to look upon the Catholic religion as the only true one. I shall endeavor to follow this suggestion insofar as God gives me the time, the grace and the light for it.[45]

More information on the life of the colorful Sultan Alimuddin will follow in the next chapter.[46]

By the middle of the eighteenth century, Spanish accounts describe how again and again villages in Leyte and Samar were able to withstand and drive off the attacks of the Muslims. These defensive efforts were usually made under the leadership of the local Spanish priest and with the aid of Spanish weapons. The same situation prevailed in Eastern Mindanao as Spanish control replaced Muslim suzerainty.[47]

As late as the nineteenth century Muslim sailors from southern Mindanao and Sulu made raids throughout the Philippines and struck terror into the hearts of the Spanish and Filipinos.

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[45] Ibid., pp. 543-544.

[46] Infra, pp. 125-129.

[47] BR, XLVIII, 47-51.

The fear of the brave Moro warrior who raided these islands still lingers in the minds of most Christian Filipinos. Filipino Muslims sailed as far as Borneo and Malaya preying on coastal towns and merchant ships bound for Singapore. They were known as the Lanum tribe from Mindanao and the Balanini tribe from Sulu. They wrought havoc and were feared wherever they sailed during the time of the "pirate winds" of the monsoon season. They used larger boats and crews than the Malay sailors of Malaya and Sumatra. In 1851 the Spanish finally exerted a measure of control in Mindanao and Sulu in order to bring an end to the Muslim raids.[48]

The Spanish Christian contact with the Muslims in the Philippines was more favorable to Christianity than that of the Portuguese in other parts of Southeast Asia. Yet the general result of the Spanish policy generated a negative attitude toward Christianity on the part of Filipino Muslims. It also resulted in Filipino Christian attitudes of fear, suspicion and hatred toward the Filipino Muslim. A Christian Filipino historian, Teodoro Agoncillo, has described the Christian-Muslim relationship in the Philippines as follows:

> One wonders why the Muslim brother has not been integrated into the Philippine body politic. There are obvious reasons. One is that as a non-Christian who has for centuries struggled for his individual identity he has come to suspect his Christian brother of betrayal,

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[48]Hall, p. 454.

> for the latter was used by the conquerors in the attempt to obliterate Muslim culture and religion. Consequently the Muslim casts suspicious eyes on his Christian brother who, he thinks, is afflicted with Messianic delusions. There is nothing more abominable to the Muslim than to be told to discard his "Moro" way of life. Then, too, the various governments of the Philippines from the Spanish down to recent times, have utterly neglected the Muslims, let alone the other minorities. Because of his fierce love of his culture and religion, the Muslim is looked down upon as an aberration--"a Moro"--, with all its ugly implications. The result is that he becomes antagonistic to any attempt to bring him to the Christian society's fold, for he believes that this attempt is not made because he is loved, but because his conversion to the Christian way of life is necessary. The proud Muslim does not accept such imposition.[49]

To the Filipino Muslim Spain was the aggressor who tried to drive him from his homeland. When the Muslims in the southern Philippines learned that Spain defeated the Muslims and converted the pagans in the northern Philippines, it is no wonder that they were determined to fight and defend their home and their religion to the last drop of blood. Nevertheless, if in 1646, Spain had taken the Muslim threat more seriously and placed a permanent garrison in Jolo after General Corcuera had conquered it, the "Moro problem" would, in all probability, have been solved once and for all time. But the frequent changes of Spanish governors with their differing policies toward the Muslims and the lack of intention or the failure to keep the treaties which the Spanish made with the

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[49]Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Oscar M. Alfonso, A Short History of the Filipino People (Manila: University of the Philippines, 1960), p. 17.

Muslims led to centuries of bloodshed and the intensification of "the Moro problem." The after-effects of Spanish policy are still felt today in Muslim-Christian relationships in the Republic of the Philippines.[50]

In his History of Sulu, Najeeb Saleeby briefly describes the results of over three hundred years of Spanish relations with Islam in the Philippines:

> The religion and racial prejudices of the two nations were never overcome and the Sulus maintained a feeling of revulsion and distrust toward Spaniards and Christian Filipinos.[51]

The results of this period are still evident in the southern Philippines today. In an area where the Muslims are in the majority, the Christian Filipino often faces both psychological and physical hostility and sometimes is forced to move to another area. On the other hand, in the area where the Christian Filipino predominates, the Muslim Filipino is sometimes subject to indignities, injustices, and physical violence. Much work remains to be done on the part of both Christian and Muslim to correct this situation. Peter Gowing a young, American missionary-teacher of church history in the Philippines, has said:

> Warfare, alternately hot and cold, has raged between Muslims and Christians in the Philippines for well nigh 400 years and peace has not yet been made. Treachery,

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[50] Saleeby, pp. 150-152.

[51] Ibid., p. 167.

> cruelty, reckless slaughter and hatred and suspicion have characterized contenders on both sides. For its part, Christianity's record of dealing with Muslims in this country (not to mention elsewhere) shows more shadows than lights. This record must improve--but it will not improve until old hatreds are forgotten, until new attitudes are born.[52]

The United States replaced Spain as the sovereign power in the Philippines as a result of the Spanish-American War in 1898. The United States inherited the "Moro problem," but after a series of bloody battles the Americans were able to bring the Philippine Muslims under control. A major reason that the American forces were able to subdue the Muslims was that, from the very beginning, they promised the free exercise of religion. This was something the Spanish had never offered; they had tried to convert the Muslim by force and they had utterly failed. The Bates Treaty, which was approved by President William McKinley on October 27, 1899, stated in Article Three:

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[52]Gowing, p. vi. In Balo-i, Lanao del Norte, where the population is ninety per cent Maranao Muslims, there is a small Lutheran congregation of eight communicant members. One of the members, a widow, with her teen-aged son, had to abandon her small farm plot on the edge of town due to threats from her Muslim neighbors. Another member was at home with her small children when a group of Muslims came and took most of her possessions while her husband was away. After these incidents, both of these families moved in closer to the center of town. In Linamon, Lanao del Norte, on the coast, the Christian population is in the majority. Here, on a fiesta day in 1964, a group of Christian Filipinos were beating a Maranao Muslim to death, until the writer intervened to stop them. This incident took place in front of Holy Trinity Lutheran Church.

> The rights and dignities of the Sultans and his Datus shall be fully respected; the Moros shall not be interferred with on account of their religion; all of their religious customs shall be respected and no one shall be persecuted on account of his religion.[53]

Thus the American administration created a good image among many Muslims by its treatment of the Muslims in the Philippines. There is still a reservoir of good will among Filipino Muslims toward Americans today due to the policies carried out toward the Muslims. The United States has also received praise from the other parts of the Muslim world. A noted Muslim scholar, Kurd Ali, writes:

> The colonial administration of the Americans such as that over the Philippine Islands considered the welfare of these Islands. They helped the Muslims of these islands--said to number two million--to rise to a higher level leading them from savagery toward civilization.[54]

The Dutch in the East Indies

By the end of the sixteenth century both the Dutch and the British had found the route to the Indies via the Cape of Good Hope. Thus they challenged the Portuguese for control of the spice trade. The Dutch found this to be a very profitable business, and in 1598 sent out five major expeditions which visited the ports of Java, the Moluccas, Sumatra,

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[53]Victor Hurley, The Swish of the Kris (New York: E. P. Dutton Co., 1936), p. 262.

[54]G. E. von Grunebaum, Islam (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1961), p. 206.

Borneo, Siam, Manila, Canton, and Japan. From the Netherlands some of their ships sailed east via Africa and others west via the straits of Magellan around South America.

In 1600 the Dutch negotiated their first important treaty with the chief of Ambonia in the southeastern end of the Indonesian archipelago. They reached agreement to buy all the cloves produced there. The Portuguese tried to drive them out of the islands, but they were unsuccessful. In order to consolidate their various commercial activities, the Dutch formed the United East India Company on the pattern of the English East India Company.

Spain attempted to assist Portugal against the Dutch in Southeast Asia to keep them from gaining a foothold in the islands, but by 1609 the Dutch controlled a large share of the spice trade and signed the "Twelve Years Truce" with Spain. The Dutch then endeavored to remove all competition and gain a virtual monopoly over the spice trade. This meant they also had to contend with the English, who had followed the Dutch into the area.[55]

During the Dutch expansion in the Indies, one of the local chieftains, Sunan Agung of Mataram, had become very powerful in Java and some of the nearby islands. When the Dutch refused to help him in his expansion efforts, he attacked

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[55]Hall, pp. 225-235.

Batavia in 1629. Agung's army was finally forced to retreat because the Dutch ships successfully blockaded his supply line. Sunan Agung was a fervent Muslim and he established relations with Muslims in Arabia. As a result, Hall reports:

> A new wave of Islamic missionary activity began in Indonesia.
>
> Pilgrims from Mecca sought to revive and intensify the faith of the people, who, though nominally Muslim, still clung to most of their old traditional customs and observances. Agung proclaimed a holy war against the two regions, Balambagan and the island of Bali, which until then had held out against conversion to Islam. In 1639 he conquered Balambagan and deported much of its population. Bali, however, resisted his attacks with exemplary courage and maintained its independence.[56]

In January 1641 after the Dutch conquered Malacca they were not only able to strengthen their control of the spice trade but to weaken the influence of Agung.[57]

During the Dutch efforts to replace the Portuguese, the Dutch enlisted the assistance of the Achehnese Muslims of Sumatra to fight against the Portuguese stronghold of Malacca. Later the Dutch persuaded the Sultan of Johore on the tip of Malaya to join them in driving out the Portuguese. In 1640 the fort at Malacca was captured. At this time many of the Muslim traders of Johore fled to Borneo, the Celebes, and the Moluccas in the eastern end of the Indonesian archipelago. The Achehnese lost much of their importance as Dutch influence

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[56]Hall, pp. 253-254.

[57]Ibid., p. 254.

made Johore a political and commercial power.[58]

It was to trade in spices and not to do missionary work that the Dutch had been attracted to Southeast Asia. They established headquarters at Batavia (now Djakarta) in Java. In 1641, after the Dutch had driven the Portuguese out of Johore, they were able to dominate all trade with the Indies by applying savage military force against both the English and the Portuguese.

For one hundred and fifty years the Dutch ruled the local chieftains in Indonesia with a strong, cruel hand. They forced the people to pay tribute and to supply spices on Dutch terms. This generated such hatred toward the Dutch traders of the United East India Company that the Dutch government was forced to take control of the situation by 1798. Some of the worst abuses were corrected. After the French invasion of the Netherlands, the English took over the islands of Indonesia from the Dutch, but reluctantly returned them to Dutch control in accordance with the Treaty of Amiens in 1802.

The Dutch government either discouraged or prevented all Christian mission efforts among the Muslims, although it stopped the pagan practices of human sacrifice and mutilation and, at a later date, even encouraged Christian missions in pagan areas such as the Batak area in central Sumatra.[59] In

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[58]Ginsburg, pp. 30-32.

[59]Cole, p. 39. Hall, pp. 430-431.

this way the Dutch actually aided the spread of Islam is Southeast Asia. The policy of religious neutrality, the government's fear of stirring up religious strife among the Muslims, and the initial prohibition of Christian missions in many areas, actually gave Islam a favored position in the eyes of the non-Muslim inhabitants of the Indonesian archipelago during the early decades of Dutch rule.[60] After the Dutch opened up the interior area of Borneo, Islam penetrated there beyond the coastal cities and river areas. Before that time, the jungle had acted as an effective barrier to the penetration of Islam.[61]

Through the unification of the Indonesian archipelago under the Dutch, Islam was able to expand throughout the islands. Sufism's influence gradually faded out while more

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[60] J. Rauws, "Islam and Christianity in Malaysia," Moslem World, I (1911), 242-243. Also Gottfried Simon, The Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra, translated from the German by E. I. M. Boyd (London, Edinburgh and New York: Marshall Brothers, Ltd., Publishers, 1912), p. 25. These judgments of Dutch policy are made by Dutch authors. Stephen Neill, an English missiologist, writes of the Dutch period in Indonesia, "throughout the whole of this period Islam . . . continued to spread; in view of later history it may be thought likely that, if the Dutch had taken their Christian responsibilities seriously, whole regions could have been Christianized before Islam had ever reached them." Stephen Neill, Colonialism and Christian Missions (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., c.1966), p. 179.

[61] S. B. Scott, "Mohammedanism in Borneo," Journal of the American Oriental Society, XXXIII (1913), 319.

orthodox Muslim teaching took its place.[62] Thus the Dutch, as well as the Portuguese, contributed to the spread of Islam in the islands.

The policies of the Dutch continued to provoke local uprisings by their abuse of the leaders and the people. This involved the Dutch in costly military operations which greatly decreased their profits from the spice trade. In controlling the spice trade, they followed the policy of "buy cheap, sell dear." In doing this, they felt it necessary to cut down clove trees and other spice-producing plants when there was a temporary overproduction. This destructive, selfish policy resulted in reducing the natives in some islands to an unprecedented state of poverty and actually drove some of them into piracy. The natives were treated almost like slaves by their Dutch masters and were cruelly explointed for financial gain. In this manner, the Dutch continued to expand their control from the Achehnese pepper trade in the north to the other spices of the Celebes islands in the south.[63]

In the last part of the nineteenth century there was

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[62]C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze, Aspects of Islam in Post-Colonial Indonesia (The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve Ltd., c.1958), p. 43. Cf. Hall, 266-280.

[63]Hall, pp. 260-265. Cf. Schrieke, p. 73. This Dutch scholar notes that the Dutch policy of attempting to gain a monopoly on the spice trade in the eastern end of the archipelago through the destruction of spice-producing plants, led to a reaction against the Dutch and aided the spread of Islam in these islands.

another uprising among the fanatical Achehnese Muslims in northern Sumatra. The Achehnese religious leaders proclaimed a holy war against the Dutch "infidel" which proved long and costly to the Dutch government. It took until 1908 to bring about effective control of this area. In the pacification of the Achehnese, the Dutch established good relations with Mecca and encouraged the Achehnese to go on the pilgrimage, the hajj, to Mecca. More liberal policies in other parts of the islands were introduced. During the first part of the twentieth century the Dutch finally began to realize substantial profits from the islands of the East Indies.[64]

The British in Malaya

It has already been necessary to refer to the English due to their relationship with the Dutch. At one time the Portuguese and Spanish Roman Catholic powers combined to attempt to keep the Dutch out of Southeast Asia. Later the Dutch and the English joined hands against the Portuguese in attempting to gain a foothold in the area. After this the Dutch and English fought each other for control of the spice trade. The Dutch gained the upper hand and dominated the area, with the exception of the Spanish Philippines, until 1824, when the Malayan peninsula came under English control.[65]

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[64]Hall, pp. 496-498.

[65]Mahmud, p. 484.

In the interest of economic and military bases in Southeast Asia, the English established themselves in Penang, an off-shore island of the Malayan peninsula, in 1786 and in Singapore in 1819. These strategic bases made possible the penetration of the entire Malayan peninsula. The English had tried and had been unsuccessful in establishing permanent bases earlier in the Indonesian archipelago, in the Moluccas and in Sulu in the Philippines.[66] However they did gain control over the northern portion of the large island of Borneo.

In the first part of the nineteenth century, after the British gained control over Singapore and other areas along the Malayan coastline, they were able to exert greater influence over the interior by their tactful approach to the various Muslim sultans. Britain agreed not to interfere with either native custom or religion. Thus the British government would not permit missionary work among the Muslim population of Malaya, but it did allow mission work among the Chinese and Indian population of the area.[67] Although Christian mission effort among the Muslims was officially discouraged, it is reported that Bible Society colporteurs were allowed to travel freely and hundreds of thousands of copies

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[66]Hall, pp. 421-433.

[67]Cole, pp. 45-49.

of Scripture portions were sold.[68]

In 1895, Johore which had refused to join the federation of Malay states, ratified its own constitution. It provided for a Council of Ministers who must all be Malay Muslims and a Council of States made up of citizens of Johore regardless of race or religion. The British permitted this policy to become effective.[69] As the British control over the Malay states expanded, the British resident in each of the states was given authority in all "matters of administration other than those touching the Muhammedan religion." This policy was first put into effect under Resident-General Sir Frank Swettenham in July, 1896.[70]

Without resorting to oppressive military or economic tactics, the British gained control of the Malay states of the Malayan peninsula. They controlled external and internal affairs "except in the matters concerning Malay religion and Malay custom."[71] This is in sharp contrast to the cruel measures adopted by the Portuguese and the Dutch in Indonesia. The policy begun by the British, however, has led to a situation which makes it practically impossible for the

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[68]Basil Mathews, Unfolding Drama in Southeast Asia (New York: Friendship Press, c.1944), p. 48.

[69]Hall, p. 488.

[70]Ibid., pp. 482-483.

[71]Ginsburg, p. 95.

Muslims in Malaya to be confronted with the Christian message. Government restrictions, still in effect, make it illegal to evangelize the Muslims of Malaysia. The Federal Constitution of Malaya has defined a "Malay" as a "person who professes the Muslim religion, habitually speaks the Malay language and conforms to Malay customs."[72]

Conclusion

An examination of the period of political history of Southeast Asia from the sixteenth century until the twentieth century reveals how Christianity and Islam came in contact in the island world of Southeast Asia. It has not been possible to refer to the political history without making reference to the mission history because they are so closely interwoven.

It would be easier to understand this period of contact from a Muslim point of view if no distinction were made between the political and mission history, because the Oriental in general and the Muslim in particular knows of no such distinction. To the Muslim in Southeast Asia, the coming of the European nations into Southeast Asia meant the coming of Christianity to this part of the world. The Muslims found the Christian forces fighting against them, trying to take the produce of their land and reduce them to virtual

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[72]I. Talog Davies, "'Malay' as Defined in the States Malay Reservation Enactments," Intisari, I, 2, 27-28.

slavery. The Muslims also saw the Christian forces fighting against each other and even forming alliances with Muslim rulers to fight against Christian enemies.

CHAPTER IV

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM

A HISTORICAL-THEOLOGICAL SURVEY

The Christian mission to Islam is not generally emphasized in the history of Christian missions. One reason is that as soon as Islam came on the scene with such vibrant force, the Christian church was placed on the defensive. Within the first Islamic century almost half of the Christian areas of the Mediterranean basin were in the hands of the Muslims. It took more than seven centuries for the Spanish to drive the Muslims out of the Iberian Peninsula. The North African and Middle Eastern areas of the early conquests are still under Muslim control today. Another factor in the neglect of the Christian mission to Islam was the state of the Christian Church in areas where Islam came into contact with Christianity.

The State of the Church in the Early Seventh Century

The ecumenical councils of the fourth and fifth centuries resolved the theological and christological issues but failed to put an end to controversy about them. These controversies continued until after the rise of Islam and resulted in various factions and divisions in the Church. The situation

was further complicated by attempts of the temporal political power to enforce doctrinal uniformity. Thus the dangers to the Church from without were amplified by the dangers from within.[1]

An American church historian, Williston Walker, said of this period, with some exaggeration:

> The effect of the Christological controversies was disastrous to the church and state. By the close of the sixth century the Roman state church of the East has been rent, and separated churches, Nestorian and Monophysite, had been torn from it. Egypt and Syria were profoundly disaffected toward the government and religion of Constantinople--a fact that largely accounts for the rapid conquests of those lands by Mohammedanism in the seventh century.[2]

During this period there was also great rivalry between the various Christian theological schools. Alexandria was jealous of Antioch. Antioch influenced the Syrians and the Nestorians which were the first Christian churches to have contact with Islam in the Middle East. Later, Islam was also influenced by the mysticism and Neoplatonism of Alexandria. This competition between the schools resulted in internal weakness and a negative external witness to the Christian faith at the time of the appearance of Islam from the deserts of Arabia.

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[1] J. Windrow Sweetman, Islam and Christian Theology (London: Lutterworth Press, c.1945-1955), I, 1, 42-45.

[2] Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church, revised by Cyril C. Richardson, et al. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, c.1959), p. 145.

Alexandrian theology stressed the doctrine of the Incarnation as the fundamental touchstone of Christian theology, while Antioch stressed the revealed Scripture as the source of truth about the historical Jesus. Origen in his emphasis on scriptural theology, exegesis, textual criticism, grammar and linguistics later exerted an influence on Islam with its stress on a revealed scripture. Much of the work of Origen probably served as an example for the systematization of similar efforts in Islam. The work of Origen was also highly respected in the schools of Antioch and Cappadocia.[3]

The Nestorians who were banished from the Byzantine Empire in the first half of the fifth century found refuge in Persia where anti-imperial attitudes flourished in the Church of the East. In the course of time, both the Church of the East and the Syrian "Jacobites" carried on an admirable work of the Christian mission in Central Asia and as far as the Mongol courts of China. Much of their work was lost to Islam as this area became a center of the later Muslim empire.[4] However, pockets of both "Nestorian" and "Jacobite" Christians still exist in Iraq and Iran today.[5]

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[3]Sweetman, I, 1, 45-47.

[4]James Thayer Addison, The Christian Approach to the Moslem (New York: Columbia University Press, c.1942), pp. 13-14.

[5]John Joseph, The Nestorians and Their Muslim Neighbors (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, c.1961). A full history of the Nestorians who still live in the Kurdish

The Early Islamic Period

At the time Muhammad introduced Islam in 622 A.D., much of the Christianity was marked by several characteristics. In many places it was allied with political power, and again in many places it was absorbed in fierce doctrinal disputes. In addition in certain areas of the Middle East, the Christian masses were poorly indoctrinated, and the clergy was poorly equipped. All this did not present a favorable image of the Church to Muhammad or his successors.[6]

The first major Church Father to try to come to grips with Islam was John of Damascus. He knew Islam first hand almost from its beginning. He confronted Muslims in person and through his writings. An apologetic approach to Islam which is sometimes followed down to the present day marks his writings on Islam, among them are: Πηγὴ Γνώσεως (Dialectica), Περὶ Αἱρεσεῶν (De Haeresibus), Περὶ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Πίστεως (De Fidei Orthodoxa), and Διάλεξις Σαρακήνου καί Χριστιάνου (Disceptatio Christiani et Saraceni).

In De Haeresibus John of Damascus presented the following picture of Muhammad and his teaching:

> In the reign of Heraclius "Mamed" arose, instructed in all probability by an Arian monk. "Mamed" claimed to

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Muslim area of Iran and Iraq despite centuries of hardships and persecutions. A concluding section deals with the continuation of the mission to Islam.

[6]Addison, p. 17.

> have received a book from Heaven . . . the Qur'an teaches that God is one, the Creator, neither begotten nor begetting (Sura cxii. 3); that Christ is a word of God and His Spirit (Sura lv. 169), but a creature and a servant, born without seed from Mary, the sister of Moses and Aaron; the Word and the Spirit came into Mary and she bore Jesus, a Prophet and Servant of God; the Jews unlawfully proposed to crucify Him, and, apprehending Him, they crucified Him only in appearance for Christ was really not crucified nor did He die, but God took Him to heaven for love of Him. When Christ came to Heaven God asked Him whether He had said He was the Son of God and God, and He denied it "Men, the sinners, wrote that I said this."[7]

This indicates that John of Damascus had a better understanding of the teachings of Islam than many Christians who followed him. A strong polemic developed between Islam and Christianity in which both sides placed strong emphasis on the nature of God and his attributes.[8]

The Muslim conquest of Christian lands occurred in North Africa, Spain and the Middle East in the early Islamic period, and Muslim rulers forbade the propagation of Christianity. The tolerated Christian minorities were forbidden to make any attempt to convert the Muslims. The death penalty was pronounced on any Muslim who became a Christian. In areas free of Muslim control, Christian contact with Muslims was generally in wars fought to prevent further Muslim expansion. Under

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[7]Sweetman, I, 1, 64-65. "Sura" is the term for a chapter in the Qur'an.

[8]D. M. Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory (Beyrouth: Khayats, 1965), p. 133.

such circumstances, it is easy to understand why there was no Christian mission to Islam in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries,[9] the period in which Muslim civilization reached its greatest heights of splendor and wealth under the early Abbasid caliphs.

