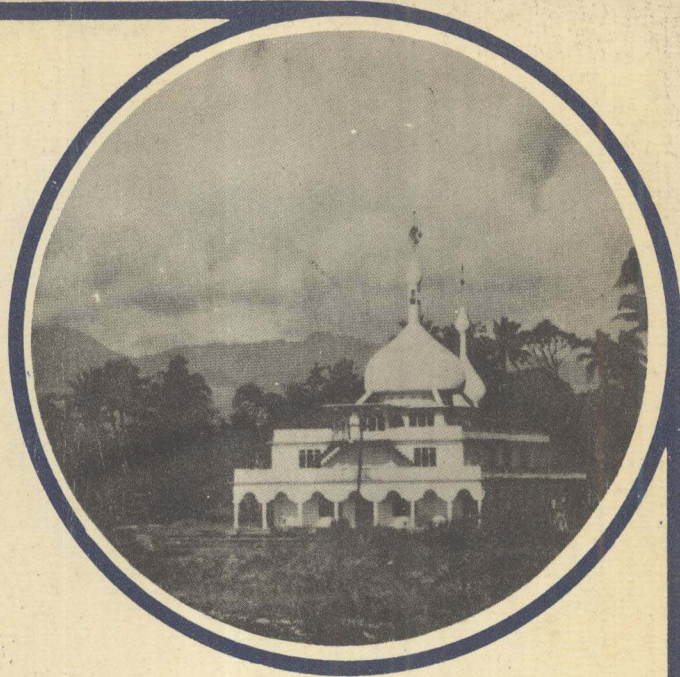


**Peter
Gordon
Gowing**



MUSLIM FILIPINOS-

Heritage and Horizon

MUSLIM FILIPINOS—HERITAGE AND HORIZON

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Back Cover Picture: Hadji and students studying the Qur'an.

Two maps showing Muslim concentration: MAX ABELLANEDA.

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For

TAN THIAM GUAN

Friend from Lion City, bringer of music and good cheer, connoisseur of eating stalls, faithful correspondent, untiring provider of *Straits Times* clippings, occasional visitor to Moroland, and intelligent, patient listener to themes remote from bowling and computers.

P R E F A C E

Fifteen years have passed since the publication of my *Mosque and Moro: A Study of Muslims in the Philippines*. Because it provided something of an overview of the diverse Muslim peoples of this Archipelago, that little book was well received; but it has been out of print for a decade. There has been a need either to publish a new edition of the book or to produce another book which performs the same service while incorporating some of the results of the great amount of scholarship which has focused on the Muslim Filipinos in the intervening years. The present work represents a decision in favor of the latter option.

If it was necessary in 1964 to urge that old hatreds be forgotten, that false images be exposed and that new attitudes be formed in Muslim-Christian relations in the Philippines, the urgency of such a plea has become even greater in recent years. The times call for more than a general description of the religion, history, culture and present situation of the Muslim Filipinos. They demand in addition at least an attempt at analysis of the causes of continuing tension and conflict, and for a consideration of some of the steps which might be taken in the direction of conciliation and national unity. This book seeks to contribute to such an analysis and consideration. The writer has been a foreign friend of both Christian and Muslim Filipinos, and a student of Muslim Filipino affairs, since his arrival in the Philippines in 1960. Perhaps, then, the reader will forgive the presumption of his offering what he has learned, however imperfectly.

Historical, anthropological, sociological and other cultural studies of the diverse Muslim groups have mushroomed since the early 1960s and the writer's debt to this expanded scholarship is considerable. Much of the published results of this new scholarship, along with a great many of the earlier published and unpublished studies and other materials concentrating on Muslim Filipinos, has been gathered into the Maranao/Philippine Islam Collection of the Dansalan Research Center at Dansalan College in Marawi City. The writer depended heavily on that Collection in the preparation of this book and he is most grateful for the cooperation and keen interest of the Curator, Mrs. Maisie Van Vactor. Gratitude is also due the

Secretary of the Center, Mrs. Nella Ilupa, who gave significant assistance—particularly in typing the drafts of this book from the author's exasperating handwriting. In the end there was something of a race between finishing the typing of the final manuscript and the arrival into the world of Mrs. Ilupa's fifth child. Mr. Sulpicio Sabaduquia, Jr. of the DRC staff completed the typing when Mrs. Ilupa's little girl won the race.

Ismael Pumbaya, Moctar Matuan, Mariam Umpar, Abdulsiddik Abbahil, Mamaruba Guba and Solaiman Mangarun—all young Muslim staff members of the Dansalan Research Center, and all but one of them Maranao, were a ready pool of "informants" during the writing stage, and were models of patience as the author frequently interrupted their work to check out this or that piece of information. It would be nice to be able to blame them for any errors the book contains but that would be as dishonest as it would be ungrateful. Ex-Senator Domocao Alonto, Dean Batua Macaraya, Professor Nagasura Madale, Dean Cesar Majul, Atty. Michael O. Mastura, Dr. Robert McAmis, Dr. Lela Noble, Rev. Carlton Riemer, Dean Mamtua Saber, Dean Salipada Tamano, Professor Alfredo Tiamson, President and Mrs. Lloyd Van Vactor and Ms. Lindy Washburn read through the whole manuscript, or portions of it, and furnished helpful comments and corrections. It is a better book for their assistance but the author insists on taking full credit for the mistakes they were kind enough not to call to his attention.