The Early Christian Mission to Islam

The Crusades brought the Christian powers of Europe in direct conflict with the Muslim power of the Ayyubid Dynasty of Egypt. Although most of the Muslim world was not concerned about the Crusades, they did have the effect of widening the gap between Muslim and Christian and making the Christian mission to Islam even more difficult. It was not until the thirteenth century that the missionary was considered a better agent than the soldier for dealing with Islam. The crusading spirit which had prevailed before this time and was often motivated by selfishness rather than self-denial. As early as 1141, Peter the Venerable, while on a tour of Spain, had realized that it was vain to combat Islam with the sword. He He commissioned a Latin translation of the Qur'an.

In 1219-1220, Francis of Assisi visited the Holy Land where he found the crusaders as much in need of the Gospel of

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[9]Addison, p. 25.

Christ as the Muslim.[10] St. Francis arranged to cross the Muslim lines and talked with the Sultan of Egypt to present the claims of Christ to him. Back in Europe, he sent a group of Franciscan monks to Morocco where five of them were martyred. Another group went to Tunis. The mission to Islam received the support of the popes and both Dominicans and Franciscans were sent to North Africa and the Middle East.[11]

In 1250, Bishop James of Vitry gave the following account of the Christian mission to Islam in Jerusalem:

> The Mohammedans listen gladly to the preaching of the monks of the Franciscan order when they speak to them of faith in Christ, and as long as they restrain themselves from railing at Mohammed. Otherwise, they run the risk of being mutilated, killed and driven away.[12]

In 1250 the provincial chapter of Toledo sent eight Dominicans to Tunis to study Arabic. One of them, Ramon Martin, wrote a handbook, Pugio fidei adversus Maurus et Judaeos, for use in the mission to Jews as well as to Muslims. Another Dominican, Ramon de Pennyafort,[13] claimed to have

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[10]E. L. Allen, Christianity Among the Religions (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., c.1960), pp. 11-12.

[11]Addison, pp. 37-38.

[12]Gottfried Simon, The Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra, translated from the German by E. I. M. Bogel (London, Edinburgh and New York: Marshall Brothers Ltd., Publishers, 1912), p. 266.

[13]Allen, pp. 20-21. Thomas Aquinas wrote his Summa de veritate catholica fidei contra gentiles in Rome in 1261-64 in response to the request of Ramon de Pennyafort as a "textbook

baptized two thousand converts from Islam. He also influenced Ramon Lull to study Arabic and led him to see the need for establishing colleges for the study of Oriental languages.[14]

Lull, the first great example of a missionary to Islam, was born on the island of Majorca in 1232. He served as a tutor to the sons of King James I of Aragon. Around 1263 he was converted from a life of dissipation and dedicated himself to the spread of the Gospel. He spent nine years in the study of Latin, philosophy, theology and Arabic in preparation for the mission to Islam. He wrote The Book of Contemplation to show the importance of the mission to Islam and urged the pope to send missionaries to the Muslims. He spent twelve years in the preparation of Christian literature and

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of apologetics and missionary theology for use within the Dominican order: to be used against both Jews and Muslims in Spain. However, it is evident that Aquinas did not take the trouble to become acquainted with Islamic theology or Muhammad, but merely reiterated the erroneous caricatures and negative aspects of Islam that were prevalent in the Latin West. "We must therefore suppose that, whatever the audience Aquinas was instructed to address, the one he actually had in mind was that of the University of Paris. 'He has in view and seeks to refute the theses of the Averroism then current in Paris.'" Actual allusions to Islam are few and far between. The Summa Contra Gentiles thus was not really intended to be an aid in the Christian mission to Islam. Aquinas attempts to illustrate that there is no conflict between science (demonstrated truth) and faith (revealed truth). Cf. D. J. Kennedy, "Thomas Aquinas, Saint," The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), XIV, 663-676.

[14]Allen, pp. 12-13. Cf. W. T. A. Barber, "Raymond Lull, the Missionary," Moslem World, V (1915), 118-123.

in promoting the establishment of schools for missionaries to Islam. In 1292, at the age of sixty, he first landed in Tunis to present Christ to the Muslims, but was soon banished by the Muslim rulers. He then urged the pope to employ military force against the Muslims. He spent several years pleading, teaching, writing and travelling in Europe in the cause of the mission to Muslims.

In 1307, at the age of 75, he made his second voyage to Africa to preach to the Muslims. He was locked in prison and finally deported. In 1311 Lull persuaded the Council of Vienne to resolve to establish schools to teach Arabic, Syriac, Greek and Hebrew in Avignon, Paris, Salamanca, Bologna and Oxford. However, like many resolutions concerning the mission to Islam, it remained a pious wish and was never implemented.[15]

In 1314, at the age of 82, Lull returned to Tunis for the third and last time. He used a strongly apologetic approach when he stood in the market place at Bugia crying out, "The law of the Christians is holy and true, and the sect of the Moslems is false and wrong, and this I am prepared to prove." He was of the opinion that the power of natural reason and logic could prove successful in showing the superiority and desirability of Christianity over Islam.

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[15]Addison, pp. 41-49. Allen, p. 13. Walker, pp. 256-257.

In 1316, he was stoned to death while preaching at Bugia. It seemed to be the end he had anticipated when he wrote, "Although I am unworthy, O God, of dying for Thee, nevertheless I do not give up the hope of obtaining this holy and previous death." Ramon Lull is considered by some to have been a success in his role as a thinker and teacher, but a failure as a missionary organizer and evangelist.[16]

His motto was:

He that loves not, lives not.
He that lives by the Life cannot die.[17]

At the end of the thirteenth century, the Dominican, Ricoldo da Monte di Croce, was the first European cleric to report on Islam from the Abbasid capital of Baghdad. In his Confutio Alcorani he sets forth a number of erroneous impressions about Muhammad which are still perpetuated among Western Christians.[18] Muhammad is pictured as an unscrupulous robber chieftain subject to fits of epilepsy and as an agent of Satan. Ricoldo's Liber Peregrinationis presents Islam in a more favorable light. Here he expresses admiration of Muslim devotion to study and prayer, their acts of charity toward

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[16]Addison, pp. 48-49; Allen, p. 14.

[17]Barber, p. 123.

[18]Allen, p. 33. Luther translated Ricoldo's Confutio into German to encourage Christians disturbed by the advance of Islam and to demonstrate that the pope was a worse Anti-Christ than Muhammad.

the poor, the Muslim reverence for God's name, hospitality to strangers and the harmony among themselves which he witnessed in Baghdad. This is one of the most favorable accounts of Islam to come from a Christian source during this entire period.[19]

In the middle of the fourteenth century, Nicholas of Cusa, who was present when Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turks, looked upon Muhammad as a witness to Christ. He considered Muhammad as a Christian heretic, as John of Damascus had done before him. Nicholas further believed that after the death of Muhammad, his son-in-law, Ali, was persuaded by three crafty Jews to declare himself the successor to Muhammad. Ali, then proceeded to alter and add to the Qur'an, with the help of his three Jewish friends. Therefore, Nicholas taught, what is true in the Qur'an is of Christian origin and what is false is due to Jewish influence. Nicholas considered that Muhammad really knew who Jesus was, but because he also knew that the Arabs would not accept the truth of Jesus, he merely presented him as "the greatest of prophets and of men."[20]

A notable example of interest in the Christian mission to Islam from a Roman Catholic at the time of the Reformation

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[19]Allen, pp. 17-18.

[20]Ibid., pp. 26-29.

is that of the founder of the Society of Jesus. After a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Ignatius of Loyola conceived the idea of a holy order with the express purpose of doing mission work among Muslims. He was discouraged in this plan by the pope. Instead he organized the Society of Jesus, a missionary order under direct orders of the pope.[21]

Jesuits were the first Christian missionaries to Islam in India at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries. The first group of Jesuits was invited by Akbar, ruler of the Moghul Empire at its height, in 1580-1583. There appears to have been no permanent results of this Jesuit mission or of the one that followed it in 1590-1591. However, a third group headed by Jerome Xavier, a grand-nephew of Francis, reported around forty converts from Islam receiving Holy Communion in a church at Agra during the reign of Akbar's successor, Jahangir.[22]

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[21]Erich W. Bethmann, Bridge to Islam (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., c.1953), pp. 93-94. Cf. Horatio de la Costa, S. J., The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press), p. 4. Loyola did retain this early interest in the mission to Islam, and the Lutherans were included in the same category in the vow of obedience to the pope, which says: "they must immediately without any shuffling or excuse, undertake whatsoever His Holiness commands appertaining to the progress of souls and the propagation of the faith, whether he sends us to the Turks, or to the New World, or to the Lutherans, or to others whomsoever, infidels or Catholics."

[22]L. Bevan Jones, The People of the Mosque (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1959), p. 237.

The Reformation and Islam

At the time of the Reformation the Ottoman Turks made Islam seem a real threat to Eastern Europe. Luther considered the Turk to be the sign of the devil's wrath before the imminent end of the world. He viewed the task of fighting against the Turk as doing the work of God. However, Luther also saw the need of a thorough understanding of Islam. He wrote a lengthy introduction and conclusion to the translation of the Qur'an by Ricoldo (Brother Richard).[23] He used his influence to help the Swiss theologian, Bibliander, publish his translation of the Qur'an and his history of Islam. This was printed in Basel, after the city council had previously refused permission to print such a "hellish law." Bibliander had a strong desire to evangelize the Muslims, but he was discouraged from doing so by Bullinger.[24]

Luther also advised soldiers who were taken prisoners by the Ottomans to witness to their faith. Referring to the rite vocatus, he advised that when a Christian is in a place

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[23] "Verlegung des Alcoran Bruder Richardi Prediger Ordens." Verdeutscht und herausgegeben durch D. M. Luther 1542 D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimar: Herman Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1920), LIII, 272-396. This was a reissue of a work already several centuries old at the time of Luther. Hereafter the Weimar Edition shall be referred to as WA.

[24] "Theodor Biblianders Koranausgabe." Vorrede Luthers 1543. WA, LIII, 569-572. Cf. Bethmann, p. 93.

> where there are no Christians, there he needs no other call than that he is a Christian who is inwardly called and anointed by God. There it is his obligation to preach to the erring heathen and non-Christian, and to teach the Gospel as a duty of Christian love, even though no one calls him to do this. (Da keyn Christen sind, da darff er keyns anders beruffs den das er eyn Christen ist, ynnwendig von Gott beruffen und gesalbet. Do ist er schuldig, denn yrrenden heyden odder unchristen tzu predigen und tzu leren das Evangelion aus pflicht bruderlicher liebe, ob yhn schon keyn mensch datzu berufft.)[25]

Luther decried the ignorance regarding the Ottoman Muslims among Christians in Germany and Italy. He wrote:

> To be sure, it has and often has annoyed me and still does, that neither our great lords nor our scholars have been at any pains to give us any certain knowledge about the life of the Turks in both spiritual and temporal states. (Zwar mich hat offt verdrossen und verdreust noch, das widder unser grossen herrn noch gelerten den vleis getan haben, das man doch eigentlich und gewis hett erfaren muegen der tuercken wesen ynn benderlen stenden, geistlich und weltlich.)[26]

Luther showed that he was aware of the fundamental teachings of Islam and that he recognized the difference between the monotheism of Christianity and of Islam, especially in Islam's rationalistic rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity. He was aware also of the high place of honor which the Qur'an gives to Christ, in spite of the fact that His

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[25]"Das eyn Christliche oder Gemeyne recht und macht habe," WA, XI, 412. Quoted in Werner Elert, The Structure of Lutheranism, translated from the German by Walter Hansen (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1962), I, 389.

[26]"Vom Kriege wider die Tuerken," 1529, WA, XXX, ii, 121. Quoted in C. U. Wolf, "Luther and Mohammedanism," Moslem World, XXXI (1941), 161-162.

deity is rejected. He writes of the Muslim understanding of Christ:

> He believes nothing more of Christ than that He is a holy prophet, like Jeremiah or Jonah, and denies that He is God's son and true God. Besides he does not believe that Christ is the Savior of the world who died for our sins, but that He preached to His own time and completed His work before His death, just like any other prophet. (Aber doch helt er nicht mehr von yhm Christum denn als von eim heiligen propheten, wie Jeremias odder Jonas ist, Verleugnet aber das er Gottes Son und rechter Gott ist. Dazu helt er auch nicht, das Christus sey der welt heyland, fur unser sunde gestorben, sondern habe zu seiner zeit gepredigt und sein ampt ausgericht fur seinem ende, gleich wie ein ander Prophet.)[27]

An interest in the mission to Islam is found in early Lutheranism. In 1559, a committee of Lutheran Christians in the Balkans, in stating their opinion of a translation by Stephen Consul of a Slovenian New Testament into Glagolite, saw the possibility of using Bible translations as a means of converting the Turks to Christianity. Among other things, they said:

> by this means, so we hope, the right Christian religion and the true saving Gospel will be promoted throughout

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[27] WA, XXX, ii, 122. Luther continues: "Daraus kan nu ein iglicher wol mercken das der Mahometh ein verstoerer ist unsers Herrn Christi und seines reichs. Denn wer stuecke an Christo verleugnet, das er Gottes son ist und fur uns gestorben sei und noch ist. Lebe und regire zur rechtes Gottes: Was hat der mehr an Christo? Da ist Vater, Son, Heiliger Geist, Tauffe, Sacrament, Evangelion, glaube und alle Christliche lere und wesen dahin, und ist an stat Christi nichts mehr, denn Mahometh mit seiner lere von eigen wercken und sonderlich vom schwerd: das ist das heubtstuecke des Turckisschen glaubens, darynn auff einem hauffen alle grewel, alle yrthum, alle teuffel auff einem hauffen ligen." WA, XXX, ii, 122. Quoted in Elert, pp. 168-170.

> Turkey, that the heart and the disposition of the Turks will be renewed to the holy faith . . . and that in time our Savior Jesus Christ will be made known in Turkey.[28]

Baron Ungnad von Sonegg who sought to win the southern Slavs for the Gospel, also appealed to the German princes for help in a mission to the Turks in Constantinople. A Lutheran preacher named Vlahovic, also from the Balkans where there had been direct contact and conflict between Ottoman and Christian forces, suggested that Christian literature be used in the Christian mission to the Ottoman Turk through utilizing the services of Turkish printers.

> I would like to have printed for the Turkish emperor a little book which would tell how all the prophets prophecied and preached concerning the world that the Lord Jesus Christ is the Son of God, that Mohammed led the Turks astray, and that the pope misled all Christendom. We would like to correct the Turks if there were assistants and such books.[29]

The above examples come from areas where there was direct contact and conflict with Muslims. There is no evidence that these men or their followers were able to implement a Lutheran mission to Islam. The same can be said for the Reformed Church which was also so involved in struggling for its own existence that there was neither inclination nor resources to consider the Christian mission in general and the mission to Islam in particular.

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[28]Elert, p. 394.

[29]Ibid., pp. 394-395.

The Modern Period

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with the renewed interest in the Christian world mission, the mission to Islam has also received some attention.[30] Of the period preceding this, James Thayer Addison states:

> From the fourteenth century to the nineteenth, from the days of Lull to the days of Henry Martyn, the records of individual missionaries to Moslems are so few and scanty that the endeavors they relate can be summed up only in the most general terms.[31]

Henry Martyn is called the first non-Roman Catholic Christian missionary to the Muslims in modern times. He wanted "to burn out his life" for the cause of the Christian

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[30]In a "Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions," The Second Vatican Council made the following statement about Islam: "Upon the Moslems, too, the Church looks with esteem. They adore one God, living and enduring, merciful and all-powerful, Maker of heaven and earth and Speaker to men. They strive to submit wholeheartedly even to His inscrutable decrees, just as did Abraham, with whom the Islamic faith is pleased to associate itself. Though they do not acknowledge Jesus as God, they revere Him as a prophet. They also honor Mary, His virgin mother; at times they call on her, too, with devotion. In addition they await the day of judgment when God will give each man his due after raising him up. Consequently, they prize the moral life, and give worship to God especially through prayer, almsgiving, and fasting. Although in the course of centuries many quarrels and hostilities have arisen between Christians and Moslems, this most sacred Synod urges all to forget the past and to strive sincerely for mutual understanding. On behalf of all mankind, let them make common cause of safeguarding and fostering social justice, moral values, peace and freedom." Walter M. Abbott, S. J., editor, Documents of Vatican II (New York: American Press, c.1966), p. 663.

[31]Addison, p. 68.

mission to Islam. He did this in a very short time. He began his work in India in 1806 and died in Persia in 1811. He used a strongly apologetic approach combined with an exemplary Christian life of love for his fellowman. In this short period of time he completed the translation of the Bible into both Urdu and Persian.[32]

The period of missionary awakening was also accompanied by a period of Western colonialism and imperialism. In Muslim lands in North Africa, the Near and Middle East and Central Asia, the missionaries were often the agents of their respective governments, including American, British, French, Italian, German and Russian. Even if they were not directly related to the government of their respective home nation, they were considered so to be by the Muslims. These missionaries in Muslim lands established schools and hospitals which help account for the improved standards of education and health in some Muslim areas today. However, since World War II, most of these Muslim areas which were under European colonial hegemony have become independent nations. In most of them, the work of the Christian mission has either been forbidden or severely restricted. In some countries the missionaries have had to leave entirely and in others they had to agree to restrict evangelistic efforts to non-Muslims.

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[32]Jones, p. 239.

An example of Congregational work is that of the American Board which has been the major Christian mission in modern Turkey. A statement of their policy before World War II indicates both the attitudes in Turkey at that time and the theological position of the sending body.

> We are attempting a non-proselyting, non-dogmatic, disinterested service. . . . Our interest is not fundamentally in pulling men out of one body and transferring them to another. It is nothing less than the process of leaven or salt within the whole of life.[33]

A Roman Catholic example of the mission to Islam is that of the "White Fathers" of North African who are endeavoring to maintain a "Christian presence" in the midst of anti-Christian Muslims. The first stage of approaching the Muslims consists of personal preparation by prayer and meditation. Works of Christian service are done through hospitals, schools, hospices, and so forth, without speaking of religion. When asked about a religious matter, a brief answer is given without explanation. The result of the cautious approach is to remove the suspicion and win the confidence of the community. The second stage deals with individuals who have shown a definite interest in Christianity. Groups of converts are then gathered into communities to help them withstand persecution and community reaction. The third stage is a Christian witness given by the converts through personal testimony and

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[33]Addison, pp. 111-112.

through the distribution of Christian literature.[34]

The 1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference of the International Missionary Council called special attention to the "unoccupied mission fields" throughout the world by stating:

> these regions have a claim of peculiar weight and urgency upon the attention and missionary effort of the Church. A large proportion of the unoccupied fields are to be found within the Mohammedan world. Indeed by far the greater part of the Mohammedan world is practically unoccupied.[35]

The subsequent conferences of the International Missionary Council in Jerusalem in 1928 and in Madras in 1938 reported that these fields "still remain largely unoccupied." The situation remains virtually unchanged at the present time. The Conference of Missionaries to the Muslims of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod held in Bangalore, India in November, 1964, heard similar reports, as did the conference planned by

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[34]"The White Fathers themselves are to be examples of evangelical life, by showing forth the Gospel in their lives, by being themselves living Gospels, so that in seeing them men may know the meaning of the Christian life, the meaning of the Gospel, and may come to know Jesus Himself." L. Massignon, "The Roman Catholic Church and Islam," Moslem World V (1915), 140. Cf. Glenn D. Kittler, The White Fathers (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, c.1951). The Missionary Prefecture of the Sahara and French Sudan was established in 1868 through the planning of Cardinal Lavigire of Algiers. This society was founded to work among Muslims. The members were given to name "White Fathers" due to the white robe and hood they wear in dressing like the Arabs. The female counterpart is called the White Sisters. The present work includes pagan and Muslim parts of Africa.

[35]Samuel M. Zwemer, A Factual Survey of the Moslem World (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, c.1946), p. 24.

the World Council of Churches' Commission on World Mission and Evangelism in Beruit in June, 1966, to consider the present day status of the Christian Mission to Islam. Islam continues to be one of the greatest unmet challenges facing the Christian mission today. Fred J. Barney, who served as a missionary to Arabia for over forty years, put the matter very succinctly:

> The paucity of definite results is often spoken of as the problem of Moslem work and no one knows better than the workers how grievously it weighs upon heart and mind, but really, is not the real problem the paucity of effort the Church has put into this work?[36]

J. N. D. Anderson, a contemporary missionary-scholar, offers a more complete summary of the result of the Christian mission to Islam:

> A final word may be added concerning past relationships between Christianity and Islam of the effect of Christian missions in Muslim lands today. Until the last hundred years, contacts between Christianity and Islam were almost uniformly unfortunate. Allusion has already been made to the distorted impressions of Christian doctrine which clouded the Prophet's mind; to the divisions of Christendom and the decadence of the Church which facilitated the Muslim conquests and swelled the number of Muslim converts, and to the ineffective witness of remnants of the ancient Churches still surviving in Muslim lands--probably still the greatest single obstacle to the evangelization of Islam. To these adverse factors must be added the solitary approach of Western Christendom to Islam throughout the Middle Ages, the Crusades. . . . Apart from a few isolated individuals such as Raymund Lull the Church did nothing to take the authentic Gospel of Christ to the Muslim world until the modern era of Christian missions.

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[36]Fred J. Barny, "The Fourth Grace--Endurance," Muslim World XXXI (1941), 4.

> Even in this period the results have been meagre, compared with those from any other faith. This is partly due to the extreme poverty of effort made, for missions have tended to concentrate on more productive fields; partly to the barriers of antagonism which have had to be broken down; partly to the law of apostasy in Islam (death for a man and death or perpetual imprisonment for a woman) or its more common equivalent of loss of family, inheritance and employment, with considerable danger of death by poison . . . the effect of missionary work has been threefold: a widespread influence on social conditions and moral outlook, through the medical and educational services which were virtually non-existent before the missionaries came; a more restricted circle of persons genuinely touched by the gospel message who for one reason or another have stopped short of baptism; and still a smaller number of brave souls who have taken their place as open members of the Christian Church. But the world has yet to see what would happen if the gospel of the living Christ were adequately presented to the millions of Islam.[37]

The Christian Mission to Indonesian Islam

Many references have already been made to the missionary efforts of Christians toward the Muslims of Southeast Asia. As a result of the political and economic policies of the Western Christian powers, the Muslims generally have an antipathetic view of Christianity. This is not meant to imply that no one presented Christ to the people of Southeast Asia in a positive manner.

Saint Francis Xavier is sometimes acknowledged as the first to introduce Christianity to Indonesia early in the sixteenth century. However, Portuguese priests were already

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[37] J. N. D. Anderson, editor, The World's Religions (Grand Rapids: Eerdmanns, 1960), pp. 97-98.

at work when Xavier arrived there. Spanish missionaries also visited Indonesia from the Philippines. The Dutch soon replaced the Portuguese in the islands and introduced Reformed Christianity.[38] In speaking of the European colonization in Southeast Asia, D. G. E. Hall writes:

> The Portuguese were pledged to a crusade against the infidel, but against both Islam and Theravada Buddhism their missionaries had strikingly little success. The Dutch and English made no attempt before the nineteenth century to interfere with the established religions. The French on the other hand, in the latter half of the seventeenth century launched a grandiose scheme of Catholic missionary enterprise.
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> Economic imperialism provided the main stimulus to the extension of European domination over the lands and islands of Southeast Asia. Europe's insatiable hunger for markets and for tropical products went through a number of distinct phases between 1500 and 1900.[39]

Under the Portuguese

When Portuguese tried to expand their control over the Indonesian spice trade, they found that Islam was rapidly spreading in Java and other islands. By 1535 the entire north coast of Java had become Muslim. Therefore Portugal decided to make a real effort to convert the non-Muslims to Christianity to prevent the further influence of Islam.

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[38]Kenneth Scott Latourette, The Nineteenth Century Outside Europe, Vol. III in Christianity in a Revolutionary Age (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, c.1961), 424-425.

[39]D. G. E. Hall, A History of South-East Asia (New York: St. Martin's Press, c.1955), p. 615.

"Where Islam had already penetrated, Roman Catholic missions had no hope of success."[40] The Portuguese first directed their missionary effort toward East Java, but it was too late, because Muslim influence was already growing there. Then Portuguese missionaries gained a foothold in the island of Ambonia, which was free of Muslim control. In other Muslim-dominated islands, however, missionaries were forbidden so that Portuguese merchants could establish trading relations with Muslim chiefs.[41]

While Islam made its first entry in Indonesia in the western part of the island chain at Acheh in Sumatra, Christianity started from the opposite end in the Celebes and Moluccas. Just as Muslim merchants were the first to introduce Islam in Southeast Asia and were followed by Muslim teachers, so it was Portuguese spice merchants who were the first representatives of Christianity in Indonesia. They were followed by Jesuits and Franciscans missionaries. As long as Portuguese control was strong, the missions flourished.[42]

In 1546 Francis Xavier visited the Moluccas and reportedly converted several native chiefs. After one year, he decided that the native Christian community was too ignorant and too

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[40] Ibid., p. 202.

[41] Ibid., pp. 202-203.

[42] Joh. Rauws et al., The Netherland Indies (London and New York: World Dominion Press, 1935), pp. 30-32.

barbarous. He also severely criticized the Portuguese policy of exploitation and declared: "They conjugate the verb 'to rob' (rapere) in every mood."[43]

Both the Spanish and the Portuguese arrived in the islands of Indonesia early in the sixteenth century. Through their colonial imperialism and commercial rapacity they alienated the islanders in this first penetration of Western Christianity in Southeast Asia. Under pressure of the Muslims and the Dutch, the Portuguese were forced to relinquish their hold on the eastern part of the archipelago. Most of the two hundred thousand Christian converts in these islands soon became Muslims or reverted to paganism. By the end of the Portuguese period, all of the Christian communities were lost with the exception of Ambonia.[44]

Under the Dutch

By the middle of the seventeenth century the predominantly Reformed Dutch merchants drove the Roman Catholic Portuguese out of Indonesia and set up their own trading monopoly. The Dutch merchants were more interested in making profits than in making converts in the early days of their Indonesian rule. During this period Islam became the dominant

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[43]Basil Mathews, Unfolding Drama in Southeast Asia (New York: Friendship Press, c.1944), p. 32. Cf. Hall, pp. 202-203.

[44]Ibid.

faith in Indonesia and remains such today. In the nineteenth century the Dutch hesitated to promote the Christian mission in Indonesia for fear of alienating the Muslim leaders and thus interfering with the spice trade. As a result, the Dutch government pursued a policy of "religious neutrality" in Indonesia during this period.[45]

Historians generally agree on November 21, 1599, as the date when Reformed mission work began in the islands. On that date the Dutch government issues a declaration concerning the islands of Indonesia. This declaration not only provided for the spiritual care of the Dutch Christians in the Indies, but also added "that it was hoped to get an opportunity to teach the people living there in darkness, the true Christian religion."[46] In 1601 the Dutch government requested the Amsterdam presbytery to provide persons to serve the people aboard ships during the long voyage to Indonesia and on arrival "to preach the Gospel to the heathen."[47]

The policy of the United East India Company, however, prevented the success of any such missionary efforts. A small group had been won to the faith in Ambonia by 1622, but in that year the Company made a treaty with the Sultan of Ternate

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[45] Ibid. Cf. Fay-Cooper Cole, The Peoples of Malaysia (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., c.1945), pp. 23-27.

[46] Rauws, p. 33.

[47] Ibid.

"not to allow a change of faith."[48] Due to the conflicting policies of the Company and the Dutch government, only isolated examples of Christian mission efforts can be found throughout the entire seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thus, in spite of a few notable exceptions, Reformed missionary effort in Indonesia was subordinated to commercial and political interests and did not exert any lasting influence in the early Dutch period.[49]

In the first part of the nineteenth century when there was a world-wide awakening among Christians which emphasized foreign mission efforts, the Dutch administration still feared that Christian work among the Muslims might cause unrest and interfere with business profits. However, a change of policy resulted in the latter half of the century with a change in the Dutch government in the homeland and a change in the attitude of the Dutch Reformed Church toward mission work. Now Christian missions received encouragement from the administration in Dutch colonies, especially

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[48] Ibid., p. 34.

[49] Ibid. Cf. John Crawfurd, History of the Indian Archipelago (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1820) II, 274. Already in the early eighteenth century, the term "rice Christian" reflects Dutch mission efforts in the Moluccas where pupils at the mission school were given a daily ration of rice. At one period the numbers of students was said to be decreasing because of a reduction in the ration and also because the missionary-teacher spoke unintelligible Malay to them.

Indonesia. The Dutch government subsidized mission educational efforts in the islands. Even Roman Catholic missions were permitted, but Roman Catholic and other Christian missions were forbidden to work in the same area. In 1862 the Rhenish Missionary Society, a combined Lutheran and Reformed effort of German origin, started work among the pagan Bataks of Central Sumatra under the leadership of Ludwig Nommensen.[50] This has resulted in the development of the largest non-Roman Catholic Church in Asia today, the Huria Kristen Batak Protestant, which holds membership in the Lutheran World Federation.

Around the middle of the nineteenth century while the Dutch authorities in the islands were still fearful that the Christian mission to Islam in Java would create religious and political unrest among the Muslim population in Java, laymen assumed the task of bringing the Christian message to Muslims. In Surabaya, a retired Dutch naval officer, Embde,

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[50]Latourette, The Nineteenth Century Outside Europe, Vol. III in Christianity in a Revolutionary Age, 425-426. Cf. Rauws, pp. 7-9. Lyman and Munson, two Americans, were the first missionaries to the Batak tribes. In 1833, although they were accompanied by guides and interpreters, they were killed by the people of the first Batak village they visited, because they were thought to be Muslim spies. This called the attention of the Christian world to this area and resulted in the accepting of the Batak challenge by the Rhenish society. The importance of the Batak Church to Indonesian Christianity is evident in the statement: "As Palembang was to Hinduism and Atjeh [Acheh] to Islam, Batakland in the future may be one of the chief centres from which Christ's teaching will find its way to other parts of the Netherland Indies."

who had a Javanese wife, and Coolen, a Eurasian, began evangelizing the Muslims in their area. Coolen used familiar puppet plays to present the message of the Bible. This lay movement resulted in about nineteen thousand converts by the end of the century.

In the southern part of central Java a Mrs. Phillips, whose husband was a plantation inspector for the government, began mission efforts among the plantation workers. In ten years about one thousand converts were made. This group increased under local leadership, even though part of the community still held to some pre-Christian beliefs. Mrs. LeJolle-van Vollenhoven was instrumental in bringing Christianity to the Muslims in the Salatiga area of Java. The De Boer family later took over this work. They used agricultural techniques for improving the life of the people and organized farm communities.[51]

On the north coast of Java the Mennonites gathered together colonies of converts. One of the strongest mission efforts among the Javanese Muslims was that of the Netherlands Missionary Society. This was built on the work of Embde and Coolen under the leadership of J. E. Jellesma who is called the "Apostle to the Javanese." In ten years of work before

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[51]Latourette, The Great Century in the Americas, Australia, and Africa, Vol. V in A History of the Expansion of Christianity (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, c.1937-1941), 292-293.

his death, he gathered more than two thousand converts into several Christian villages. This method of establishing Christian communities was continued by his successors. Educational and medical missions were also developed in this area.[52]

Thus it was after more than two hundred and fifty years

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[52] Ibid. Cf. E. G. van Kekem, "The East Java Mission," Moslem World, XXX (1940), 28. Van Kekem, a missionary in this area, writes: "The missionary seeks to bring all the Javanese people into contact with the Gospel. Is it not high time to try new methods of approach? Is it not better that the missionaries busy themselves more with the Moslems and give the care of the Christian groups to the Javanese themselves? How can these scattered Christian communities become increasingly a means of propagating the Gospel among their own people?" In 1935 Hendrik Kraemer was quoted in the work edited by Rauws, pp. 98-99: "The population of the Netherland Indies is predominantly Moslem. The islands are destined to become one of the most important meeting places of Christianity and Islam in the world. Christianity is not only making headway among the pagan tribes, but Java, which is entirely Moslem, offers comparatively speaking, the spectacle of successful missionary work. More than 40,000 Javanese, all Moslem converts of the last eighty or ninety years, are Protestant Christians, and in addition there are 27,356 native Roman Catholic Christians in Java. Every year the number of Javanese Christians by conversion from Islam is increasing by many hundreds. Forty thousand in the midst of forty million Moslems is however a small number. Yet Java as a mission field is an exception among Moslem countries of the world. One may safely say of the central and eastern parts of Java that whenever well planned missionary work is undertaken results will surely come. The reason for this exceptional situation in a Moslem country is that only the north coast and western part of Java may be considered as consciously and tenaciously attached to Islam. The rest of the country is under the process of Islamization. The old Javanese heritage and the innate Javanese psychology make the people more open-minded toward spiritual forces of different origin than is usual in Moslem countries."

of being in Indonesia, that the Dutch began to make a serious effort to bring the Christian mission in these islands among the Muslim population. There is no way of knowing what the situation might be in Indonesia today if such an effort had been made more than two centuries earlier. The early efforts in the Celebes and the Moluccas resulted in large Christian communities in those areas that remain Christian until the present. The same thing could conceivably have been true for all of Indonesia.[53]

Under the British

The British "hands-off" policy of leaving religious matters in the hands of the sultan of the respective areas of the Malay Peninsula made possible throughout Malaya the further penetration of Islam into the areas where paganism was still predominant at the beginning of English rule. Therefore, there is no history of the Christian mission to Islam in Malaya. However, in 1953, a legal consultant gave the following interpretation of leaving religious matters in the hands of the sultans in referring to the possibility of a Christian mission to Malay Muslims:

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[53]Rauws, pp. 38-55. Cf. G. H. Bosquet, A French View of the Netherland Indies, translated from the French by Philip E. Lilienthal (London & New York: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 7-8. Hendrik Kraemer, From Missionfield to Independent Church (London: SCM Press Ltd., c.1958), p. 103.

> I am of the opinion that there is no explicit legal obstacle or objection to a mission to Malays in any part of the Peninsula, but the constitutional and political atmosphere is everywhere unfavorable, broadly for the same reasons, though they may operate less strongly in Singapore than in the Malay States.[54]

Malaya has now become the main area of the independent federation of Malaysia, and the Christian mission to Malay Muslims on the peninsula is still forbidden. "Malay" is considered to be synonymous with "Muslim" according to the constitution of Malaysia. Just north of the border of Malaya is Thailand. Here the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (formerly the China Inland Mission) is reportedly at work among the Malay animistic tribes and the Muslims.[55]

In North Borneo, now known as Sabah in the federation of Malaysia, the British followed a different policy and the Christian mission followed British rule into the area. Perhaps, the different policy was due to the fact that, although Islam had gained some followers among the rulers in the area, most of the inhabitants were animistic or had only a thin veneer of Islam. This situation, however, was not much different from that of most of the Malay Peninsula when the British first arrived. In 1840, James Brooke, a British

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[54]G. E. Marrison, "Islam and the Church in Malaya," Muslim World, XLVII (1957), 296.

[55]Kenneth Scott Latourette, The Twentieth Century Outside Europe, Vol. V in Christianity in a Revolutionary Age (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, c.1950-1962), 346.

subject, became the Rajah of Sarawak and through his influence Christianity was introduced to the area. Both medical and educational missions were employed. Gains were made chiefly from the Chinese and pagan Dyak population, rather than from the Muslims. In 1914 a Christian mission was begun in neighboring Brunei.[56]

When Islam came into contact or competition with the Christian mission in Borneo, it became more active and zealous. Efforts were made by Muslim teachers to indoctrinate the Muslims there to overcome the prevailing superstitions and pagan practices among nominal Muslims and to promote a more orthodox type of Islam. The presence of Christian missionaries in Sarawak also caused the Muslim leaders to become more zealous and strict in their observance of Muslim law, the shari'a.[57]

Thus the Christian mission is present in the former British colonial areas in Borneo. Anglicans, Lutherans and Methodists are at work there today. The main thrust of the Christian mission there is directed toward the Chinese and the pagans, and not toward Islam.

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[56]Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, V, 296.

[57]S. B. Scott, "Mohammedanism in Borneo," Journal of The American Oriental Society, XXXIII (1913), 340.

In Twentieth Century Indonesia

In 1912 Samuel Zwemer, the "Apostle to Islam," wrote:

> The fact that in Malaysia (i.e., Indonesia, especially Java) there are now well-nigh forty thousand converts to Christianity from Islam shows that here, if anywhere, we may look for a scientific presentation of right methods of successful evangelization.[58]

Although this suggestion was made over fifty years ago, a serious study of the Christian mission to Islam in Indonesia has not yet been made. Surely there is much to be learned from such a study. It is hoped that the following chapter on characteristic beliefs and practices of Indonesian Islam will contribute to a better understanding of the Christian mission to Indonesian and Philippine Islam.

Not only is there a dearth of valid, useful information about the Christian mission to Islam in the islands, but Basil Mathews, a missionary author, decries the fact that very little is written or known about Christianity in Southeast Asia. He refutes the statement referring to Indonesia that "converts from the religion of Allah are a rarity in the islands" by pointing out that "more converts from Islam have embraced Christianity in Indonesia than in any other area in the world." He adds, "The process has been going

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[58]Gottfried Simon, The Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra, translated from the German by E. I. M. Boyd (London, Edinburgh and New York: Marshall Brothers, Ltd. Publishers, 1912), p. vi.

forward at a momentum now increasing from some four to five hundred adult converts instructed each year."[59]

Nevertheless, with rare exceptions, there seems to be a general apathy toward the Christian mission to Islam on the part of most Indonesian churches and most Indonesian Christians.

Kraemer has stated the problem:

> It is only natural that we desire to make the Christian communities dwelling in the midst of the (religiously) reticent Mohammedans into living and vigorous centers, into lights shining in darkness. Yet, I do not believe this to be sufficient. A missionary should never renounce his task as a missionary, for this would destroy his true power. Nowadays funerals, which are also attended by Mohammedans for reasons of adat, offer the only opportunity to proclaim the Gospel to Mohammedans. The missionaries on the spot should have more ways of approach. They should not live in isolation from their Mohammedan surroundings. Considering the nature and conditions of Islam in Sumatra, humanly speaking, no great results may be expected for the time being. Nevertheless, it will always be of great value to a missionary in his quality as a missionary and also as regards influencing Islam, if the missionary is able to approach Mohammedans with intelligence and perception. This requires knowledge. It is striking that in its work in the Mohammedan regions the Rhenish mission has paid but scanty attention to this prerequisite with regard to the stationing of its missionary personnel. Without study and knowledge of Islam in general it is impossible to attain a true perception and correct evaluation of the actual forms of Islam with which we have to deal.[60]

Although the Christians represent only a small minority, roughly five per cent, of the Indonesian population today,

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[59]Mathews, p. vi.

[60]Kraemer, p. 60.

there seems to be general satisfaction with the status quo and no evangelistic efforts toward the Muslim majority is evident. There are many reasons for this in a newly independent nation where politics and religion are closely joined. Yet, the Indonesian church should somehow be made aware of its mission to Islam and be equipped to perform that mission. In the days before Indonesia became an independent nation, one Javanese Christian was aware of this need. He said, "I ask that the mission that brings us the gospel may prepare us for the encounter that must come between the Christians and the majority religion in the country."[61]

In a worldwide survey of the task of the Christian mission in 1938, Kraemer wrote:

> How to educate the Churches in Africa and the Dutch East Indies to meet the Moslem problem in a way that does not fall short of the spirit of Christ and the religious character of Christianity is a task that is looming up before us in the near future.[62]

The near future is already here. The task of giving a positive presentation of the message of Christ to Indonesian Islam is the greatest challenge lying before the Christians of Indonesia, which has the largest Muslim population of any nation in the world. Now that Indonesia is an independent nation, the opportunity to do Christian work is less restricted

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[61]Mathews, p. 42.

[62]Hendrik Kraemer, The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938), p. 365.

than it was under Dutch administration. Yet, with few notable exceptions, the mission to Islam is being neglected. A Batak pastor expressed the prevailing attitude in his area by saying, "We are now competing with the Muslims in winning the pagans in the interior areas. I suppose, when we run out of pagans to convert, we will start thinking of bringing the Gospel to the Muslims."

Already in 1935, one of the tasks facing an indigenous church in Indonesia was "the carrying of an independent mission to the Mohammedans and heathen through personal evangelism, as well as in connection with the activities of the Church."[63] Thus the church in Indonesia has seen its responsibility toward Islam. The opportunities for the Christian mission to Indonesian Islam are almost unlimited. In focusing attention on the Christian mission to Philippine Islam, it must not be forgotten that lessons learned here can be applied to Indonesian Islam of which Philippine Islam is but a local extension in the southern islands of Mindanao and Sulu.

The Christian Mission to Philippine Islam

The Early Spanish Period

The Spanish made Cebu their first permanent colony in 1565 under the leadership of Legazpi. The arrival of Spanish

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[63]Rauws, pp. 151-152.

forces eliminated the influence of Islam in the northern islands and checked its spread in the south. In 1567, the report of the second baptism after the arrival of Legazpi was that of a Muslim "who had served as an interpreter and who had great influence throughout all that country."[64] The fact that he was baptized so soon may indicate that his Muslim faith was not very strong.

It was only natural that the early Spanish mission efforts were accompanied by the power of Spanish arms. In most of the islands this was sufficient to give the Spanish control and bring about conversion to Christianity. However, such an approach in Muslim areas only provoked a strong reaction. There is an example of the Spanish attitude in a letter written by the Governor-general of the Philippines to the Sultan of Borneo on April 13, 1577. Governor Francisco de Sande informed the Sultan that the Philippines were now under the King of Spain and added that he planned to visit Borneo. He wrote:

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[64]Emma Helena Blair and James Alexander Robertson, The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803 (Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company, 1909), I, 34. Hereafter referred to as BR. Evidently, this is the same baptism as that of a Bornean Muslim described in Medina's history as "a baptism of great importance . . . for this Moro was the key to all the islands, as he was well known in them all; and so much faith was put in him, that he was obeyed as little less than king." BR, XXXIII, 185.

> I am going to confer with you, chiefly that you may know your God and Creator, and to teach you the true law. . . .
>
> What you are to do is to admit preachers of the holy gospel, who may preach the law of the Christians in your lands in all security . . . that he who wishes to become a Christian may do so without any ill befalling him.
>
> Further, I desire that you shall send no preacher of the sect of Mahoma [sic] to any part of these islands . . . nor into other parts of your own island--inasmuch as the doctrine of Mahoma is a false and evil law, and the religion of the Christian alone is true, holy, and good.[65]

It is understandable how such an approach served to increase the resistance of the Muslims in Borneo and the southern Philippines against all Christian mission efforts of the Spanish priests. This was further complicated by the un-Christian methods used by some of the priests. In his annual report of 1582, Bishop Domingo Salazar of Manila believed that many of the pagans in the Philippines were becoming Muslims, because "they were better treated by the preachers of Mahoma [sic] than they are and have been by the preachers of Christ."[66]

The competition between the various orders in the Philippines further added to the obstacles in the way of the Christian mission to Islam. In 1639 the Jesuits requested the Spanish Governor to send an expedition to subdue the

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[65] Ibid., IV, 153-154.

[66] Ibid., V, 225.

Maranao tribe in the area of Lake Lanao in western Mindanao. The area had been assigned to the Jesuit order as had most of the Muslim areas of the Philippines. Indications are that Islam was just beginning to penetrate into the lake area from the south. In answer to the Jesuit request, Spanish and Filipino soldiers, accompanied by the fighting "Padre Capitan," Fray Augustin, an Augustinian Recollect from Butuan in Eastern Mindanao, were dispatched to the lake area. They took six gunboats in sections overland from near Iligan to the lake area, as previously mentioned, arriving at the lake on April 4, 1639 where the boats were assembled.[67]

This force was adequate to subdue the villages around the lake. After burning the village of Wato, the other villages near the lake surrendered. A registration was made and revealed more than two thousand families, although many of the Maranaos had fled into the interior. The datus of the people agreed to pay tribute to the Spanish and not to receive any Muslim teachers in the lake area; rather, they "were to receive preachers of the evangelical law and to erect churches for the ceremonies of the Christian and the true worship." Some of the Maranao men and children were sent to Manila as hostages.

At this time the Augustinian Recollects baptized more

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[67]Supra, pp. 63-64.

than two hundred Maranaos. Fray Augustin wanted to construct a fort on the lake to maintain control, but he was overruled. Also, the Jesuits objected to the Augustinian intrusion into Jesuit territory. Jesuits obtained a favorable ruling and the Augustinians withdrew, even though the Jesuits did not have sufficient manpower to replace them at that time. A new group of Spanish and Filipino soldiers was sent in to hold on to the Maranao area. The Maranaos soon recovered from their initial fright and burned the buildings which had been used as churches.

The Jesuit Gregorio Belin sent an urgent message to Fray Augustin to come to their assistance on March 9, 1640. Fray Augustin heeded this plea for help and, accompanied by Spanish and Filipino troops, went to the relief of the besieged troops at the lake. After burning several villages around the lake, the Spanish soldiers withdrew from the lake area and established a fort on the sea coast at Iligan. The Augustinian Recollects' report of this Maranao episode concludes by stating that if the Jesuits had not caused trouble, Fray Augustin would have remained in the lake area after the original victory there and the Maranaos would have been completely subdued. This report implies that the Maranaos would have become Christians.[68]

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[68] BR, XXXV, 98-113.

This was the last time the Spanish had such an opportunity in the Maranao area. They had remained there for almost one year. It was not until the twentieth century that this area was again brought under government control with much difficulty by United States troops. By this time a fanatical, anti-Christian type of "folk" Islam was prevalent among the Maranaos.

Although mission work in the heartland of the Maranaos in the area of Lake Lanao was not pursued after this period, mission efforts continued among the Maranaos in dispersion near Iligan Bay on the north coast of Mindanao. Jesuit reports for the year 1655 reveal that some Maranaos from the Lake Lanao area settled on the coast in Iligan "in order to be instructed and to live as Christians."[69] Probably, many people living in this area today as Christian Filipinos are from a Maranao background. They are no longer identified with "Muslim" or "Moro" in the popular understanding of both Maranao and non-Maranao Filipinos.

In 1742 Pedro Gutierrez, a Jesuit of an amiable and gentle disposition, accomplished what all the priests and Spanish and Filipino troops combined before him had not been able to accomplish. He persuaded two Maranao datus to settle with their people on the coast of northern Mindanao,

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[69] Ibid., XLIV, 99.

one in Dapitian and the other in Iligan so that these Maranaos might be instructed and become Christians. How did he do it? "These results were mainly secured by the virtue of the father, the high opinion which all had of his holy character, and the helpful and forcible effects of his oratory."[70]

The Later Spanish Period

Due to the Spanish policy followed in the early period, a strong anti-Christian reaction developed among the Philippine Muslims and resulted in the "Spanish-Muslim Wars." This meant that the Christian mission to Philippine Islam could not be pursued. Near the end of the Spanish period in the Philippines a wider measure of control was exerted over the Muslim areas of the south, but before this could produce any lasting results for Spanish mission efforts, the Spanish-American War left the Philippines under United States Administration and marked the end of Spanish rule in the Philippines.

However there is one exceptional example of Spanish attempts to convert the Muslims to which brief reference has already been made.[71] The Spanish King had written to Sultan Alimuddin urging him to become a Christian. Alimuddin's

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[70] Ibid., 67-68.

[71] Supra, pp. 66-67.

response to the king was that he would ask God for guidance. Alimuddin permitted Jesuit priests to come to Jolo, his headquarters, to work among his people. Bantilan, the brother of Alimuddin, and other Muslim leaders complained that Alimuddin had gone too far in permitting Christian missionaries in Jolo. Thus when two Jesuits arrived in Jolo, they were restricted to the Sultan's palace and not permitted to work among the people. Alimuddin's son, Prince Israel, who had been previously instructed by priests, was sent away from Jolo.

Alimuddin then announced that he was going to visit Manila to talk with the Spanish Governor. Bantilan assumed the rule of the Sulu sultanate when Alimuddin departed and the two Jesuits returned to Zamboanga. Alimuddin was given a royal reception by the acting Governor, Bishop Juan de Arechederra, on his arrival in Manila on January 2, 1749. He informed the governor that he wanted to be instructed for Christian baptism. This assignment was given to the Jesuits, including a German priest by the name of Fulcher Spilenberg. After a year of instruction, Spilenberg still did not consider Alimuddin ready for baptism. Nevertheless, the Governor-Bishop asked the Archbishop of Manila to baptize Alimuddin, but on the advice of Spilenberg the Archbishop refused to comply. Arechederra then sent Alimuddin to his own diocese, north of Manila in Pangasinan, and had him baptized there on

April 28, 1750. Alimuddin was given the name of Fernando I. Four days of joyous celebration were held in Manila to mark this unprecedented occasion.

In July, the newly-arrived Governor-General, sent Alimuddin back to Jolo with an escort of Spanish troops to help him regain his sultanate. At the request of the Spanish Governor, Alimuddin wrote a letter to Sultan Amiruddin of Maguindanao pleading with him also to swear allegiance to the Spanish crown. This letter was written in both Arabic and Spanish. Enroute to Jolo, Alimuddin's party stopped at Zamboanga. There the Spanish Governor of Zamboanga, Pedro Zacharias, had the Arabic portion of Alimuddin's letter to Amiruddin translated and found an addition at the end, not contained in the Spanish version, which stated:

> I wish to give you to understand . . . that I write under pressure, being under foreign dominion, and am compelled to obey whatever they tell me to do and to say whatever they tell me to say.[72]

Governor Zacharias considered Alimuddin's addition to the note to be treasonable. The priest who had been on the same ship with Alimuddin from Manila to Zamboanga reported that Alimuddin had not acted like a Christian during the voyage. Alimuddin stayed in the fort at Zamboanga while the Spanish ships went to Jolo to prepare his his return. Datu

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[72]Horatio de la Costa, S. J., The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, c.1961), pp. 547-548.

Asin came from Jolo to Zamboanga to escort Alimuddin back to his sultanate. Governor Zacharias ordered the boats of Datu Asin searched and found concealed arms and ammunition. Islamic books and additional weapons were found in Alimuddin's personal effects. Alimuddin was then placed under arrest and returned to Manila.

The Spanish renewed the war against the Sulu Muslims and attempted to destroy Jolo, but were driven off. In 1753 the Sulu Muslims retaliated by making raids which have been called "the bloodiest year in the whole history of Moro wars." The raids continued to reach farther north each subsequent year. In 1762 when the British briefly occupied Manila, they released Alimuddin and he was restored to the Sulu sultanate. In gratitude, Alimuddin is reported to have ceded North Borneo to the British.[73]

A recent study of Alimuddin by a Filipino Jesuit scholar gives a complete account of the events and offers the following analysis of Alimuddin.

> The portrait of Muhammad Alimuddin that emerges from the available sources is that of a highly sensitive

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[73] Ibid., pp. 548-549. Cf. Frank C. Laubach, "Islam in the Philippines," Moslem World, XIII (1923), 59-60. Dr. Laubach reports, "Alimud Din was baptized on April 29, 1750, with great solemnity. Two hundred and seventeen persons, including his sons and daughters, several datus, dignitaries and panditas were also baptized." Laubach adds that Governor Zacharias was wrong in suspecting Alimuddin. "The whole affair was stupid and unjust; later on the Spaniards found the Sultan to be innocent and completely exonerated him."

> individual, capable of conceiving large views on the government of his realm, but somewhat lacking in the resolution of will and the practical grasp of affairs necessary to carry them into effect. He was much attracted to Christianity, but failed, it would seem, to grasp the crucial fact that admiring Christianity and becoming a Christian are two different things. Christian baptism demands a total commitment which, as Alimuddin later discovered, he was not prepared to give.[74]

Conclusions on Spanish Period

The accomplishment of Spain in conquering and converting most of the islands of the Philippines with so few soldiers and so few priests is a remarkable feat in itself. The failure to bring the Muslim areas of the Philippines under control cannot be blamed only on poor policy, but the distance from the Manila government, climatic conditions and lack of military and religious manpower were also major factors. One of the chief problems of the Christian mission in the Philippines has been, and remains, a lack of adequately trained, ordained manpower. In 1665 after one hundred years of Spanish colonization in the islands, the Bishop pleaded with the Spanish priests to send at least four hundred priests to help in the work of instructing the baptized and converting the multitudes of heathen and Muslims. The Bishop added to his plea, "the mission of the Filipinos are suitable for him

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[74]Horatio de la Costa, S. J., 'Muhammad Alimuddin I, Sultan of Sulu, 1735-1773." (Unpublished manuscript presented as Paper No. 80 at the International Conference on Asian History, 1964), p. 19.

who is looking for hardships and not for ease."[75] The same plea for the same type of manpower can still be made more than four hundred years later for the Christian mission to the Philippines, and especially to Philippine Islam.

In analyzing the failure of the Christian mission to make any impact on Philippine Islam in the Spanish period, a report on the work of the Jesuits at the end of the nineteenth century says that the Jesuit zeal often caused them not to see the problem clearly and resulted in "excusable optimism." The report continues:

> In spite of their efforts, sacrifices and infinite constancy, neither in Jolo nor in Mindanao have they succeeded during the three centuries in causing to be admitted into the labarum of the Evangelist more than an insignificant number of Mahometans, and even of this small contingent of converts and baptized, nearly all have been observed to have abjured their new religion and returned to their former practices as soon as possible.[76]

The report concludes by saying that the lack of success does not lie with the Jesuits, but is due to the peculiarities of the Muslims and their fanatical religion. The advice is given that conversions should not be forced but voluntary.[77]

Thomas W. Arnold, an Englishman who has written a scholarly account of the spread of Islam, compares the success of Islam

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[75] BR, XXXVI, 266-267.

[76] Ibid., XLIII, 286.

[77] Ibid.

in the Philippines with the failure of the Christian mission there.

> The success of Islam as compared with Christianity has been due in great measure to the different form under which these two faiths were presented to the natives. . . . The methods adopted by the Spaniards for the propagation of their religion were calculated to make it unpopular from the beginning; their violence and intolerance were in strong contrast to the conciliatory behaviour of the Muhammedan missionaries, who learned the language of the people, adopted their customs, intermarried with them and melting into the mass of the people, neither arrogated to themselves the exclusive right of a privileged race nor condemned the natives to the level of a degraded caste. The Spaniards, on the other hand, were ignorant of the language, habits and manners of the natives; their intemperance and above all their rapacity brought their religion into odium; while its propagation was intended to serve as an instrument of their political advancement.[78]

The Twentieth Century

The end of the Spanish Period in the Philippines marked the end of the monopoly of Spanish Roman Catholic Christianity in the Philippines and the beginning of Christian missions sponsored by various other American denominations. Some of these groups have also endeavored to establish the Christian Mission to Philippine Islam.

In 1940 a missionary reported that the Protestant Episcopal Church had been working among the Muslims of Mindanao since the beginning of the twentieth century. This

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[78]Thomas W. Arnold, The Preaching of Islam (London: Constable and Company, Inc., 1913), p. 400.

work was centered in Zamboanga where a number of Muslim girls were reported to have become Christians through the agency of a school. Some work was done in the Muslim villages along the coasts of Zamboanga Peninsula. The other Christian groups working in the area at that time were the Roman Catholics and the Christian and Missionary Alliance, who had a worker among the Maguindanaos who had formerly been a missionary to Muslims in Persia. The reporter concludes:

> With what little observation I have been able to give in Zamboanga and Jolo, I would say that there are great possibilities before us. The results that have been reached in Java among similar Mohammedans should be duplicated here, provided we have the patience and understanding which should accompany the Grace of God.[79]

One of the outstanding missionaries to the Philippine Muslims was Frank Laubach. Before World War II while working among the Maranaos of Lanao, Laubach developed a simple, effective literacy method. This soon developed into world-wide proportions, and Laubach was caught up in the task of explaining and implementing this literacy method in various parts of the world. Now in his eighties, Laubach is still active in world-wide literacy work.

In 1923 Laubach was very optimistic about the prospects of the Filipino Muslims becoming Christians. He wrote that

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[79] C. L. Pickens, "With the Moros of the Philippines," Moslem World, XXX (1940), 36-40.

the daughter of the Sultan of Sulu was willing to be baptized after she had spent some time in the United States. He tells of a young Muslim who had been converted and later ordained into the ministry who then influenced three other young Muslims from Sulu to prepare for the ministry at Silliman Institute. He adds:

> Rev. D. O. Lund of Zamboanga declares that there is no difficulty whatever in Christianizing the Moros, that even the Panditas themselves wish to know the Bible, because they say their people are as interested in the knowledge of the Bible as they are in the Koran. All who know the Moros, their wonderful progress in the past twenty years, their admiration for America, believe that never before in the history of Mohammedanism, were a people so ready to be Christianized.
>
> They will go among their backward kinsmen of the Malay Islands. They will say, "Once we were backward, stagnant, afraid, hungry like yourselves. Now we are educated, progressive, prosperous, peaceful, happy. The Philippines are the proof of what Christianity can do for Mohammedans. . . ."
>
> No such opportunity as that has confronted Christianity for the last fourteen hundred years of Christian-Muslim conflict.[80]

The young Muslim to whom Laubach referred as having become a Christian minister was Matias Cuadra of Siasi in Sulu. Matias was first converted to Roman Catholicism by a German Jesuit who took him to Sandakan, Borneo. Later, after studying the Bible and returning to Zamboanga, Matias came under the influence of a Christian and Missionary Alliance missionary, David Lund, who sent him to study at Union

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[80]Laubach, pp. 64-66.

Theological Seminary in Manila.

After being graduated from the seminary, Matias married a Tagalog girl from Manila. He was ordained by the Christian and Missionary Alliance and sent back to his people in Jolo. There he and his wife taught the Muslims through the use of Bible stories and songs. Matias returned to his home at Bas Nonok, Siasi. Although his father refused to become a Christian, all of Matias' brothers and sisters and some of his other relatives were baptized. The father built a church on one side of his house and a mosque on the other.

In 1926 Matias returned to Manila for further study. There he influenced thirty young Muslim students to express a desire to become Christians. Laubach states that these students were at that time eager to bring Christ to their people in Sulu and he expresses the hope that from Sulu the message of Christ might spread to the Muslims of Borneo, Java, Sumatra and Malaya.[81] This hope has not been fulfilled.

A permanent result of Laubach's work in Lanao has been the establishment of Dansalan Junior College in Marawi City. This school offers high school and college courses and has a student body composed primarily of Maranao Muslims. The present director of Dansalan Junior College states that it

> was established by the American Board Mission as a humanitarian gesture to help the Maranaws (Lanao

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[81]Laubach, "Matias, a Son of Moro Pirates," Moslem World, XIX (1929), 118-123.

> Moslems) adjust themselves to the changed and changing conditions of the postwar Philippines. The writer has been the director of the school since it was started in 1950. When he assumed his position, he was given only one charge by the American Board representatives: to organize and administer an institution dedicated to serving the interests and meeting the needs of the Maranaws.[82]

Recently, Russell Bennett, a young American missionary who taught for two years at Dansalan Junior College, stated three reasons why in his opinion the Christian mission to the Maranaos has produced so few converts. First, although the Maranao still has many animistic beliefs, yet he does consider himself a Muslim and fervently holds to his conception of Islam. Second, the Christian faith has many negative images among the Maranaos. Thirdly, in Maranao culture, decisions are not made by the individual, but by the family and the community.[83]

C. L. Hunt, a sociologist, summarizes in one sentence the almost total failure of Christianity to make converts among the Maguindanao Muslims in Cotabato: "The Christian and Missionary Alliance has had no more success among the Moros than the Roman Catholics."[84] He offers this

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[82]Rufino de los Santos, "Developing a Revised Program for Dansalan Junior College High School" (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Columbia University, 1961), p. 27.

[83]Russell L. Bennett, "Notes on Two Years Among the Maranao," Silliman Journal, XI (1964), 228-229.

[84]C. L. Hunt, "Moslems and Christians in the Philippines," Pacific Affairs, XXVIII (1955), 342-343.

explanation:

> The response of educated Moros to contact with Christian institutions is often one of increased devotion to Islamic tenets. . . . Educated Moros are embarrassed by charges that Islam was spread by the sword and that its attitude toward women is socially backward. Rather than become converts to Christianity they tend to attempt a "modernization" of the practices most open to criticism, while in conversation with outsiders they seek to rationalize Muslim beliefs and stress alleged inconsistencies in the Christian churches.[85]

He gives high praise to the work of Laubach:

> Perhaps the most influential work among the Moros was done by a Protestant missionary, Dr. Frank C. Laubach, in the neighboring province of Lanao. Laubach built a "House of Prayer" open to Moslem and Christian alike and gave up any attempt to proselytism. He made a sympathetic study of Moro culture and began his well-known mass literacy movement among this group. Unfortunately for the Mindanao area, Laubach's success in this endeavor made him a world figure and called him away from Mindanao. Missionaries now in the areas do not appear to be following this approach and the impact on the Moro group is limited.[86]

The thrust of the present Roman Catholic mission to Philippine Islam at the present time seems to be almost entirely through educational institutions. The Jesuits operate the Ateneo de Zamboanga which extends from elementary school through high school. Muslim students form a small minority. In Cotabato province, the Oblate Fathers have several Notre Dame Colleges, again with a minority of Muslim students. In Sulu, however, they operate seven Notre Dame

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[85] Ibid., p. 343.

[86] Ibid.

Colleges, some of which have almost one hundred per cent Muslim enrollment. The Roman Catholic Bishop of this area, Gerard Mongeau, stated in 1964:

> We make no effort to convert the Muslim students while they are enrolled in our schools. Our hope is that they will go home after graduation, get married and have children. Then they will want their children to have a good education and will send them to our schools. One of their sons may meet a Christian girl and say, "Dad, I want to marry a Christian girl." The father will reply, "Well, I'm broadminded, son, go ahead and marry her." Then, we have him! Our job now is to change attitudes and we find the best way to do this is through education.[87]

Gerard Rixhon, a priest who teaches in the Notre Dame schools, summarizes the purpose of educational work among the Muslims in Sulu:

> After all, this is what education means, to lead out, to free the good hidden in each one's personality and help develop it. In this work individuals become persons: collective society is on the way to becoming a real community of persons. We may not see it, but we are planting the seeds. One thing is sure: this makes them closer to one another, closer to us, closer to God.[88]

These statements indicate the patient, thorough, indirect approach that the Roman Catholic mission to Philippine Islam is currently following in marked contrast to their approach during the Spanish Period. The United Church of Christ in

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[87]From a private conversation on January 31, 1964 with The Most Rev. Gerard Mongeau, Bishop of Diana and Prelate of Cotabato and Sulu.

[88]Gerard Rixhon, O.M.I., "Educational Work in Sulu," Silliman Journal, XI (1964), 56.

the Philippines, the successor to the Congregational mission to which Laubach was assigned, is also using this educational, leavening approach in the Maranao area. In Zamboanga the Protestant Episcopal mission conducts a kindergarten and elementary school where a small percentage of the students are Muslims. Also in Zamboanga, the same body operates the Brent Hospital, which has a number of Muslim patients. The work of the Christian and Missionary Alliance among the Maguindanao Muslims of Cotabato seems to have been discontinued at the present time. They are still conducting an elementary school for Yakan Muslims on Basilan Island and formerly had an American missionary doing radio and literature work in Sulu.[89]

This brief survey of the present day Christian mission to Philippine Islam demonstrates that the only really significant effort is that of the Oblate Fathers in the Notre Dame Colleges in Jolo. All of the other Christian efforts in the mission to Philippine Islam are token operations involving a minimum of manpower and a minimum of resources. They can be expected to have a minimum of positive results.

Peter Gowing, an American missionary, summarizes the

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[89]Cf. R. Pierce Beaver, From Missions to Mission (New York: Association Press, c.1964), p. 96, "The Philippine Independent Church is said to have thirty of its clergy working among the Muslim Moros in Mindanao and the southern islands." This writer has found no evidence in the Philippines to support this statement.

present status of the Christian mission to Philippine Islam:

> Missions, Protestant and Roman Catholic, have not swelled the numbers of Christians with hordes of Muslim converts for the reason that Philippine Islam, like Islam elsewhere, has a powerful political and social as well as spiritual hold on the faithful. In the Philippines this is accentuated by the fact that Christianity has from the beginning been identified with the mortal enemies of the Muslims--the Spaniards and their converted Filipino allies--and therefore conversion was, and still is, tantamount to treason. To this day, a Muslim convert to Christianity must often resign himself to being cast out of his family circle, to being ostracized by Muslim society, and even to living in danger of physical violence. This sometimes means that the convert must move away to a place where he is not known. The general attitude is summarized in a remark made some time ago in a Muslim magazine, The Crescent Review: "When a Muslim becomes a Christian or marries a Christian, it's not news. It is a tribal calamity."[90]

The past and present story of the Christian mission to Philippine Islam reveals what a tremendous challenge faces the Church, to make Christ known to the Muslim in all His truth and power. This requires a thorough understanding of the present beliefs and practices of the Philippines Muslim.

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[90]Peter G. Gowing, Mosque and Moro (Manila: Philippine Federation of Christian Churches, 1964), p. 102. Cf. Crawfurd, II, 275-276. Kraemer, Christian Message, pp. 107, 140, 269, 353. Mathews, p. 49.

CHAPTER V

CHARACTERISTICS, BELIEFS AND PRACTICES OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN ISLAM

What is Islam?

"Islam is one of the main determinants of Indonesian spiritual climate."[1] This raises the question, "What is Islam?" There is no simple answer to this or the related question, "What is a Muslim?" The material below attempts to provide an answer, especially in regard to the type of Islam that is found in Southeast Asia.

Briefly, Islam means "the peaceful submission to the will of God--without resistance." This definition is based on the Arabic root of the word Islam. Muslim, from this same Arabic root, means "one who has submitted to the will of God." The Qur'an states: "Lo! religion with God is Islam." Muslims believe Islam to be the only true religion and claim it was the faith of Adam, Noah, Abraham and Jesus together with His disciples. The primary mission of all the messengers of God has been to teach belief in the one true God and to establish justice among men. According to

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[1]Kenneth W. Morgan, editor, Islam--The Straight Path (New York: The Ronald Press Company, c.1953), pp. 3-5.

Islam, the last and greatest of these messengers was Muhammad. The Muslim then believes "God's latest revelation is given in the Qur'an; therefore it is necessary to know the Qur'an in order to follow the straight path of Islam."[2] Some Christian scholars hold that no religion makes conversion easier for both peoples and individuals than does Islam. Islam comes to a primitive people as a higher religion of a higher civilization. Its only demand to become an adherent is to profess the Shahadah, the Muslim Creed, which states: "There is no deity but God, and Muhammad is the Apostle of God."[3] This creed represents the central, basic teaching of Islam. It emphasizes the unity of God and the person of Muhammad as the messenger of God.[4]

It becomes difficult to discriminate between a good Muslim and a poor Muslim. A leading Dutch scholar challenges the widely-held concept that the Muslims of Southeast Asia are poor Muslims, because they are ignorant of the main teachings of their religion. "Being a Mohammedan," says Snouck Hurgronje, "does not depend upon a man's knowledge of

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[2]C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze, Aspects of Islam in Post-Colonial Indonesia (The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve Ltd., c.1958), p. ix.

[3]C. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1906), II, 277-278.

[4]Ibid., p. 313.

Islam, but rather upon his wish to be called a Mohammedan."[5]

A Roman Catholic "White Father" working among Muslims in Africa explains:

> To belong to Islam it is not necessary to speak Arabic or accept the Koran laws or to be circumcized or to follow its rituals; it is not necessary to accept or reject its ancient cultures. It is enough to wish to live in community with Muslims. A second obligation, purely negative, is not to refuse publicly the proclamation of faith in a unique god and in the mission of Mohammed. It is by community that Islam manifests itself. It is through the community that it seems best to manifest Allah's oneness, as much and perhaps more than by religious practices or observances of the Koran. . . . Islam is more interested in the society, small or great (family, tribe, or nation) than in the person. It is more intent on what is exterior to man than what is interior; it insists more on social virtue than hidden virtue. Islam is not only a religious practice, a law, a custom, or even a philosophy of faith. It is all of these and even more than these. It is a living culture integrating the whole life of a world intensely communal. Thus prayer is integrated into Islam, it expresses itself in a collective communal way. It is the same for the Ramadan fast and for other practices and even the profession of faith itself which is defined as the testimony of the believers before the community and also before the other religious communities, Jewish or Christian.[6]

In the development of early Islam pagan concepts of various spirits called jinns, demons and sacred places in Arabia were retained where they did not conflict with the teaching of the oneness of God. These and other pagan

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[5]Gottfried Simon, The Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra, translated from the German by E. I. M. Boyd (London, Edinburgh and New York: Marshall Brothers, Ltd., Publishers, 1912), p. 155.

[6]Gerard Rixon, O. M. I., "Educational Work in Sulu," Silliman Journal, XI (1964), 50-51.

concepts were generally transformed to fit into the overall teaching of Islam and made to serve the purposes of God.[7] As Islam left its Arabian homeland and expanded into other civilizations and cultures which already had their own laws and customs, accommodation was made where these conflicted with Muslim law. The local laws were modified in different ways in different Muslim areas. This helps to account for some of the variety of customs found in the Muslim world.[8]

Another major factor is the popular opinion in which the Muslim masses hold Muhammad. The Muslims have elevated Muhammad to a position similar to that which Christ holds in the hearts of the Christians. On the birthday of Muhammad, he is praised and called "the light of all light; he is the loveliest of all men; like a rose in the garden, like a pearl in the shell; through him all blessings flow." In the Islam of the masses Muhammad has become the helper of the faithful in this life and the intercessor on the day of judgment. Popular belief professes that whoever dies with the name of Muhammad on his lips will be saved regardless of the life which he has led in this world; conversely whoever dies without calling upon Muhammad will not enter

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[7]W. Montgomery Watt, Muhammad at Medina (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 313.

[8]Erwin I. J. Rosenthal, Judaism and Islam (London: Thomas Yoseloff, c.1961), p. 4.

paradise no matter how pure and holy his life has been.[9]

In seeking to understand Indonesian Islam, Hurgronje writes:

> In order to arrive at the basis of the significance of Islam in the lives and thoughts of the natives, it is of course primarily necessary to take into account what this Islam is, and what are the demands that it makes, in practice as well as in theory, upon those who profess it.[10]

The following presents an analysis of Islam in the islands on this basis. What is true of Islam in Indonesia or Malaya also holds true of Islam in the Philippines.

Islamic countries have two main patterns which are often in conflict, the hierarchic and lay cultures. This is due to the relation between Islamic doctrine and the local culture that became Islamized. The Islamic pattern is recognized as more advanced and assumes more authority. It is represented in writing and adopted for social prestige. The pre-Islamic pattern has a strong undercurrent which exerts a powerful influence even on the intelligensia. It will be "officially" denied or deprecated. People who hold these views will be labeled as superstitious. The social position of a person may depend upon which influence is greater in his life.

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[9]Erich W. Bethmann, Bridge to Islam (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., c.1953), p. 41.

[10]Hurgronje, II, 271.

There may be some adjustment and accommodation between these two patterns or traditions where Islamic teachers recognize popular tradition as religion of the ignorant or tolerate local practice which is heretical from the orthodox viewpoint. Some explain that Muhammad set the precedent when he converted a heathen pilgrimage into the Muslim hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca which every Muslim is to make at least once in his lifetime. In this way local culture is integrated and "sanctified" into Islamic culture.[11]

Thus local Islam is understood through serious study and attention to Muslims living in various areas of the world. Hendrik Kraemer states:

> Generally speaking missionaries study far too little, but what is even more remarkable is the fact that study is mainly seen in the sense of studying in books behind one's desk. Little thought, however, is given to study of Mohammedan people, who constantly surround us, of their conditions and opinions; missionaries usually content themselves with a number of remarks picked up in conversation. They read books by Europeans about Islam and discuss it on this basis. They do not, however, plunge into the living forms of Islam that surround them and that should be their concern.[12]

What then is Islam? It is impossible to give a complete answer in a few words. Islam is a religion which stresses the submission to the one God. Muhammad assumes a position

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[11]Robert Redfield, The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c.1956), pp. 48-49.

[12]Hendrik Kraemer, From Missionfield to Independent Church (London: SCM Press Ltd., c.1958), p. 132.

of prominence as the last and greatest of the messengers of God. Islam may be blended with all sorts of local pagan beliefs and philosophic concepts, but it remains Islam. Thus Islam is found in its many varieties in many parts of the world.

Indonesian Islam

General characteristics

Not only is Islam in Indonesia different from that found in the classical Islamic areas of the world, but within Indonesia itself and within Southeast Asia there are found many different types and degrees of Islamization. It is almost impossible to make many generalizations about Islam in Indonesia and the specific type of Islam that may be prevalent there. Nevertheless this is an attempt to give some of the general characteristics of Indonesian Islam which are also generally true of Islam found throughout Southeast Asia. A recent study of Southeast Asia describes Indonesia with its ninety per cent Muslim population as the largest Islamic land in the world. However, the burning faith of Muhammad is hardly recognizable in the islands. This is evident in the small, simple mosques and Islamic schools in Indonesia and Malaya. There is little evidence of missionary fervor in Southeast Asian Islam, which is influenced by oriental passivity. Islam did not penetrate

Malaya and Indonesia until the late thirteenth century, more than six hundred years after its conception in the Middle East. In passing through Persia and India it lost much of its vigor. Islam did not require strict obedience to its laws, and the stress on equality appealed to the poor classes. Islam absorbed Hinduism, Buddhism, animism and local customs in a syncretistic manner to gain the adherence of the people of Southeast Asia.[13]

Some scholars say that Indonesian Islam is only a veneer over a heathen foundation. This is supported by the fact that Indonesian Muslims follow certain customs and practices which are alien or even opposed to orthodox Islam. However, others argue that it should be remembered that Islam is not just the Qur'an and tradition, but that there is freedom for common opinion and practice within Islam. Orthodox and strictly traditional Islam can be found in Indonesia as much as in other Muslim areas. Therefore Indonesian Islam is truly a part of world Islam. When an Indonesian claims to be a Muslim, his word should be accepted.[14]

Islam in Indonesia tends to stress its extensive rather than its intensive aspects. The average Indonesian has a superficial and usually defective knowledge of the doctrines

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[13]Stanley Karnow and the Editors of Life, South-East Asia (Amsterdam: Time-Life International, c.1964), p. 106.

[14]van Nieuwenhuijze, pp. 39-40.

and law of Islam. Few can read Arabic. There is some reciting of the Qur'an from memory, this is the maximum religious education for many Indonesian Muslims. Fulfillment of religious duties is as good or as bad as that found in other parts of the Muslim world. Many evidences of pre-Islamic religious practices can be seen in everyday life.[15]

Islam in Indonesia is of many types due to the different tribal customs in different parts of the archipelago. The prevailing type of Islam however combines a fierce loyalty to Islam with laxity in the observance of religious duties such as the five daily prayers, the salat. This is true even of the fanatical Achehnese in northern Sumatra. The pilgrimage to Mecca is more highly regarded than it generally is in other Muslim areas of the world. Whole families will share in the expense of sending one member on the hajj. It is the common belief that such a trip gains the forgiveness of sins. The pilgrim usually returns to his home in Arabian dress to signify his increased religious consciousness.

The Muslims of Indonesia also like to honor the dead by visiting the graves of "holy" men and women. They also have a tendency towards the magical and mystical elements of Islam which are sometimes based on pre-Islamic belief combined with

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[15] Ibid., p. 41.

Sufi teachings.[16]

Justus van der Kroef's analysis of Islam in Indonesia states:

> Indonesia is a nominally Muslim country, but the extent to which Islam has been accepted among its more than 85,000,000 inhabitants differs greatly from region to region. At some native court centers and in such sections as north Sumatra, where Islamic influence made itself felt centuries before the coming of the Dutch, Islamic orthodoxy has always been conspicuous. In other areas traditional, animistic and pantheistic concepts are more prominent.[17]

Although Islam in Indonesia may be considered by many to be only a "veneer," this does not make it any less important in the lives of the Indonesian people and nation. Islam is a significant factor in the lives of the people of Southeast Asia and has acquired a valuable status of being accepted as a part and parcel of the culture. The type of Islam can usually be improved and become more articulate as long as the people consider themselves to be Muslims.[18]

In Indonesia the various religious influences did not reach down deeply into the daily lives of the people. They only succeeded in changing the names of the supreme object

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[16]J. Rauws, et al., The Netherland Indies (London and New York: The World Dominion Press, 1935), pp. 101-103.

[17]Justus M. van der Kroef, "Problems of Dutch Mission Policy in Indonesia," Practical Anthropology, VII (1960), 265.

[18]Ibid., p. 269. Cf. Lawrence Rosen, "The Islamization of Indonesia" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Chicago, 1965), p. 10.

of worship to Shiva under Hindu influence, then to Buddha under Buddhist influence, and, finally, to Allah under Muslim influence.[19] Norton Ginsburg, an anthropologist, writes:

> Although Islam was a new influence in opposition to the older Hindu and Buddhist influences, it should not be supposed that it was non-Indian, for the Islam which was adopted by the Malays was not that of Arabia and Persia so much as an Indian form which had taken on many of the mystical formulations of Indian religions. Nevertheless, it was a break from the complete Indian dominance of previous centuries. India lost its pre-eminence as a sort of mother country, and the many gods of Hinduism were replaced by the concept of a single god. The Arabic alphabet replaced the Indian scripts, and Arabic words entered the Malayan language, replacing in many cases former Sanskrit. In these and many other ways--in eating habits, in clothing, in ceremonials--did Islam replace the former Hindu and Buddhist influences.[20]

The importance of Islam in Indonesian culture and history is also seen from the following remarks of A. Johns, a historian:

> One of the unifying themes of the history of Indonesia is the spread and development of Islamic religious life. And Islam at that which came orchestrated with various Indian and Persian accretions, and which was to grow mixed, to a greater or less extent with local practices, animist or Hindu. So that a historical study of Indonesian Islam thoroughly documented by texts, carefully related to the social and economic background

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[19]Basil Mathews, Unfolding Drama in Southeast Asia (New York: Friendship Press, c.1944), pp. 36-37.

[20]Norton Ginsburg and Chester F. Roberts, Jr., Malaya (Seattle: University of Washington, c.1958), p. 25.

is one of the fields of research which can throw light on the thought and life of Indonesians themselves.[21]

Most of Islam in Indonesia belongs to the Shafi'i school, which is one of the four Sunni schools of orthodox Islam. The most concentrated Muslim area in Indonesia is on the island of Java, which is the most heavily populated of all of the islands and has about eighty per cent of the total population. The percentage of Muslims in the outer islands of Indonesia is far less than in Java. The Javanese Muslims have the underlying Hindu-Javan culture. The most fanatical Indonesian Muslims are the Achehnese and the Minangkabao tribes in northern and western Sumatra, respectively. These two groups are also considered the most orthodox Muslims who account for only a small percentage of the Muslims of Indonesia.[22]

Indian Islam has been strongly influenced by Persian Islam with its Shi'ite teachings. Indian Islam has in turn influenced Southeast Asian Islam which still shows traces of Shi'ite influence despite the predominant Shafi'i school of Islam throughout Indonesia. This Shi'ite influence can be seen in the celebration of the Muharram festival observed in

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[21]D. G. E. Hall, editor, Historians of South-East Asia (London: Oxford University Press, c.1961), p. 37.

[22]G. H. Bosquet, A French View of the Netherland Indies, translated from the French by Philip E. Lilienthal (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 1-3.

parts of Indonesia and in the respect which is paid to Ali, Hasan and Husain.[23]

Among the Muslims of Southeast Asia the term Malay has come to be synonymous with that of Muslim.[24] To a lesser extent, this is also true of the various Muslim tribes throughout Indonesia and the Philippines. The inhabitants consider the Malay language the Islamic language of Southeast Asia. Thus during the Dutch administration of the Netherland Indies when the government promoted the use of the Malay language, they were, inadvertently, promoting the spread of Islam throughout the islands. Before World War II Malay was usually written in Arabic characters.[25] The national language of Indonesia is a modified form of the Malay language and, today, is generally written in the Latin alphabet.

A distinction is generally drawn between the types of Islam found in the "inner islands" of Sumatra and Java and that of the "outer islands" of the eastern part of the Indian archipelago.[26] These eastern islands would include the Muslim areas of the southern Philippines. The differences are far

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[23]Richard James Wilkinson, Malay Beliefs (London: Luzao and Co., 1906), p. 3.

[24]S. B. Scott, "Mohammedanism in Borneo," Journal of the American Oriental Society, XXXIII (1913), p. 326.

[25]Simon, p. 32.

[26]Harry J. Benda, "Continuity and Change in Indonesian Islam," Asian and African Studies, I (1965), 123-125.

outnumbered by the similarities in the type of Islam prevalent in Southeast Asia.

Javanese Islam

Java was the center of the Hindu empire in Indonesia. Java today is the center of the government of the Republic of Indonesia. In Java Islam shows very little of an Arabic influence but displays a strong Hindu character.[27] The Hindu-Buddhist civilization of Java was broken up by the Muslim invasion of 1475 and most of the people are now Muslims. Javanese Islam displays many animistic and Hinduistic survivals. Islam in Java is thus a rather primitive and tolerant type throughout most of the rural areas.[28] A Dutch missionary to Indonesia, J. C. Rauws, states:

> The religion of Java is Mohammedanism but it differs greatly from that taught by the prophet, or even from that found in the Near East today. Carried by the Arabs to India it was deeply modified by Indian beliefs before it was transferred to the Far East.
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> The faithful offer prayers with faces turned toward Mecca. They take part in Friday services at the mosque; they fast from sunrise to sunset during Ramadhan, the ninth month; they abstain from forbidden food such as pork and most fermented drinks. The elaborate Hindu and Buddhistic worship with idols, temples and the highly organized priesthood fell before the militant Mohammedans, but beliefs in the souls of the dead, demons, spirits of the mountains and trees was undisturbed. The power of

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[27]Bosquet, pp. 20-21.

[28]Rauws, pp. 11-17. Cf. Clifford Geertz, The Religion of Java (New York: Free Press, c.1960).

> incantations, magic and even of the old-time medium still persists alongside the declaration that "there is no other god but God and Mohammed is his prophet."[29]

The Javanese display a broad tolerance or even an indifference toward religion. They often say that all religions are equally good, and that everyone will be saved by his own faith is he lives up to it. They believe that to show hatred to those who differ from them in religion is contrary to the nature of religion. Thus in most areas of Java there has been little open opposition to the preaching of the Gospel. Where the Gospel has been proclaimed in Javanese homes, it has frequently been met with praise. Occasionally even the Javanese Muslim leaders express themselves as favorably disposed towards Christianity.[30] The Javanese Muslims are reportedly the laxest in the world in regard to the performance of the five daily prayers. Women are given a much greater role than in other parts of the Islamic world. One carry-over from Hinduism in Javanese Islam is the prestige of the teacher called "guru,"[31] who usually has a following of Muslim disciples who go around begging. These men use

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[29]Fay-Cooper Cole, Peoples of Malaysia (New York: D. van Nostrand Company, Inc., c.1945), p. 242.

[30]D. Bakker, "The Desire for Higher Civilization and the Spread of Islam in Java," Moslem World, I (1911), 250.

[31]The Hindu Sanskrit term for teacher, guru, is still used by Muslims in the Philippines, although the Persian term, usted, is also used, especially in Islamic schools.

Hindu and pagan chants to chase demons from the sick. Other evidences of Hindu-animistic belief is seen in the shrines of Muslim saints and the mystical, theosophical Islamic literature to be found in Java.[32]

From the beginning of Islam in Java it was propagated in a mystic form which had both orthodox and heretical, pantheistic elements. It was taught that "what is, is God and what is not is God." Another teaching proclaims that God is "Most High who is neither preceded by not-being nor accompanied by not-being, nor even surrounded by not-being." One of the early Javanese Muslim saints, Seh Siti Djenar, claimed to be identical with God. But he was condemned by his fellow saints. This mystical influence has led some scholars to think that Islam came from Iran via India and Sumatra into Java. The day of the martyrdom of Husain is observed by many families in Java, showing a Shi'ite influence. This influence is also found in Acheh in northern Sumatra and among the Minangkabao in west central Sumatra, who also observe the martyrdom of Husain.[33]

The Javanese Muslims make a distinction between "white people," those who live religiously, and "red people," those who do not live religiously. It is reported that the number

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[32]Mathews, pp. 34-35.

[33]Morgan, p. 374.

of white people is increasing through religious instruction, Islamic political parties and international contacts with other Muslims. In Indonesian Islam the salat, the five daily prayers, is given the most emphasis of the five "pillars of Islam." The Friday noon service held in the mosque is considered to be compulsory and is therefore the most popular. Special services during the month of Ramadan, the period of fasting, are even better attended. The time for prayer at the mosque is usually announced by beating on a drum made of a large hollow tree trunk with a skin stretched over one end. In the observance of the zakat, the practice of alms, the main emphasis is the obligation to give to the poor of the community at the end of the fast of Ramadan.[34]

A Dutch missionary in East Java, E. G. van Kekem, describes three distinct types of Muslims found there. The first is the orthodox, conservative Muslim who is opposed to all change and insists on using the Qur'an only in Arabic. This type of Muslim still directs the schools which are called pesantren and is very hostile to Christianity. Very few converts have ever been won to Christianity from this group. The second type is the modern Muslim who desires to use education and all modern means for the strengthening and expansion of Islam. This group has adopted many techniques

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[34] Ibid., p. 384.

of the Christian mission. They also establish schools, but Arabic is taught by using translations. They are also opposed to the Christian mission and offer much opposition to conversion. The third type is the tolerant, syncretistic, mystical Muslim who believes that all religions are equally good. These are in large numbers throughout Java and Southeast Asian Muslim areas. They are friendly to Christians and considerable numbers of converts have been won from this group in Java.[35]

Malayan Islam

The Malays of the Malayan Peninsula were originally an immigrant people who adopted Islam in the fifteenth century. When Buddhism and Hinduism had swept over Sumatra and Java before the coming of Islam to Southeast Asia, Malaya had remained primarily pagan. The belief in spirits and the magic are evident in the Islam that is found in Malaya today. Nevertheless, the Malays of the Peninsula cling to their Islamic faith fanatically and are still not represented in the Christian Church in Malaya. Today, they have a high rate of literacy due to the government support of village schools. The main approach of the Christian mission to the Malayan Islam has been through schools. The greatest

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[35]E. G. van Kekem, "The East Java Mission," Moslem World, XXX (1940), 22-25.

obstacle has been the social and religious solidarity of the Islamic community. A convert to Christianity would be considered a traitor to his people and to his country. There is a report at the present time that the ties of Islam are weakening in the younger generation.[36] The Malays of Malaya retain a body of superstition and ritualistic practices which are not derived from Islam. This deep commitment to pre-Islamic ritual and spiritual values remains among Malayan Muslims today. There is no doubt that the Malays of the Peninsula are definitely Muslims, but this must be qualified by the statement that Islamic practice in Malaya is far from that practiced by the Muslims of the Near East. The Islam of Malaya does not detract from the faithfulness of these Muslims, but merely accentuates the fact that Islam is a living religion in Malaya.[37]

Fay-Cooper Cole, an anthropologist, has said:

> The influence of Islam on British Malaya, the Dutch Indies and the southern Philippines is of great importance, yet it forms a veneer beneath which most of the early Malayan life still functions.[38]

The average Muslim of Malaya looks upon God as a great King or Governor who is very powerful but also very remote

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[36]V. A. Chelliah and Alexander McLeish, Malaya and Singapore (London: World Dominion Press, n.d.), p. 7.

[37]Ginsburg and Roberts, pp. 227-228.

[38]Cole, pp. 7-8.

from the daily life of the average Muslim. Such a god does not trouble himself about a villager's affairs. The life of the villager is more closely related to beliefs in spirits who are comparable to the local police. They may be corrupt, and they may be prone to make mistakes, but they take a most absorbing, personal interest in the life of the average Muslim. Therefore the Malayan Muslim avoids offending the spirits and seeks to propitiate them to gain their good favor by various means.[39]

Sir George Maxwell in his book In Malay Forests gives the following description of the Malay religious outlook.

> The Malays of the Peninsula . . . are now without an exception followers of the Prophet--decidedly unorthodox in many ways, it is true, but unshakable in their adherence to what they consider to be the essentials of their religion: recognizing the claim of the "Law of the Custom," the Hukom Adat, the traditions of many centuries of paganism and Hinduism on the one hand, and on the other hand the often conflicting claim of the "Law of the Prophet," the Hukom Shara, their more recently acquired code; and always ready to make a compromise between them. In certain parts of the Malay Peninsula the pre-Muhammadan customary laws of debts, land tenure and inheritance have prevailed over the Muhammadan Code and have recently in some instances been perpetuated by judicial decisions and by statutes.
>
> It is often said that the Malay of the Peninsula is a bad Muhammadan because he has retained so much of the pre-Muhammadan beliefs. The truth more really is that he is an imperfect Muhammadan. . . . If he is told that his omission to say the five daily prayers, for instance, will insure his eternal damnation, he will be greatly distressed to hear it; but he will probably contend that

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[39]Wilkinson, p. 2.

> this is not the law as he knows it, and thence proceed to try to persuade his critic, as he has persuaded himself, that a man should not be judged by the law, but by the law as he knows it.[40]

In summary, the Muslim of the Malay Peninsula is devoted to the religion of Islam and strongly resists any effort to change. Even though the type of Islam that is practiced there may not be recognized as orthodox by Muslims from the Arab world, yet it is a most vital part of the life of the Malay of the Peninsula.

Bornean Islam

It was from the island of Borneo that Islam came into the Philippines. Therefore the type of Islam found in Borneo has a more direct bearing on the type of Islam found in the Philippines. There are three identifiable influences which make Indonesian Islam a definite religion throughout the entire area, including Borneo and the Philippines.

> 1. The environment, which is geographically and economically similar for the coast people of many islands.
> 2. Survivals of early "Indonesian," pre-Mohammedan ideas and customs, so strongly held that the new faith to be successful must either absorb or tolerate them.
> 3. A generally prevalent mental attitude of primitive superstitiousness.[41]

Among the lower class of poorer Malays found in Borneo,

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[40]Moh[amma]d Rasli bin Moh[amma]d Nawi, "Economic View of Puasa," Intisari, I, 2, 52.

[41]Scott, p. 322.

the artisans, small merchants and fishermen, there was little incentive for them to adopt foreign customs from the traders who came there. However, among the leaders and wealthy traders of Borneo, it was advantageous to them to adopt the customs of the visitors. Thus, there are two different types of Islam among the people of Borneo, those of the upper class and those of the lower class. The lower class has many non-Muslim concepts, while the rich rulers and merchants of Borneo have lost many of their pre-Islamic ideas through their cosmopolitan contacts. This upper class is also of superior intelligence and has gained a better understanding of the meaning of Islam. The difference between these classes is still evident in the type of Islam found in Borneo today.[42]

Islam was successful in gaining followers among the Malay people, because it was suited to the Malays' temperament and manner of life. It was also adapted to fit the Malays' situation. The superiority of the Arab traders and sailors is given as another reason for the acceptance of Islam in Borneo.

> The confession of faith, undoubtedly in Borneo as in the Malay Peninsula and Acheh, was regarded less as a creed than as a declaration of fealty. The Holy War against the infidel was held to justify their slave-hunting raids on the Dyaks of the interior, as well as the piratical

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[42] Ibid., pp. 326-327.

> attacks on European vessels. The Hadjj across the partially familiar seas, became to this boat-building, sea-faring people immensely popular, giving the Hadjis not only prestige and honor on their return but opportunities for a wider area of trade. . . . A great portion of the ritual prayers is neglected, as not fitting in well with their life. The laws of trade of the Koran are ignored. . . . Mohammedanism was embraced eagerly just insofar as it fitted in with the habits of their life which had grown from the environment.[43]

Not only did Islam change the life of the Malays, the life of the Malays also changed Islam as it came into the area. The Malays of Borneo are Muslims who retain many animistic superstitions and a belief in the power of the magic in dealing with the cosmic powers.[44]

The Role of Adat in Indonesian Islam

Indonesian customs are a part of the Malayo-Polynesian culture which extends from Madagascar to Formosa. These primitive foundations had been affected only slightly by various Muslim laws. In Java rules for Muslim marriage and divorce are followed, but property allocation stems from Indonesian tradition. Generally speaking, Muslim law is subordinated to local tradition. In Indonesia even the wife can obtain a divorce, which under Shafi'i law is very difficult.[45]

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[43] Ibid., pp. 323-324.

[44] Ibid., p. 331.

[45] Bosquet, pp. 9-10.

The process of the Islamization in Indonesia is still taking place today. In no part of Indonesia has the Shari'a, "Muslim law," completely replaced adat, local customary law. The laws of marriage, family relationship and inheritance are largely governed by adat rather than the Shari'a. The Minangkabao tribe, which has been Muslim for centuries, still follows a matrilinear clan-system.[46]

"Tradition, adat, is the all encompassing pattern of life for every member of the community."[47] In important matters of life there is no choice, while in minor areas of life there is much freedom. In adat, normative myth and everyday life with its changes meet on a common ground. Adat thus becomes the standard by which to live. Indonesian culture has always been based on the closed community life where all is governed by the elders according to adat. A Muslim is a member of the umma Islam, "the community of Islam." Thus for the Indonesian there is no fundamental difference between closed community life and Muslim life. The Muslim community only broadens the concept of the closed community to the entire Muslim world.[48]

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[46] J. Prins, "Adatlaw and Muslim Religious Law in Modern Indonesia," Welt des Islams, I (1951), 285.

[47] van Nieuwenhuijze, p. 10.

[48] Ibid., pp. 38-39, 80. Cf. B. Ter Haar, Adat Law in Indonesia, edited and translated from the Dutch by E. Adamson

The Achehnese Muslims in northern Sumatra are strongly guided by adat which has evolved over the centuries. The adat changes from generation to generation. The most important laws are those which are not set down in writing but are kept through proverbs or familiar sayings in the oral traditions. The Arabic laws have only a limited influence on the masses. The Achehnese believe that adat and hukom, which is the term for religious law, should take their place side by side in a good Muslim community. However in practice the adat governs most of life while hukom influences only a small portion. The people see no conflict with Islam when they follow adat even when it actually contradicts Islamic law.[49]

As has been mentioned adat can change from generation to generation despite the belief that it is unchangeable "law" or custom. In Malayan culture, "the most important laws are those which are not set down in writing"[50]--expressed in

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Hoebel and A. Arthur Schiller (Djakarta: Bhratara, 1962). Originally written as a textbook for Indonesian law students. Identifies nineteen areas of the archipelago which have distinctive adat.

[49]Hurgronje, I, 9-12. Cf. Ibid., I, 72. An Achehnese proverb states, "Hukom and adat are inseparable, even as God's essence and His attributes."

[50]Ibid., I, 10-14. In speaking of the influence of adat in relation to the Christian mission to Islam, Hendrik Kraemer writes in From Missionfield to Independent Church, p. 115: "These facts, it seems to me, reveal what is the stumbling block to missions. Since Islam is the crowning

proverbs and familiar sayings of actual occurrences of daily life. When laws must be put down in writing, it is a sign that they are already falling into decay and disuse. Adat controls the life of the people, but adat is determined only by painstaking research and study.

The Role of Sufism in Indonesian Islam

Sufism is the name given to the mystical practice in Islam.[51] There is a wide difference of opinion on how much of an influence Sufism has played and presently plays in Islam in the islands. James Thayer Addison has called it

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element of their adat (traditions of ancestors), and is rooted in the natural order of things, an encounter with Islam is essentially an encounter with their tenacious and inert notion of adat. Who is willing and able to abandon his adat? One could just as well ask a man to shed his own skin. In this consciousness of adat and their collective apprehensions referred to above, their strong attachment to the family is also embedded. Beside Islam, which has become fused with a notion of adat, this attachment to family constitutes the second great obstacle to another religion. The third obstacle is to be found in their lack of genuine sincerity, as evidenced in their culmination,--so inexplicable to western minds--, of firm adherence to Islam and amiable indifference to religion as a vital problem. Hence, before we proclaim the Gospel, we need to arouse their conscience, their deeper self."

[51]Two studies of Sufism in Southeast Asia are: R. L. Archer, "Muhammadan Mysticism in Sumatra," Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, XV (1937). Syed Naguib al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practiced among the Malays (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute Ltd., c.1963).

"the outstanding characteristic of the Moslem Indies."[52] He believes that this is due partly to the natural inclination of the people, partly to their heritage of Hindu teaching and practice, and partly to the type of Islam which has been propagated in Southeast Asia.

> Sufism, or mysticism, and particularly pantheistic mysticism, found fertile soil in Indonesian spiritual and emotional life from the very beginning because of the nature of the Indonesian mind and because of the age old influence of Hinduism and Buddhism. Moreover, Islam was introduced in Indonesia by Indians.[53]

Sufi doctrines were taught in northern Sumatra in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some Sufi teachers exerted great influence. The founders and leaders of various Sufi orders are given divine honor and worship by their followers. The work of al-Ghazali has been known in Indonesian and Malay languages for over two centuries. His influence is widespread in Arabic schools. He helped to bring Sufism into the orthodox fold of Islam.[54]

Some Sufi teachers in Sumatra taught that Muslim tradition and law were no longer necessary and that those who live in communion with God are above ritual and law. They believe that complete communion with God rules out the distinction

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[52] James Thayer Addison, The Christian Approach to the Moslem (New York: Columbia University Press, c.1942), p. 239.

[53] Morgan, p. 395.

[54] Ibid.

between the creature and the Creator. These Sufi teachers gained wide influence in the social and moral life of the people.[55] Both orthodox and heretical Islamic mysticism have exerted a strong influence in Indonesia. Heretical, pantheistic mysticism has continued to exist even though orthodox Sufism became more widely known. Many politicians and intellectuals practice the disciplines of the inner life of mysticism.[56]

Winstedt describes Indian influence on Indonesian Islam as follows:

> Like their early Indian teachers, Malay Muslims, although orthodox Sunnis of the Shafe'ite school, formerly worshipped saints both living and dead, split themselves into sects and accepted a pantheism that was not as in Arabia the speculation of a few, but as in India the faith of the mosque and marketplace. The worship of saints countenanced the continuance of time-hallowed offerings at the graves of ancestor, ruler and teacher. And the gods of the Hindu pantheon became genies, infidel it is true, but for a long while not vanished from invocation or from charms for the lover and the warrior.[57]

In Malaya the Muslim frequently is seen at the grave of some famous Muslim saint. A Muslim vows to bring offerings to the saint if he will answer his petition. A piece of cloth is then tied to a nearby tree to remind the spirit of

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[55]R. L. Archer, "Muhammadan Mysticism in Sumatra," Moslem World, XXVIII (1938), 231-234.

[56]Morgan, p. 402.

[57]Richard O. Winstedt, "Indian Influence in the Malay World," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London (1944), p. 191.

the saint of the petition. The Qur'an is also believed to have magical power when a verse is written on paper and swallowed by a sick person.[58]

The early Sufi influence in Indonesia was later tempered by more traditionalistic forms of Islam as contact with Arabia and Egypt increased. Yet, even the orthodox teachers have found it expedient to use mysticism to maintain a hold on the masses. It has been said that "every Muslim teacher of any note tries to give instruction in mysticism, because only by so doing can he get any real hold on the people." The Sufi recitation of dhikr, meaning a remembrance, is popular throughout Indonesia.[59]

The influence of Sufism on Indonesian Islam is not immediately evident, because it is not present in an institutional form. Nevertheless, Sufism continues to be a vital influence at all levels and in all types of Islam in the islands, even when the adherents are not aware of Sufism in their belief and practice.

The Role of Education in Indonesian Islam

Indonesian children are taught to recite the Qur'an by

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[58]Mathews, p. 110. Cf. C. R. Watson, "The Moslems of Sumatra as a Type," Moslem World, III (1913), 164-167.

[59]J. M. van der Kroef, "The Arabs in Indonesia," Middle East Journal, VII (1953), 319-320.

a guru or usted, both terms meaning teacher in Sanskrit and Persian, respectively. When a Muslim child has mastered the introductory studies of Islam and is proficient in reciting the Qur'an, a family feast called a slametan is held. The Muslim children learn about ritual purification and performance of the daily ritual prayers. They learn about expressing the proper intention to fast during Ramadan. There are also advanced schools for the study of Islam which are called pesantren. Some of these are quite large and offer courses in various branches of Islamic theology. In Sumatra a pesantren is called madrasah.[60]

The religious leaders in the mosques and religious schools are held in respect because of pre-Muslim tradition. The masses held these teachers in awe because they could read the sacred books. The only ones who have more respect are the Hadjis who have been to Mecca. Sometimes these religious teachers, who are called the ulema, are the people who support the local political rulers, and sometimes they are in competition with them.[61]

Clifford Geertz, an anthropologist who has spent much time doing fieldwork and research, especially in Java, declares that the Muslim schools are the main factor in establishing

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[60]Morgan, pp. 383-384. Islamic schools in the Philippines are also known as madrasahs.

[61]van Nieuwenhuijze, p. 42.

Islam firmly within Indonesia.

> The Moslem educational system is the master institution in the perpetuation of the Islamic tradition and the creation of an Islamic society, as well as the locus of the most serious efforts to modernize that tradition and society presently being pursued. . . . Without the pesantren and later the madrasah and sekolah Islam, Indonesia would not have become even a nominally Islamic society from the simple circumstances of contact.[62]

The role of the school was vital in establishing Islam in Indonesia, and the role of the Muslim school at present is also vital in bringing about a modernization of Islam in Indonesia.

> Today as in the past the school is the lifeline of the Islamic tradition and the reformed school is that tradition's path to the present. It is essential that this path should not be blocked by shallow and short-sighted "modernization" policies which attempt to catch up with the West by a mindless imitation of its external forms.[63]

The above gives some indication of the important role the school has played, and is presently playing, in establishing and modernizing Islam throughout Southeast Asia. This is a subject worthy of much more consideration and study than can be given it at the present time. The role of the Muslim school is a prime consideration for the Christian mission to Islam in the islands.

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[62]Clifford Geertz, "Modernization in a Moslem Society: The Indonesian Case," Quest, XXXIX (October-November 1963), 10.

[63]Ibid., p. 17.

Distinctive Beliefs and Practices in Indonesian Islam

Just as in all areas of the Muslim world there is a distinction made between what is called "high Islam" and "folk Islam," the same holds true in Indonesia. It is sometimes a blending of the two that makes it virtually impossible to distinguish whether a certain belief or practice should be classified as high Islam or folk Islam or in some area between the two. The following beliefs and practices are generally considered to be those of folk Islam as it is found in Indonesia.

In describing the religious beliefs of Southeast Asia, Basil Mathews, a British missiologist, says that the common substratum of the Buddhists, Muslims, Hindus, Confucianists and some Christians is animism. This is especially influenced by the belief in the spirits of ancestors exercising control over present day life which is so common throughout the entire Orient.[64]

The family group is important in Indonesian life where members of society are sometimes linked to deified ancestors who first gave the adat. Indonesian religious systems seem

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[64]Mathews, p. 2. Cf. Bosquet, p. 59. A major factor in the demographic problem of Indonesia is due to the Javanese concept of ancestor-worship. Family ties are so strong that birth control is virtually impossible. Already four-fifths of the total Indonesian population live on one-tenth of the land area on the island of Java, making Java the most densely populated area in the world.

to be monistic, in that they stress close identity between the material and the spiritual. Thus the concept of God tends to be all-inclusive. God is not thought of so much as a personal being separate from his creation, but rather he is considered as the aggregate of all supernatural forces, a godhead, which can be seen in many different ways.[65]

Van der Kroef describes the indigenous religious view of Southeast Asia as follows:

> Basic to the cosmology of these indigenous religious systems is the monistic unity of all reality, in which Godhead and man, the supernatural and natural order, continuously intertwine, and in which sharply delineated and conceptualized distinctions between objects are blurred and paradox seems to illustrate higher unity. It cannot be emphasized enough how basic--and how essentially similar in different Indonesian cultural strata, from Sumatra to the Moluccas,--this cosmology in its religious framework is to the entire traditional social process.[66]

In the Indonesian Muslim community the Christian concept of individual sinfulness or personal responsibility is lacking. Thus, there is no need for divine intercession and forgiveness. To be right with God requires only community acceptance.[67] Transgression of the adat of the ancestors is

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[65] van der Kroef, "Problems of Dutch Mission Policy," p. 267.

[66] Justus M. van der Kroef, "National and International Dimensions of Indonesian History," Journal of Southeast Asian History, VI, 22-23.

[67] van der Kroef, "Problems of Dutch Mission Policy," p. 267.

called dosa. Christians in Indonesia have adopted this word to convey the idea of sin. On the other hand, to break the laws or prohibitions in regard to food is known as haram, which has about the same meaning as the word "accursed." This would indicate that for the Muslims of Indonesia a breech of ritual is considered to be a greater offense than the breech of some moral transgression or adat.[68]

Kraemer's analysis of the Indonesian Muslim idea of sin states:

> The indigenous idea of sin is imperfection, weakness. This imperfection, this weakness, is essentially innocent, for it is inherent in man's kordat, his nature. The notion of sin as guilt, man's ineffaceable guilt for which he is personally responsible, as a state of being irrevocably rejected before God, resulting in our having been cast out of the life and communion with God which is essentially necessary for being truly man, this notion is absent. I can only shortly indicate the underlying fundamental reason: the natural, naturalistic monism of primitive man, where the concept of God is actually completely absorbed into the concept of man. Since this notion of sin is lacking, the remission of sins is not a miracle, but self-evident. Surely man cannot be held guilty on account of his innate imperfection and weakness. Forgiveness is god's profession. That they, nevertheless, speak of God's merciful forgiveness is partly due to the influence of Islam, . . . but also derives from the general notion that, besides man who cannot help being imperfect, there is a sovereign and omnipotent God, who, being sovereign, may do as he pleases of course. In the primitive mind man and God have no moral relationship.[69]

Many Muslims in Indonesia have only a superficial

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[68]Simon, p. 173.

[69]Kraemer, From Missionfield to Independent Church, p. 134.

knowledge of religious teaching. Most Indonesians believe that God readily forgives and is full of grace, mercy and charity. The belief in angels, devils and jinns gives opportunity for the pre-Islamic spirits to continue in popular belief. There is a belief that a good or evil spirit lives in every Muslim weapon. The average Muslim in Indonesia believes in the Qur'an as the word of God, but he knows little of the actual content of the Qur'an.

The Indonesian Muslims have a deep reverence for Muhammad and usually hold a big celebration on the anniversary of his birth. Amulets made at this period have special powers when worn about the neck.

The dead are remembered on the third, seventh, fortieth, one hundredth and one thousandth day as well as annually. "All Souls' Day" is observed sometimes with meals in commemoration of the dead.[70]

Fate or belief that God determines human action for years to come on a certain night each year is a common belief in Indonesia.[71]

Uneducated Muslims believe that if they can recite the

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[70]"All Soul's Day" is a festival among the Maranao Muslims of the Philippines. Graves (kobor) of the honored dead are cleaned and lamps are lighted on them. A feast is prepared in which family and friends partake. This festival is distinct from All Saints' Day (November 2) which is widely observed by Christian Filipinos.

[71]Morgan, p. 391.

Arabic words of the Qur'an correctly, even without understanding the meaning, God will bless them and save their souls.[72]

In folk Islam many unusual beliefs have been perpetuated over the years. Loose clothing for men is thought to be more Muslim than the tight trousers worn by infidels.[73] Some houses are thought of being possessed by spirits because the inhabitants are constantly getting sick. Evil spirits are chased away with special ceremonies at the time the work on a new house is begun.[74] The demand for blood vengeance by the next of kin of a slain man is universal in all Muslim countries including those of Southeast Asia. This vengeance can be settled by money rather than by blood.[75]

The prayer at sunset is considered more important than the other four prayers. A drum announces the time of prayer. At Ramadan prayers are offered by the Muslims more faithfully than during the rest of the year.[76] Also during Ramadan, most of the devout Muslims fast in the daylight hours. Some fast only on the first day, others on the first and last and

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[72] Ibid., p. 404.

[73] Hurgronje, I, 25.

[74] Ibid., I, 43.

[75] Ibid., I, 47.

[76] Ibid., I, 62.

still others on the first, last and middle. Services are held in the mosque every night in Ramadan. Slametans, special ceremonial meals, are sometimes held in the mosque at Ramadan. This is to seek a blessing for participants or specified persons.[77]

An unusually large number of Muslims from Southeast Asia make the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. Some of them save for years in order to finance such a trip. In Indonesia the government supports around ten thousand pilgrims in their expenses for making the pilgrimage each year. Thus a major influence in Malaysian Islam is the large number from this area who have become hadjis. On their return from Mecca the hadjis become missionaries and reformers to help bring Islam more into the accord with the practice and teachings of what they have seen and heard in Mecca. This has removed some of the pagan elements from Islam in the Indonesian archipelago.[78]

> If there is indifference as regards the salat, this is more than counterbalanced by the superabundance zeal for the Hajj, for few parts of the Mohammedan world send so large a proportion of their population on this pilgrimage or bring so much wealth year by year to the holy cities of Arabia as the East Indian archipelago.[79]

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[77]Morgan, pp. 386-388.

[78]Thomas W. Arnold, The Preaching of Islam (London: Constable and Company, Inc., 1913), p. 406.

[79]Hurgronje, II, 305. According to data obtained from the records of the Passport Office of the Republic of the

The hadji in Indonesia is considered a holy man and is respected by the Muslim people. He becomes a factor in the spread and strengthening of Islam in his area.[80] A common Philippine belief is that once a person makes the trip to Mecca he will then undergo a complete change from his past life and will from that time on be completely honest and just in all of his dealings with his fellow men, especially his fellow Muslims.

A detailed study by Gottfried Simon, indicates that the Muslim Bataks in northern Sumatra are taught ten religious duties which are considered to be a part of the true faith. A man must show love to God; love to angels; love to the Qur'an; love to the prophets; love to the Muslim teachers; hatred to all the enemies of God (with the explanation that

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Philippines the number of pilgrims to Mecca from 1949 to 1955 was, as follows:

1949	1,770
1950	117
1951	808
1952	365
1953	232
1954	30
1955	700

1954 was a famine year in Mindanao and Sulu. I. H. Zaide, "The Muslims of the Philippines" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of the Philippines, 1956), p. 125. The writer estimates that at least ten per cent of the adult Maranao males have made the hajj. A surprising number of women and children have been to Mecca.

[80]Bakker, p. 253.

God hates all who are not Muslims); fear of the wrath of God; belief in the mercy of God; reverence and awe for the name Mecca, because Mecca is a holy name; a heart turned away from all that is contrary to God. Five things are taught as being well-pleasing to God: to go to the mosque and to pray there in the Arab language; to teach the commandments of God; to devote one's energies to making other Muslims; to increase in virtue; and in humility.

The following ten items are displeasing to God: to pray without mentioning one's father and mother; to step over a grave without saying a prayer; to go abroad and not worship in a mosque; to travel with friends without asking their name and place of origin; not to keep an agreement; when reading the Qur'an to stop short of one hundred chapters; to speak in the presence of a Muslim teacher; to visit mosques without worshipping there; to give one's companion nothing when one has plenty of food; to make fun of the Muslim teacher or ruler.

Ten things are listed which destroy true faith: to have more than one God; to love evil; to do wrong to one's fellow believers; to quarrel with one's fellow believers; to think lightly of the ten parts essential to true belief; not to be afraid of losing one's faith; to copy the dress of unbelievers, for example a sunhat or necktie; not to believe in the mercy of God; to wear trousers of European manufacture; not to turn

toward Mecca at prayer.

Finally there are eight things which must be avoided at all costs on one's deathbed: to destroy the religion of a fellow-believer; not to pray in Arabic; not to be afraid of everlasting torment; to cling to earthly riches; hatred; boasting; lying; to revile a teacher.[81]

Walter Bonar Sidjabat, an Indonesian Christian theologian who has made a careful study of Islam in Indonesia, comes to the following conclusion about Indonesian Islam.

> It is true that there is a prevailing element of syncretism and mysticism in Indonesian Islam; but above all, the absolute unity of God to the Muslims means that Allah is the sole, personal and complete manifestation of the divine as revealed to the prophet Muhammad. . . . Yet it is clear then to all but the orthodox minority that belief in Allah is fused with the worship of all sorts of supernatural influences and forces, personified or not, which are indispensable to communal life. But one thing is sure that for a Muslim whether his religious assumptions are based on orthodox principles or grounded on a syncretistic religious view, his faith in Allah is an absolute conviction.[82]

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[81]Simon, pp. 173-174.

[82]Walter Bonar Sidjabat, Religious Tolerance and the Christian Faith (Djakarta: Badan Penerbit Kristen, 1965), p. 54.

CHAPTER VI

CHARACTERISTICS, BELIEFS AND PRACTICES OF PHILIPPINE ISLAM

Ethnic and Geographical Distribution

Philippine Islam is an extension of Indonesian Islam.

> The Muslims of the Philippines are racially, culturally, and religiously from the same stock [as the Muslims of Indonesia]. Close proximity of the two areas of Mindanao and Sulu contribute still more to the development of closer ties. The Muslims of the Philippines feel as if they belong to the community which extends to Indonesia and looks towards Indonesia for religious and cultural inspirations.[1]

Therefore most of the statements which have been made concerning Indonesian Islam relate directly to Philippine Islam. Nevertheless because of past differences in history and political development there are differences within Philippine Islam. Philippine Islam is the immediate goal of this study, and because the Maranao Muslim of Mindanao is the more immediate object of concern, special attention is given to the Maranao.

There are many different types of Islam throughout the

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[1] I. Q. Zaide, "The Muslims in the Philippines" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of the Philippines, 1956), p. 159. Peter Gowing, Mosque and Moro (Manila: Philippine Federation of Christian Churches, c.1964), pp. 32-33, declares that there is some doubt about where Filipino Muslim loyalty would be in the event of a conflict between Indonesia and the Philippines.

southern Philippines. Therefore when a general statement is made about Islam in the Philippines, it must be kept in mind that there are many possible variations. There is a distinction between "folk Islam" and "high Islam" in the Philippines. There is a predominant Shafi'ite Sunni influence blended with a Sufi influence, yet most Filipino Muslims are not aware of these influences or the distinctions between Islamic and non-Islamic elements in Philippine Islam.[2] Also it is generally recognized that Filipino Muslims are not orthodox, even though they may observe the ban against pork and alcoholic beverages and other external ordinances.[3] As elsewhere throughout the Muslim world, scholars distinguish between the Islam that is found in the rural areas and that that is found in the more heavily populated centers. "Generally the 'more-Islamized' group dwells in areas exposed to urban ways while their 'less-Islamized' brothers are exposed to 'mountain' or rural habits."[4]

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[2]C. L. Pickens, "The Moros of the Sulu Sea," Moslem World, XXXI (1941), 9.

[3]Victor Hurley, The Swish of the Kris (New York: E. P. Dutton, Co., 1936), p. 266. Cf. Gowing, p. 74. In 1955 three Filipino Muslim Congressmen were appointed to a committee of the House of Representatives to study the "Moro Problem." In their report they stated that 80 per cent of the Filipino Muslims are "ignorant of their religion." It was estimated that only 10 per cent could read the Qur'an due to the low literacy rates in the native dialects and much lower literacy in Qur'anic Arabic.

[4]Mamitua Saber and Mauyag Tamano, "Decision-Making and Social Change in Rural Moroland" (Unpublished manuscript,

Most of the Muslims of the Philippines can be classified roughly into two main geographical distributions. One of these groupings is the Sulu Muslims living in the Sulu archipelago stretching from Mindanao to Borneo. This would include those Muslims living on the western tip of Mindanao around Zamboanga City. The other main grouping would be the Mindanao Muslims living in west central Mindanao stretching from the north coast of Lanao to the southern shores of Cotabato Province.

According to a 1963 study, the population figures for the Sulu Muslims represent almost one half million broken down as follows: the Taosugs, 175,000; the Samals, 160,000; the Yakans of Basilan, 100,000; the Badjaos, 20,000. The Mindanao Muslims numbering one million are subdivided into the Maguindanaos, 550,000 and the Maranaos, 450,000. The only Muslim groups not included in these major groupings are the Sangil of Davao and the Melebuganon of Balabac, each numbering around 50,000.[5]

Distinctive Beliefs and Practices of Filipino Muslims

Rufino de los Santos, a Filipino educator in a Muslim

University of the Philippines, Quezon City, 1961), p. 13. This study demonstrates that it is easier to determine the social and political structure than to analyze religious beliefs.

[5]Gowing, pp. 1-6.

area, suggests three areas of Muslim life which need to be altered in order to bring the Filipino Muslim into harmony with the general social life of the rest of the Philippines. These are the practice of polygyny, the practice of divorce, and the practice of slavery.[6]

The Filipino Muslim practice of polygyny is, reportedly, an oriental rather than a religious custom. In the past there have been examples of Filipino Muslim leaders with as many as sixty wives. The Sultan of Sulu had thirteen wives at one period while the Sultan of Mindanao had twelve. The size of the harem is controlled by financial considerations and political alliances. The wife is thought of as a bearer of children and a servant. Muslim women are not treated cruelly, but they are looked upon as inferior to men. This is in keeping with Islamic practice in other Muslim areas. It is still possible for a Muslim woman in the Philippines to rise to a position of respect and influence. The veil is not used by women in the Philippines. The unmarried women are carefully restricted, but married women have considerable freedom. Muslim women have been known to fight beside the men in battles against their enemies.[7]

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[6]Rufino de los Santos, "Developing a Revised Program for the Dansalan Junior College High School, Marawi City, Philippines on the Basis of Discovered Maranao Needs" (Unpublished Doctor's Thesis, Columbia University, 1961), p. 21.

[7]Hurley, pp. 240-243.

Although the practice of slavery is a violation of the civil law of the Philippines, it is still practiced within the Muslim areas. It seems to be dying out in most areas at the present time. It is believed that slavery is also a pre-Islamic custom in the Philippines. When the Spanish arrived in the Philippines they found that "slavery was a universal practice in the islands long before they came."[8] The Muslim and pagan areas are the last places in which slavery persists.

Philippine Muslims generally believe in various types of spirit beings. This is not different from other Muslims throughout the world. The Philippine Muslims have been known to believe in a spirit called Bal-bal, a creature with a human body and wings of a bird. Bal-bal was said to eat livers out of unburied bodies. Another creature which resembles a crocodile is known as a kurits. The skin of the kurits is supposed to be so tough that no sword can penetrate it. The kurits is also believed to have a rebirth from a pool of blood after it has been killed. An anting-anting is a fetish which is worn around the neck. It can be made of a polished coconut shell or a white rock from a crocodile's stomach or from verses of the Qur'an. The anting-anting is

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[8]Horatio de la Costa, S. J., The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, c.1961), p. 25.

supposed to make crops grow, to give immunity to warriors, to prosper a love affair or to help recover from sickness.[9] The Muslims also believe that spirits can cause sickness and are present especially at the time of birth and death.

The Maranaos who live around scenic Lake Lanao believe that windstorms, earthquakes and other natural calamities are manifestations of spirits of former, powerful, deceased sultans and datus. The seasonal waterspouts on the lake are called apo, a pan-Philippine term for father or respected elder. The waterspout phenomenon is believed to be these deceased ancestors drawing water from the lake "to take a bath." The size of the waterspout is believed to be an indication of the importance of the person and a means of discovering his actual identity.[10]

Victor Hurley describes a type of baptism that is practiced among the Muslims of the Philippines.

> A Moro baby is baptized at the end of the seventh day. The ceremony is the occasion for a great feast. A priest moistens the child's head and cuts a lock of hair as the name is repeated. The name of the infant is selected from one of the seven names chosen beforehand by the parents. These names are inscribed on separate sheets of paper and a small child a year or two old selects one of the slips at random.[11]

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[9]Hurley, p. 259.

[10]The writer has discovered these beliefs in both educated and non-educated Maranaos.

[11]Hurley, p. 269.

The political power and religious life is in the hands of the sultans, the imams who lead the prayers in the mosques and the datus.

> The imams receive fees for funerals and get one-tenth of all harvests. If an individual does not go to church and pray regularly he is called a Kaffir, a name given to the Christians and to those who are against the Islam faith.[12]

The example of baptism and the distribution of fees given above are localized in the Sulu district and are not found throughout the Muslim area.

The following example of the tolerant type of Islam is found among some of the Muslim leaders of the Philippines. It describes the married life of Salipada Pendatum, a leading Filipino Muslim congressman, who is married to a Roman Catholic.

> The Pendatums live happily under one roof and worship the same God although in two different ways--the Islamic and Christian ways.
>
> Whether it is Dios or Allah, the members of the Pendatum brood are as equally fervent in their veneration of their Creator. Moslem or Christian, they all have one goal in life: doing good and shunning evil.[13]

All the males of the Pendatum household are reportedly Muslims, while all the females are Roman Catholics. There

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[12]Generoso F. Rivera, "The Maranao Muslims in Lumbayao, Lanao," Philippine Sociological Review, VIII (January-April 1960), 2-3.

[13]Jose F. Rodriguez, "The Pendatum Family is an Example in Religious Toleration, Harmony," Manila Bulletin, December 12, 1963, Human Interest Section, p. 1.

are two sons and three daughters.

Characteristics of Sulu Muslims

A description of the pre-Spanish type of Islam found in the Sulu area follows:

> The Sulu is a Malayan of prominent type, reared in his infancy by a Braham priest and brought up to maturity under the care of a Mohammedan instructor. He rejected his idols as early as 1450 and had been for more than a century prior to the arrival of Legazpi at Cebu, a faithful and devoted worshipper of "Allahu Ta'ala," the Almighty and only God, according to the teachings of the prophet Mohammed and the holy Qur'an. He had laws, an established government, organized state, an alphabet, and a system of education. By trade he was a planter and fisher, and both land and sea yielded him plenty. He turned the timber of his rich forest into boats and utilized the currents of the sea and the movements of the wind. Navigation came natural to him and he sailed to distant lands and traded his pearls for silks and spices. He had a wide range of experience, and his knowledge of the world was by no means restricted to one island or to one limited group of islands.[14]

Perhaps the most primitive of the Muslims living in Sulu are the Badjaos, who are also called the "sea gypsies," and the Samal Laut. Some scholars doubt whether the Badjao can be classified as a Muslim, for the Muslims of Sulu consider him to be a Kapil or a Kafir. The Badjaos spend their entire lives on boats, and they are found throughout the Malay archipelago and have no fixed habitation. The Samals are considered

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[14]Najeeb M. Saleeby, The History of Sulu (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1963), p. 149.

to be Badjaos who have settled on land.[15] Some Muslims living in Jolo also consider the Samals to be pagans. A report for the United States Army on the people of Tawi-Tawi, an island near Borneo was made by Lt. Bruce Stephenson in the early days of the American Administration of the Philippines.

> A "salip" (Sharif) is a person descended from the prophet Mohammed. It is customary to worship at the grave of a "salip." People generally go to such a grave when they are sick or afflicted with some troubles, spread canopies over the grave, place rice and other foods and sometimes money on the grave, and pray and ask intercession of the "salip" buried there. These salips whose graves are important as dating back to the early days are buried in Tawi-tawi island.[16]

> The religion of the people is Islamism. For a people in an undeveloped status of education and civilization, they are surprisingly devoted to their religion and take it seriously, the ideas of many to the contrary notwithstanding. Their religion is a vital factor in their lives and as much a governing force over their actions as is the law. All government and religion was united, and it is difficult for them to understand a government that is not interested in their religion.[17]

Another report by Colonel W. M. Wallace for the United States Army in the early nineteen hundreds describes the people of Sulu as savages, with little knowledge of Islam. However they were very fanatical about any interference with

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[15] H. O. Beyer and F. D. Holleman, "Beyer-Holleman Collection of Original Sources in Philippines Customary Law" (Unpublished Manuscript, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. and the Philippine Studies Program, University of Chicago, n.d.), Paper No. 161, Account No. 10, p. 24. Hereafter referred to as Beyer-Holleman.

[16] Ibid., Paper No. 160, Account No. 2, p. 17.

[17] Ibid., p. 27.

their religion and could be easily stirred up by a suave leader.[18]

A more recent study of the Samals by Dolores Ducommun, a Filipino sociologist, gives some insights into their religious beliefs and practices.

> The religious beliefs of the Samal are a combination of old customs overlaid with some of the rituals of Islam. An Evangelist missionary who lived in the settlement for a year maintained that the majority of the people were without any formal religion. He claims to have made about fourteen conversions since he established his church within the community. Though there are several imams, priests of Islam living in the community, they do not resent the presence of the Evangelist minister or his proselytizing. Imam Mawayi Maldani agrees that not many people living in Sisangat follow official Muslim doctrine and practice. However all the people call upon the imam for the marriage and death ceremonies, and sometimes in the event of illness, he is summoned mainly as a holy man rather than as a recognized representative of a particular religion. . . .
>
> The Samal believes in the presence of a supreme good and ultimate evil. This good is called Tuhan; it is an essence which cannot be seen. Tuhan is omnipotent and pervades all things. As Tuhan is more powerful than the force of evil, Sayitan, protection from Sayitan can be obtained through prayer directed to Tuhan.[19]

In a study of relationships among the various Muslim peoples of Sulu, an American anthropologist, Richard Stone, offered the following analysis.

> With regard to differentiation between the Islam of the Samal and Taosug, Eslao says: "I am afraid that the similarity in religion among the Taosug and the Samal

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[18] Ibid., Paper No. 162, Account No. 15, p. 31.

[19] Dolores Ducommun, "Sisangat: A Fishing Village of Sulu," Philippine Sociological Review, X (July-October, 1962), 99.

> which is often referred to by outsiders or the people themselves do not go much beyond a common label for different interpretations and practices." . . . Educated Muslims in whole regard the Samal Muslims in the south as less pure in practice than the Taosug.[20]

The stereotypes persist: there are Taosug, who are Muslim, there are first-class Samal, who are almost first-class Muslims; and finally there are second class Samal, who are second class Muslims as well. The basis for the difference between the two would be the degree of folk-religion which remains in the Muslim ritual.[21]

Gerard Rixhon, an Oblate Father who teaches in one of the Notre Dame Colleges in Sulu, distinguishes three different types of Islam among the Muslims of Sulu. The first he calls jinn Islam. This is described as the Islam which is followed by the majority of the people. This is a mixture of pre-Islamic, animistic beliefs and rituals together with the Islamic practice. This type of Islam was more widespread in all of Sulu until after World War II and is still the type of Islam that is followed by the majority. However a change is taking place, fewer and fewer people have their cases settled by the Agama court, which is a Muslim institution, but now take recourse to the civil court of the Republic of

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[20]Richard L. Stone, "Intergroup Relations among the Taosug, Samal and Badjao of Sulu," Philippine Sociological Review, X (July-October, 1962), 123.

[21]Ibid.

the Philippines. The fast of Ramadan is poorly observed, few people know Arabic, and only a few men practice the five daily prayers. The Friday prayer is attended by only a small fraction of the male population. Only a few ever make the pilgrimage to Mecca.

The second type of Islam Rixhon calls orthodox Islam. Due to the new influences which came into Sulu after World War II, many educated Muslims in Sulu saw the inadequacy of the old superstitious beliefs and practices. Also contact with Muslims from other Muslim countries in the world brought about the introduction of a more orthodox form of Islam in Sulu. Thus far this type of Islam has been adopted by only a small minority of the Muslims in Sulu.

The third trend which is found among the Muslims in Sulu is represented by the Ahmadiyya movement. This is the only evidence of Ahmadiyyat in the Philippines. This is a militant and missionary type of Islam which has been introduced primarily among educated Muslims in Sulu and has gained a small following. It appeals to some intellectuals and may be able to gain a wider following in the future.[22]

Speaking of education among Muslims in Sulu, Rixhon says that an effort is made to impart the following truths held in common by Islam and Christianity:

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[22]Gerard Rixhon, O. M. I., "Educational Work in Sulu," Silliman Journal, XI (1964), 49-50.

> One God, His greatness, His presence everywhere, His kind attention to all, His justice, goodness and mercy, creation, prayer, right intention, life here below and after, Jesus and Mary, the virtues that are necessary in life. There is no doubt that in doing so, we amplify what they know, correct their misconceptions, insist on more interior prayer, etc. For instance, all of them believe in God, but their belief is purely "social", one that they have almost assimilated by "osmosis" as part of the "ethos." It is more of a superstitious fear of immaterial power not too well defined. It is not too clear if the spirits like the lutao in Saitan are an emanation of Allah or not. Slowly through leading questions they soon discover God as a personal being interested in man's happiness with whom each one has a personal relationship. He deserves man's love, respect and obedience, and He wants man to answer His love in His own personal way.[23]

Characteristics of Mindanao Muslims

The Maguindanaos who gave their name to the whole island of Mindanao are the least studied and known of all the various Philippine Muslim groups at the present time. They live along the shores of southern Cotabato province and along the Rio Grande River which is known as the Polangi River by the Muslims. This is an inhospitable, sparsely settled area which is not easily reached and is a difficult place to live. The climate is hot and oppressive and most of the area is a vast swampland. During a period of heavy rains almost the entire area becomes a big muddy lake. While there are a few exceptions, most of the Maguindanao Muslims have remained illiterate and uneducated, and they do not seem to

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[23] Ibid., p. 53.

be progressing at the present time. In the past they were the leaders of the Muslims of Mindanao and under strong leaders they were able to resist the efforts of the Spanish to conquer their area. The Maguindanao language and that of the neighboring Maranaos in the north are mutually intelligible. It is the Maranao Muslims with whom we are primarily concerned in the present study of the Christian mission to Islam, therefore attention is focused upon them.[24]

Several scholars agree with the report that the early Muslim leaders of Sulu came from the Minangkabao area of west central Sumatra. There is further evidence of Minangkabao influence among the Maranaos.

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[24]Emma Helena Blair and James Alexander Robertson, The Philippine Islands (Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company, 1909), XXXV, 92-97. Hereafter referred to as BR. The Philippine Census distinguishes between the Maranaos and the Ilanuns. All indications are that these are one tribe with one language. The distinction, if any, lies in the fact that the people living near Lake Lanao are referred to as Maranaos, while those living south of the lake near Malabang on the shore of Ilana Bay are called Ilanuns. Cf. Beyer-Holleman, Paper No. 162, Account No. 25, p. 3. "The Ilanuns form another minor element numbering only a few hundreds. They are the tribe whose main seat in on the coast around Malabang and around Lake Lanao." Clifford A. Sather of the Peabody Museum at Harvard University in a letter of April 26, 1966 to Fred Eggan, Director of the Philippines Studies Program of the University of Chicago, reports that he found some 4,000 Ilanuns living in Sabah (North Borneo) who seemed to stem from a mixture of Maranaos and Maguindanaos. Sather's interview with an Ilanun school teacher in Sabah revealed "that the Lake Lanao region of Mindanao is regarded by his people as their original homeland." This opens up a vast area for fruitful study to consider a "two-way" movement of the peoples between Indonesia and the Philippines.

> Here we find a strong mixture of the Malay with the aboriginal races. The people have preserved more of the art and architecture of Sumatra than any other Moro groups in the Islands. Their dress, buildings and mosques could well be from Menangkabau.[25]

The Maranaos are reported to have been among the fiercest tribe of the Philippine Muslims and their country was barely known to the Spaniards.[26] They are also considered the more religious of the Philippine Muslims in terms of the number of mosques in the villages and the number of hadjis. They have been isolated by geographical, religious, cultural and social barriers; this has resulted in great differences between the Maranaos and the Christian Filipinos in neighboring areas. Religion probably plays a larger role in the daily life of the Maranao than it does in that of Filipino Christians. In the past the Maranaos have valued formal education less than the Christian Filipinos, but there is a change at the present time. There is still a marked conservatism in the Maranao culture which resists most change. The leaders are rapidly learning the value of their own education and are anxious to provide education for their children. The Muslims have been antagonistic to the public schools because the textbooks praise the Christian way of life and have nothing to say about the Qur'an or Muhammad. They fear that their

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[25]Pickens, pp. 9-10.

[26]Hurley, p. 289.

children may be converted to Christianity by being exposed to public schooling. In the early days, the American administration provided educational opportunities for the Muslims. The Muslim datus sent their slaves to school. It took the Muslim leaders a generation to learn that education was a valuable asset for their own children.[27]

While the Maguindanao and Taosug Muslim groups have theoretically had a hierarchical type of political structure, the Maranaos have been divided into many smaller groupings under various datus often in conflict with one another. In 1927 this fragmented character of the Maranaos was described by J. R. Hayden, Vice-Governor of the Philippines, as follows:

> More than 100,000 petty datos hereditary leaders swagger about . . . no one of them admitting the existence of any native superior. Each dato is jealous of the other and zealous in maintaining his own power and prestige.[28]

Among the Taosug an Islamic religious hierarchy parallels the political offices. The Maguindanaos seem to have a similar structure with the religious organization interwoven with, and subordinate to, the secular administration. This is not true of the Maranaos whose institutions show little, if any, Islamic influence.[29]

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[27]Rivera, pp. 1-9.

[28]Melvin Mednick, "Encampment of the Lake" (Unpublished Doctor's Thesis, University of Chicago, 1965), p. 18.

[29]Ibid., p. 19.

The Maranao trace two lines in their ancestry, one pagan, one Muslim. The pagan source is traced from Radia Indrapatra, who is believed to have come to Lanao to avenge the death of his brother Solaiman. Radia Indrapatra reportedly married the daughter of the king of the water spirits and built a house on the lake at Masiu. Two children were born before Radia Indrapatra departed from Lanao. They settled down in the fabled city of Bumbaran and had many children. Bumbaran was finally destroyed by fire and earthquake, because the people there refused to receive one of the Muslim missionaries who had been sent out by Muhammad. The population was destroyed except for three brothers who were out on a hunting expedition at the time of the disaster. The three brothers divided the area around the lake among themselves and this comprises the three main areas or pongampongs which their descendants still inhabit--Bayabao, Onayan and Masiu.[30]

While these Bumbaran refugees are considered by the Maranao as the "original" inhabitants of the Lake Lanao area, the most important ancestor is the Moslem missionary, Sarip Kabongsoan. Most Maranao genealogies start with him, although some go back to Adam and Eve. The Maranao story is that Sarip Ali migrated to Johore and married the daughter of Iskander Diukarnine (Alexander the Great), the Sultan of

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[30] Ibid., p. 89.

Johore. Seven sons known as "the seven sarips" were born of this marriage and they are credited with bringing Islam to the Philippines, Borneo and the Celebes. One version of this story follows:

> A sister of the Seven Sarips, Putri Tomania, disappeared in infancy. Mourning for their lost sister, the seven brothers set out in as many boats to seek her. A storm came up at sea and separated their vessels. One was blown to Brunei in Borneo, another to Sulu, a third to Menado (Celebes), a fourth to Makassar (Celebes), a fifth to Luzon. Two were blown to Mindanao; Sarip Ali who landed on the north coast near the present site of Cagayan de Oro (Misamis Oriental Province) and Sarip Kabongsoan. Sarip Kabongsoan was the oldest brother and he landed at the mouth of the Polangi (Cotabato) River. This was the area in which many years earlier, Putri Tomania had been found. Two brothers had been cutting bamboo for a fish corral, and on cutting one down had heard a cry within it. Opening it up, they discovered an infant girl whom they took home and raised. She grew up to be a beautiful woman, and when Sarip Kabongsoan met her he did not recognize his long-lost sister, and married her. The Sarip also contracted two additional marriages, one on the coast to the north of the river at Malabang, the other up the river from the coast. Each of these marriages was to the daughter/sister of a local ruler. Because of his influential affines, his personal character and excellence of the faith he brought, the people of Cotabato (i.e., the Maguindanao) converted to Islam.[31]

From the coastal area around Malabang it was only a short distance for Islam to penetrate to the Maranao area at the lake. This accounts for the Muslim source of the Maranaos.

The Maranaos have led a fairly isolated existence due to their geography of the Lake Lanao area which is elevated two thousand feet above sea level and is surrounded by large

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[31] Ibid., pp. 96-97. Supra, p. 33.

mountains. Even within Maranao society there is limited contact with other areas around the lake, especially with those that are interior quite a distance from the lake. Mednick found that

> the social world of the average member of a Maranao community tends to be limited to the communities which lie within relatively easy reach, up or down stream, or on the other side of the same river, and to communities which lie on nearby rivers.[32]

> It should also be noted that the largest and densest settlements (e.g. Tamparan, Ganassi, Gata, Sawir) are those clustered around the mouth of the river. Such settlements appear to be the oldest and are among the most important in the Maranao scheme of society, possibly because they combine the two worlds of lake and river.[33]

While the Maranaos have received influences from Indonesia, Borneo and Malaya, it has generally been indirect and less significant than in Maguindanao and Taosug areas. Most Maranao contacts with other Muslims have been via the Maguindanao. Malay documents and speakers of the Malay language have been found among the Maguindanao, and Spanish sources mention Maguindanao alliances with peoples in Borneo and Celebes, no reference to similar contacts is made for the Maranaos. Mednick's study also states:

> Another index of Maranao isolations is to be found in their practice and knowledge of Islam. Kuder (1949) notes that among their coreligionists the Maranaos are

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[32] Ibid., p. 27.

[33] Ibid., p. 30.

> considered to be backward. My own comparative impressions would confirm this. The number of persons having a direct knowledge of Islam in the sense of being able to read directly from the Koran appear to be fewer even in such Maranao centers as Marawi City than in comparable Maguindanao centers such as Cotabato City or Tao-sug centers such as Jolo. . . .
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> The lack of institutions of obvious Islamic origin such as religious courts or purely religious judges, has already been mentioned. In addition the practice of Islam, particularly outside of Marawi City is often desultory and pervaded with pagan beliefs. . . .
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> Various pagan beliefs, particularly in regard to river spirits and propitiation of the dead remain prominent in the Maranao system of religious belief.[34]

All those who speak the Maranao language consider themselves to be a single structure of institutions, values and beliefs. The phrase ponganpong a ranao, encampment of the lake, means much more than the aggregation of a number of socio-political units; it includes the conscious awareness of sharing a single language and culture and being adherent of a universal religion, Islam. Therefore to be a Maranao means to be a Muslim. According to Mednick, all Maranaos trace their Muslim ancestry back to Kabongsoan.

> The framework of the society is genealogical and is evidenced by traditional, written genealogies called salsilla. All legitimate members of Maranao society must, in theory at least, be able to find a place on a salsilla, and, thus, to indicate descents from the prime ancestor, Sarip Kabongsoan.[35]

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[34] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

[35] Ibid., pp. 42-43. Supra, p. 33.

Despite the imperfections of Islam as it is found in Maranao society, Islam remains its most outstanding characteristic according to Mamitua Saber, a Maranao sociologist.

> To the bonds created by the network of social relations are added those of a belief. A Maranao when asked to identify himself will most usually declare that he is a "Moslem" or a "Moro". . . . Although there are frequent departures from the strict interpretation of Koranic law, the notion that Maranao customary law is, ultimately, divinely derived and sanctioned plays an important part in the settlement of conflicts and disputes which constantly threaten the unity of the society.[36]

Thus the Maranao considers Islam as the most significant characteristic in his way of life. The Maranao language is considered the Muslim dialect of the Lake Lanao area. Departures from orthodox Islam are considered to be permissible and sanctioned by ijma, community agreement.[37]

The Maranaos believe that kabarat, supernatural power, is a gift of grace to certain individuals. A lesser supernatural power is known as kabatua. Such supernatural qualities are considered as actual physical substances which are translated from parents to certain special offsprings. A man who has kabarat can be both a religious and political leader among the Maranaos.[38]

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[36] Ibid., pp. 45-46.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Mamitua Saber, "Marginal Leadership in a Culture-Contact Situation" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University

The large fresh water lake around which the Maranao lives and from which he gets his name is a major religious symbol. The ablutions before religious worship and prayer are performed in the lake. The Maranao "believes his religion commands him to relieve himself and wash himself in the lake, and because this same water must then be used for drinking and cooking, sanitation and health are made problematic."[39] A report that was made when General John J. Pershing was still active in the Lake Lanao area during the early days of the American administration of the Philippines can be reiterated today.

> They profess the Mohammedan religion but are generally ignorant of its requirements. The Koran is esteemed as their gospel but is rarely seen and found, so far as ascertained, in the hands of panditas. They are fatalists, declining even to boil water to prevent the cholera infection, saying that if God wishes them to die, they will die, and if not, they will not die.[40]

Maratabat is thought to be unique among the Maranaos and to contain the key to Maranao "psychology." Maratabat is often defined as "face" or "Amour propre," but it is more

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of Kansas, 1957), p. 67. The Maguindanaos share this belief. A Spanish account of 1691 describes how the Muslims believed that their leader, Sultan Kudrat, had supernatural powers. Reportedly, he could make fish leap into his boat, make cannons float and predict coming events. The Maguindanaos obeyed him and considered him a saint. The Spanish feared that after his death the Maguindanaos would worship him and establish another Mecca in Mindanao. BR, 40, 138.

[39]Russell L. Bennett, "Notes on Two Years among the Maranao," Silliman Journal, XI (July-September 1964), 220.

[40]Beyer-Holleman, Paper No. 163, Account No. 28, pp. 3-4.

than that among the Maranao. Maratabat helps to explain the life and conduct of the Maranao in his daily life. A Maranao will go to great lengths to build a "good" maratabat. Having a bad community image is considered "having dirt on his face," this will provoke a Maranao to go to any extreme to remove any "stain" from his maratabat. Maratabat is operative primarily within the Maranao social organization, and is carried over from one generation to the next.

"Maratabat is an ideology." It is commonly used by the Maranaos to refer to "psychological substance." This ideal is reflected in the Maranao epic, Darangan, in which the hero is a model for Maranao maratabat. "Maratabat is an expression of one's social position." The higher the social rank of the Maranao, the greater is his maratabat, and also the greater the need to exhibit and defend his maratabat. "Maratabat is sustained by social coercion, not by individual choice." This is impressed on the Maranao from childhood. "Maratabat is legal in terms of traditional and customary law." Thus maratabat is in Maranao society a compelling social motive, accepted by all who wish to remain respected members of that society.[41]

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[41]Mamitua Saber and Mauyag M. Tamano with Charles K. Warriner, "The Maratabat of the Maranao," Philippine Sociological Review, VIII (January-April 1960), 10-15. "The Maranaws themselves explicitly recognize this relationship and state it in a number of common phrases: 'a man who has

Except for the drum which calls a Muslim to prayer instead of the voice of the muezzin from the minaret, the Muslim prayer service among the Maranaos is fairly similar to that practiced throughout the Muslim world. It is outside the mosque that deviations from orthodox Islam are found. The kalilang is still held as a feast of various spirits. A feast to the river spirit is held with small boats filled with food and placed on a raft to float down the river. The paraian is a bamboo pole which is placed in the center of the field with food offered to the spirits. Sometimes Arabic verses from the Qur'an are used instead of food. This is offered at the time of planting or harvest.[42]

The Sufi practice of worshipping and honoring the dead is not unknown among the Maranaos. A famous Maranao who was killed fighting the Spaniards was Sabir sa Radapan of Radapan, Lanao Norte, which is a few kilometers from Linamon. When pilgrims make visits to his grave, they give offerings of food to the caretaker. The grave is covered with an umbrella which is the symbol of royalty throughout Southeast Asia.[43]

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lost his bangsa (identification with ancestors) has no maratabat,' 'a man without maratabat is nobody,' or 'a man who loses his maratabat becomes very, very small,' and 'an important man is one with lots of maratabat.'" Saber and Tamano, "Decision Making" Appendix F, p. 8.

[42]The writer has made these observations from field experience.

[43]The Rev. David Hamm, a Congregationalist missionary, who spent twelve years teaching in Dansalan Junior College

In 1957 a young Maranao, Abdullah Madale, teacher in the public schools of the lake area wrote his opinions of the difference between the Muslim view of Christmas and Jesus from that of the Christian view. He writes:

> There are slight differences between Christian beliefs regarding Jesus Christ and those of Maranao Muslims. . . .
>
> The teachings of Jesus especially with regards to the belief in one God and the ten commandments are taught to Maranao children too. I can still recall how my teacher in grade five would tell us beautiful stories about Jesus--how good He was as a boy, just like our own Prophet Mohammed (may Allah bless His Soul!). My teacher would put these questions to us, "Are you not good boys and girls? Don't you want to follow the teachings of your Prophet?" At such questions my classmates and I would all shout, "Of course, ma'am. We would like to become good boys and good girls. . . ." Judging from the way Maranaos feel toward the celebration of Christmas the time is not far when there will be real and genuine understanding between the Muslim and Christian Filipinos.[44]

Modern Developments

In 1913 H. Otley Beyer predicted of Philippine Muslims that "education and the continuance of a peaceful relationship will doubtless lead to ultimate assimilation with the

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reports that he went along on several visits to this grave by invitation of the Imam of Merinao who had vowed to make a pilgrimage to Sabir's grave if the Imam's son recovered from an illness. Each visit of his companion was to obtain a cure from sickness.

[44] A. T. Madale, "Christmas in the Maranaw Elementary Schools," Philippine Journal of Education, XXXVI (December 1957), 426.

Christian Filipinos." Thirty-five years later, Saber, commented on this remark as follows:

> The changes brought about by the school are significant, although Dr. Beyer's prediction on the "ultimate assimilation with the Christians" may not mean religious assimilation. Unlike many other rival creeds of Christianity, Islam has a deep-rooted hold upon the Moros. Their changes toward modernity are comparable to those of the Turks, Arabs, Iranians and other Muslims who simply adjust their ways to the changing time. In Lanao, there is today a strong religious reawakening as manifested in the establishment of modern Islamic schools, revitalizing the people's knowledge of Muslim theology and culture. Unlike their former isolation from contact with other Muslims during the Spanish regime, they now get direct knowledge of modern Islamic trends.[45]

A change is definitely taking place throughout the Muslim areas of the Philippines. The Maranaos are now becoming a part of the overall Philippine scene. Mednick writes:

> Since World War II there has been a quickening in the pace and direction and social and cultural change, and it is a reasonable observation that more significant changes occurred to the Maranao in the first decade of Philippine independence than in the preceding forty years.[46]

More and more Muslims are becoming educated at the elementary level and many more are even going on to complete work in college. This creates a new problem. "The educated Muslim all too often becomes part of a rootless intelligentsia, unable to go back wholeheartedly into his traditional society,

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[45]Saber "Appendices," "Marginal Leadership," pp. 60-61. Cf. Gerald D. Berreman, "The Philippines" (Data Paper No. 19, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1965), pp. 18-19.

[46]Mednick, pp. 38-39.

but unwilling because of his religion to assimilate himself completely in the Christian society."[47]

One development among the educated young Muslims is to try to bring Philippine Islam more into line with orthodox Islam. The Muslim Student Association of the University of the Philippines posted the following information on the University bulletin board in the College of Arts and Sciences Building:

What Is Islam?

1. Islam means submission to the will of God.
2. Muslim means the faithful follower of the tenets of Islam.
3. The fundamental beliefs of the Muslim is that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is God's last prophet.
4. That there is Qiamet (the day of reckoning or the day of judgment).
5. The duties incumbent on Muslims are--
   (1) Salat: prayer five times a day including the mass prayer on Friday.
   (2) Saum: fasting (for one specific lunar month once a year).
   (3) Zakat: poor tax (one-fortieth of one's savings once a year).
   (4) Hajj: pilgrimage (to Mecca once in a lifetime if one can afford).

Islam is not a religion in the sense in which religion is generally understood. Islam is indeed a complete comprehensive system of life, economical, social, political, ethical and spiritual. Islam contains a rich ideology.

Some important beliefs of Muslims are:--
(1) That God does not beget nor is He begotten.

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[47]Lourdes F. Apable, "The Muslims as an Ethnic Minority in the Philippines," Philippine Sociological Review, VIII (1960), 27.

(2) That He has no partners. He is omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent.
(3) That Isaac, David, Joseph, Moses, Abraham and Christ are all prophets of the same one God, therefore they are Muslims.
(4) That it was the same religion of Islam which God revealed to other Prophets like Abraham, Moses and Christ which was revealed finally to Prophet Muhammad in its comprehensive form.
(5) That a faithful Muslim is a Christian and a Jew added together plus something more which makes him a Muslim. Therefore a good Muslim is already a good Christian and a good Jew.
(6) That there is no priesthood in Islam as understood and practiced in other religions. Every Muslim male can lead the daily prayer and prayers of all occasions whether birth or death.
(7) That all newborn children are born in Islam-- the natural religion. That they are innocent and free from all sins at their birth.
(8) That king and pauper enjoy equal status before God, there being no distinction of class, cast or colour, nor of so-called nobility of birth. The dearest to God being those who are most virtuous.
(9) Right of inheritance is bestowed on both sexes in Islam which cannot be rigidly followed according to Islamic law of distribution of wealth.
(10) Islam does not believe in the infallibility of any person or saint, there being instances when Prophet Muhammad had to revise his opinions in matters that were not a direct divine revelation. The Holy Qur'an, for example, is a direct revelation.

The other essential features of Islam are:--

That the economic system of Islam is a pattern which may be said to be a middle course between State Ownership and Monopolistic Capitalism. Islam denounces interest in the strongest terms. God has declared war on those who take or give interest. Islam was the pioneer in expounding the theory of the welfare state and practicing it in its most perfect form. It was a

citizen's right not only to protection of life, property and freedom of speech.[48]

This more orthodox type of Islam is coming in not only through educated college students but also in the larger Muslim centers where Egyptian teachers are present in Arabic schools and through the influence of young Muslim students who have been studying in schools in Egypt especially in al-Azhar of Cairo. A 1964 analysis of the Philippine Muslim situation by Gowing states:

> While in the past the Muslims may have had only scant knowledge of their religion, they stuck fanatically to what little they knew. They were devoted to Islam not so much out of deep commitment to the truths of that religion, but because it was the one common symbol of their Filipino selfhood in their confrontation with the Spanish foe. . . .
>
> The Muslim Filipino today, no less than yesteryear, has a deep emotional identification with his religion. Though in the eyes of the orthodox Muslims from other countries, Islam in the Philippines is far from representing true Islam, still, the Muslim Filipino <u>believes</u> that he believes in Islam and this conviction is capable of arousing him to heights of emotion. His attachment to what he conceives to be his religion is the chief fact about the Muslim Filipino, and it is for him an indissoluble bond with all other Muslim Filipinos no matter how much they may differ from him in other ways.[49]

Madale has written: "Understanding must be mutual. We must also try to study and understand our Christian brothers

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[48]From University of the Philippines Muslim Student Association Bulletin Board in the College of Arts and Sciences Building, Dilliman, Quezon City, Philippines, on May 11, 1963.

[49]Gowing, pp. 64-65.

if we are to gain their sympathy and understanding."[50]

In 1958 another Muslim, Kumug Mamao, wrote in a Philippine Muslim periodical:

> Is a Moslem enjoined by Islam to be friendly with a Christian? Here is the answer: You will find your most affectionate friends will be those who say: "We are Christians."[51]

Since World War II there has been a concerted effort to infuse new life and correct teaching into Philippine Islam. This has been, in part, a result of the resurgence and renewal of the non-Christian world religions.[52] It has been influenced by Filipino Muslims seeking to become a respected influential political minority in the newly-independent Republic of the Philippines. The resurgence of Philippine Islam is manifested in the establishment of Muslim schools and madrasas, the building of mosques, the arrival of Muslim teachers from Egypt and Pakistan, the organization of Muslim associations and the sending of young Muslim Filipinos abroad for study in al-Azhar in Cairo and other Muslim universities. This revival of Philippine Islam has been felt more in the Muslim population centers such as Jolo and Marawi City.[53]

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[50] Ibid., p. 96.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Peter G. Gowing, "Resurgent Islam and the Moro Problem in the Philippines," South-East Asia Journal of Theology, IV (July 1962), 57-65.

[53] Gowing, Mosque and Moro, pp. 67-69. On June 5, 1955, Sheik Hasanal Bagouri, an Egyptian Minister, addressed the

What is happening in the Muslim areas of the Philippines, provides an excellent illustration of the character of Islam's missionary activity in both Africa and Asia. Since World War II Muslim missionaries from Egypt, Arabia, Pakistan, Malaya and Indonesia have come to the Philippines in impressive numbers and have stimulated a revitalization of Islam among the Muslim Filipinos. A great many new mosques have been built all over so-called Moroland; madrasas (Qur'anic schools) have been founded in the chief cities and towns of the Muslim areas; a number of distinctly religious societies and associations have emerged proving an organizational cohesiveness Muslim Filipinos have not known before; there has been a revival of interest in performing the pious duties of Islam; and religious rites and customs have been reformed along orthodox lines. In fact, purdah, never before common in Philippine Islam, has been introduced in some places in modified form. The Muslim Filipinos have become so self-consciously Muslim that the long-used and popular name "Moro" now offends many of them. Filipino Muslims are in close contact with the Muslim world--not only because foreign Muslims visit here but also because Filipinos by the hundreds go on the hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca) each year, Filipino Muslim leaders (such as former Senator Domacao Alonto) travel to Egypt and Pakistan and attend international Islamic gatherings, and Filipino students go abroad to study at various Islamic educational institutions. Thus far, about a hundred young Filipino Muslims have studied at Al Azhar University in Cairo under scholarships provided by the Egyptian government.[54]

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following offer to the First Muslim Filipino Conference held at Cotabato City: "Our dear Muslim Filipino brothers, we are here declaring in the name of our government that we are ready to send you teachers for your schools and that we are even ready to establish an Islamic institution in the City of Manila for Islamic studies. We are ready to accept your sons and daughters to study in our universities and to give them all the facilities in our hands. All our ulterior aims from such a collaboration is to help you and protect the very noble ideals of Islam." Zaide, p. 121.

[54]Peter G. Gowing, "Islam: The Contemporary Scene," Philippine Studies, XII (October 1964), 645-646. Two Filipino Muslim leaders are given special recognition for the post World War II resurgence of Islam in the Philippines, ex-Senator

O. J. Abrams, who was a Christian and Missionary Alliance worker among the Maguindanaos of Cotabato for ten years, describes a sermon preached by a Filipino Muslim, Hadji Abdul Rashid Tajala which illustrates the present attitude and understanding of Islam by a Muslim leader. The occasion and place of the sermon are not given, but the theme is "Why a Muslim Can Never Change His Religion."

First, he emphasizes that Islam is the only true religion of God and also the natural religion of all mankind since the beginning of time. Second, Islam was the religion of all the prophets of God from the time of Adam, the first man and first prophet until the time of Muhammad, the final seal and perfection of all the prophets. Third, all of the true saints of God have died as Muslims, and all those who are to be saints will die in Islam. Fourth, the truth of Islam is manifest in the blessings God gives to the faithful Muslims in this life. This happens so that the world may know the truthfulness of Islam and the truth revealed in the Qur'an. Fifth, Muslims are certain that the Qur'an is the pure, final revelation of God. The Qur'an has seen no change, corruption

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Domacao Alonto and Congressman Salipada Pendatum. In a speech delivered in Manila in 1959, the Ambassador of Pakistan to the Philippines said: "I must thank Senator Alonto and Congressman Pendatum for having brought the Muslims of the Philippines on the map of world Muslims. It was through their efforts that the Muslim world came to know that there existed a Muslim Unit, known as the Filipino Muslims." Gowing, Mosque and Moro, pp. 69-70.

or interpolation since it was revealed. The Qur'an is not only divinely inspired, it is itself divine, a miracle of God.[55]

Philippine Islam today is both static and changing. Static--due to the fact that the lines are drawn between the Filipino Muslim and the Filipino Christian. Islam in the Philippines is not missionary in the sense of reaching out to new areas or groups of the people of the Philippines. The Sulu Muslims and Mindanao Muslims now seek their role in political life of the Republic of the Philippines as Muslims. Philippine Islam is also changing. This change is taking place within the Muslim community, but it is directed primarily by external influences. There is the effort to bring the "folk Islam" more into harmony with "classical" or "high Islam." This effort meets with much resistance from conservative elements in Muslim areas. There is the effort to bring the Muslim areas more closely into the over-all Philippine scene. This effort includes the granting of self-government to most Muslim areas since Philippine independence in 1946 (the Lanao del Sur municipalities became autonomous in 1958), the establishment of government schools in every Muslim village, the inauguration of Mindanao State University

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[55] O. J. Abrams, Winning Muslims to Christ (Zamboanga City, Philippines: Alliance Press, n.d.), pp. 6-9.

in the Maranao area in 1962, the assignment of government health and agricultural personnel in the Muslim areas in recent years, the building of new roads in Muslim areas of Mindanao, and the introduction of forestry and mining industries in Muslim areas. Philippine Islam is in a state of flux, the past centuries of isolation are rapidly being overcome.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

Islam came to the island world of Southeast Asia several centuries before Christianity became established there. It found a ready acceptance among the Malayan race of the Malay Peninsula and the Indonesian archipelago. The inhabitants of this area had been greatly influenced by animism, Buddhism and Hinduism before Islam came to add its dominating influence. The early Islamic influence was brought by merchants from Arabia, Persia and India who were seeking trade relations in Southeast Asia.

After the beginning of the thirteenth century Islam was more and more accepted by the native rulers and people along the coast. Islam made its beginning in the northern part of Sumatra and in Malacca on the Malay Peninsula. The representatives of Islam had the advantage of the higher religion which had its appeal to the primitive people of the islands. The Muslims were accepted socially into the culture of Southeast Asia through intermarriage and economic and political alliances with the local leaders in the areas. If the Muslim merchants were best suited to reach the leaders in the Southeast Asian world, the Muslim mystics reached into the lives of the common people and helped Islam to become

firmly established there. Islam reached into the southern part of the Philippine islands from Borneo in the late fourteenth century around 1380. It became firmly established in the Sulu archipelago around the middle of the fifteenth century and a little later in southern Mindanao Islam was able to win many of the pagan tribal people there. The penetration of Islam into Southeast Asia came in a gradual, peaceful manner beginning at Sumatra; it continued its geographic expansion in an island-hopping manner along the coastal areas. It was much later before it began to penetrate deeply into the interior areas of this island world. In this way Islam developed in a more or less natural manner through trade and social contacts by practicing Muslim merchants and mystics bringing their faith and sharing it with the people of Southeast Asia.

The coming of Christianity into Southeast Asia was in sharp contrast to the coming of Islam. Some of the Muslim merchants in Southeast Asia already had an anti-Christian attitude due to their contact with and knowledge of Christianity from the West. This was the result of both political and religious conflicts between Christianity and Islam from its early days until the time of the Crusades. Christianity was brought to Southeast Asia by western European powers who were searching for the control of the spice trade in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. This period marked

the beginning of western political and economic imperialism and colonialism which has recently come to an end in this part of the world since the close of World War II. To the Muslim inhabitants of Southeast Asia, the coming of the European powers was synonymous with the coming of Christianity.

The first representatives of Western Christianity were the Portuguese who had an anti-Muslim attitude from the beginning of their intrusion into Asia. The Portuguese conquest and exploitation in the various areas of Southeast Asia incited Muslim missionary activity in the area which was instrumental in the strengthening and spread of Islam in this island world.

With the arrival of the Spanish in the Philippines in the middle of the sixteenth century another western Roman Catholic power came into conflict with the Muslims in this part of the world. From the beginning the relationship of the Spanish with the Muslims of the Philippines took on the nature of a "holy war." The struggle between the Spanish, allied with Philippine Christians, and Philippine Muslims continued intermittently for over three hundred years. The Spanish were successful in winning battles against the Muslims, but they were never able to completely conquer, subdue and convert them. Filipino Muslims retaliated against the Spanish attacks by slave raids on the central island which

spread fear into the hearts of all the inhabitants of these areas that persists until the present time. Strong measures by the Spanish in 1646 could have brought an end to the Moro Wars, but the Spanish had neither the foresight nor the will to implement a strong position against the Muslims at this time. The result of the Spanish conflict with the Muslims in the Philippines has left a strong reservoir of mutual hostility and suspicion between the Filipino Christians and Filipino Muslims.

Later in the seventeenth century when the Dutch were successful in driving out the Portuguese from the East Indies, they turned against their former ally, the British, in order to establish a complete monopoly over the spice trade of these islands. After this monopoly was established, they cruelly exploited the inhabitants in an attempt to gain greater profits from this trade. The Dutch policy resulted in provoking the Muslim leaders of the area and the strengthening and expansion of Islam in the islands of the Indies.

In the nineteenth century the British established a "hands-off" policy in religious matters in Malaya. This meant that the religious matters were left in the hands of the various tribal chieftains in the states established by the British in Malaya. This policy allowed an incipient Islam to strengthen and expand its hold on the inhabitants

of the entire Malayan Peninsula in the British Colonial Period.

Although different policies were followed by the different European powers at different times and in different areas of Southeast Asia in this period of colonial expansion beginning in the sixteenth century, the result for Islam was a period of strengthening and expansion throughout all the islands with the exception of the Philippines. Here Islam was restricted to western Mindanao and Sulu and the Sulu archipelago where it still maintains its stronghold. Also the policy of the western Christian powers in the island world of Southeast Asia resulted in permanent hostility between Muslims and Christians in these areas. This is especially true of the hostility between Filipino Muslims and Filipino Christians. Finally, in the twentieth century during the United States administration of the Philippines the Muslims gained a new respect for a Western power that they had not known before. This was due to their respect for the American soldier as a fighting man and the American administrator as being fair and impartial in his dealings with the Muslims.

The history of the Christian mission to Islam in the Western world has not produced any outstanding results. In the seventh century when Islam became a real power and threat in the West, the Church was politically and doctrinally

divided. One of the early church fathers, John of Damascus, did try to come to grips with Islam by introducing an apologetic approach which became the example of the relationship between Muslims and Christians for many centuries to follow. At the end of the Crusades it became evident that the Christian powers needed to send missionaries and not soldiers to the Muslims. Noteworthy among the Christian leaders of this period who saw the need for a Christian mission to Islam were St. Francis, Ramon Lull and Ignatius of Loyola. The first missionaries to the Muslim court in India were Jesuits.

The Reformation both perpetuated and modified the general hostile attitude toward Islam. For example, Luther looked upon the Turk as an enemy of God, but he also saw the need for understanding Islam. He encouraged the translation of the Qur'an and encouraged soldiers who were captured by the Turk to give a testimony of their Christian faith.

Some interest in the great missionary period of the nineteenth century was directed toward the Christian mission to Islam, but this involved only a minimum of missionary manpower compared to the tremendous, world-wide Christian mission expansion during this period. The Christian mission to Islam still provides one of the greatest opportunities and challenges for the Christian mission and still receives a comparatively small amount of its manpower and resources.

During the Portuguese period in Indonesia the only missionary work that was done was in the western end of the islands by the Jesuits and Franciscans. The only permanent result of this work was a colony of Christians in Ambonia. All of the other converts were lost to Islam or reverted to paganism. The Dutch period in Indonesia did not present a much better picture in the beginning years of their administration. It was in the middle of the nineteenth century before outstanding efforts by laymen and laywomen in Java established Christian congregations there. The Muslims in Java have yielded the largest number of Muslim converts to Christianity in the entire world. Christian communities were established all over the islands of the Indies and were especially strong in the Batak area of Sumatra and in the islands of the Southeast Celebes in the eastern part of the archipelago. The British policy in Malaya permitted mission work to be done only among the Chinese and Indian laborers who had been brought there. This explains why there are no Malay Christian converts from Islam in Malaya. Today Indonesia as the largest Muslim nation in the world, presents a real challenge to the Christian church of Indonesia. There is no evidence that this challenge has been accepted. The explanation for this lies in political, social and religious factors.

The opportunities which the Spanish had for the Christian

mission to Philippine Islam were not realized due to frequent changes in the administration, due to a lack of understanding of the nature of Islam, due to the competition between the various religious orders and due to a lack of trained clergy throughout the Philippine islands. The later Spanish Period was generally a period of warfare between the Christians and Muslims in the Philippines. The Filipino Christian converts, of course, fought on the side of the Spanish against the Muslims of the southern Philippines. The one exception in this later period was the baptism of Sultan Alimuddin in 1750. However, this did not result in any permanent gain for the Christian mission due to various misunderstandings and later political developments.

The present constitution of the Philippines allows for complete religious freedom and practice throughout the islands. Various Christian Churches have attempted to carry out the Christian mission to Islam, but at the present time only the Oblate Fathers of the Roman Catholic Church are doing any significant work among the Muslims. There is a real opportunity for much more to be done.

A study of Islam in Southeast Asia demonstrates that Islam takes many different forms and still remains what can be called Islam. The two main patterns which Islam has followed are referred to as "high Islam" and "folk Islam." Islam is adaptable to various cultures, customs and beliefs.

It still maintains a sensitivity through its emphasis on the oneness of God and on the role of Muhammad. It is true that Islam has changed the island world of Southeast Asia, but the island world of Southeast Asia has also changed Islam. Here it is different from the rest of the Muslim world not only in its external differences to other parts of the Muslim world, but there are many internal differences among the many tribal areas in the different islands. However, the Malayan Muslim is devoted to Islam as he understands it, and he is resistant to any type of change.

The role of adat has exerted a strong influence on the type of Islam that is found in the various islands. Sufism has also played a major part in establishing Islam in the islands and exerts a strong influence on the type of Islamic practice that is found throughout Southeast Asia. The Muslim emphasis on formal education in various types of schools helps to account for the strength of Islam in this part of the world. The schools are also a means by which Islam is being modernized in the urban areas of the islands. The Muslims of the Philippines are divided roughly into two main groupings of the Sulu Muslims and the Mindanao Muslims with subdivisions in each grouping. Each subdivision has its own characteristic, distinctive beliefs and practices, but there is a general belief in spirits and ancestors are honored in a manner which approaches worship. Leaders are believed to have

some special type of supernatural power. The Maranao Muslims have been generally isolated from the rest of the Philippines. This is due to both geography and religion. The maratabat of the Maranao is a distinctive feature of this culture that is not found in the other Muslim groups. Maratabat can be defined as community image, and it determines much of the Maranao's action and social position within his own culture. Pagan beliefs are still present and can be seen in the offerings of food to spirits of the river and the field at special times of life--birth, planting, harvest and death. The Maranao follow many magical and superstitious practices which are not compatible with Islam.

There is a strong effort to revitalize Islam throughout the Philippines by making it more orthodox and in harmony with Islam as found in the classical Muslim areas. This is being done through schools, teachers from Egypt and Pakistan who come to the Philippines, and students from the Philippines who go to Muslim schools in Pakistan and especially Egypt. The Muslims are becoming more and more consciously identified as Muslims, and at the same time, they are beginning to assume their role in the political and economic life of the nation. Thus outside influences from other Muslim areas and from the other parts of the Philippines are being strongly felt throughout all of the Muslim areas of the Philippines today. In the period since World War II there has been more

change in the culture and outlook of the Philippine Muslims than there has been in all of the preceding centuries. This means that all kinds of influences both good and bad are beginning to make themselves strongly felt in the Muslim areas of the Philippines.

All of this has both implicit and explicit implications for the role of the Lutheran Church in the Philippines in regard to its share in the Christian mission to Philippine Islam. It will approach this task with an awareness of all the implications involved in this mission. This will require an entirely different approach from anything that has been done by the Lutheran Church in the Philippines in the Roman Catholic areas and the pagan areas of the Philippines. It will require patience and persistence in the task over a long period of time in order to make this an effective witness to Christ to the Filipino Muslim. It will demand the prayerful support and sufficient manpower from the Lutheran Church in the Philippines. In the past the Lutheran Church has shown its resolve to accept this challenge of a Christian mission to Islam with all of its implications.

Anthropological and sociological studies are now being made in various areas of the Philippines, including the Muslim areas. The Church can learn from all of these studies, as it considers the implications for its task in witnessing to the Muslim. The Lutheran Church in the Philippines has a firm

theological foundation. The theological task will be to apply Lutheran theology to the Christian mission to Islam. This will require a thorough understanding of Muslim culture and Muslim belief as it is found in the Philippines in order to help remove all the non-theological obstacles in presenting the Lutheran emphasis that God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself.

Implications are also present for the method of approach to the Philippine Muslim. In order to develop a theological basis in an articulate manner and to state the method of approach to the Muslim much additional study will be required. This will result in casting the Christian message in new thought forms to reach the Maranao and other Philippine Muslims in their own cultural setting. The type of ministry to the Maranao will also take on different forms from that which has been commonly known in the Christian Church in the past. This is the task that faces the Lutheran Church in the Philippines in its Christian mission to Philippine Islam.

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