Some sections of the book were prepared originally as essays or articles for various publications including *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, *South East Asia Journal of Theology*, *Solidarity*, *Philippiniana Sacra*, and *Southeast Asian Affairs*. Papers which the writer presented at the 28th International Congress of Orientalists in Canberra, Australia, in 1971, and at the Association of Asian Studies Annual Meeting in Chicago, Illinois in 1973, have also been incorporated into chapters of the book.

To lighten the burden on the general reader while still meeting the requirements of those interested in documentation, explanatory footnotes are kept at a minimum while reference notes are placed in the text in parentheses. The notes provide the name of the author, date of publication and page numbers—and relate to the bibliography at the back of the book. Except in the case of direct quotations, the spelling of place names and of Muslim Filipino groups follows the most widely accepted current usage.

The writer has preferred to employ the terms "Muslim Filipinos" and "Moros" as designations for all of the Filipinos who are Muslims, as distinct from those Filipinos who are Christians and those who belong to cultural communities which are neither Muslim nor Chris-

tian (now increasingly being called "Tribal Filipinos"*). They are, of course, all Filipinos—one people, belonging to one sovereign nation. Because of such factors as ethno-linguistic differentiation, historical circumstances, geographical location and varying degrees of acculturation with peoples and influences from beyond the Archipelago, the Filipinos are grouped into "cultural communities." Each of these communities contributes significantly to the rich tapestry of the Philippine heritage in which the nation takes justifiable pride. If this present volume does what it is intended to do, readers will put it down with an enhanced appreciation of the invaluable contribution which the Muslim Filipino cultural communities have made, and are making, to the national heritage.

Frequently the text makes use of the term "Moros" in referring to Muslim Filipinos. In some respects the history of that term reflects the saga of the Muslims of the Philippines. When in the 16th century the Spaniards discovered that some of the *indio* inhabitants of these islands were Muslims, they called them *Moros* after the Islamized North African natives (the "Moors," or inhabitants of ancient Mauritania) who, under Arab leadership, had conquered and ruled in Spain for eight centuries. The name—which the Spaniards came to apply to anyone who was Muslim—was actually a left-handed compliment paid to the Islamized *indios* of the Philippines who bravely foiled effective Spanish conquest for more than three centuries. Gradually, however, the name "Moro" turned into a label of contempt as many Moros persisted in refusing to be "modernized" and "Filipinized." In the popular mind, "Moro" came to connote a people who were regarded as ignorant, treacherous, savage, polygamous, slavers, pirates and otherwise thoroughly unlovely individuals. In the 1950s, reacting to this negative connotation, and imbued with the postwar resurgence of Islam which occurred in the southern Philippines, many Muslims began to insist on being called "Muslims" or "Muslim Filipinos." They became sensitive to being called "Moros." Christian Filipinos and others soon learned to be cautious in their use of the term, at least in front of Muslims. But in the 1970s, as fighting between Muslims and Christians in the south dramatically escalated, the name "Moro" began to come back into common and accepted use—on both sides. If the tragic conflict has accomplished nothing else, it has at least given the

*This book uses "Tribal Filipinos," but the author personally favors and would nominate for general adoption the term "Filipino Indigenes" (from the Latin *indigena*, native) to distinguish those Filipinos who have retained, comparatively speaking, the ways of their ancestors from those Filipinos who embraced either Islam or Christianity and, hence, underwent Islamic or Western Christian acculturation.

Muslims a new confidence and self-awareness. Some openly speak of themselves as the *Bangsa Moro* (the Moro nation) as distinct from the *Bangsa Pilipino*. At one point, the separatist movement identified itself as the "Bangsa Moro Republic"; but nowadays the documents of the Moro National Liberation Front (having opted to press for autonomy rather than independence) speak of "the Bangsa Moro Islamic Government." In fact, "Moro" is promoted by the MNLF in the southern Philippines as a designation overriding the old group designations of "Tausug," "Maranao," "Maguindanao," and the like.

Certainly, in one respect this continuing and hardening distinction between "Moro" and "Pilipino" is sad. It symbolizes the fact that many Muslim Filipinos play down the concept that they *are* Filipinos, one people in one nation with Christian Filipinos. Moreover, there are also some Christian Filipinos who are convinced that the Muslims are not truly Filipinos. To turn these long-standing negative attitudes around so as to persuade both Muslims and Christians to accept each other fully and equally as Filipinos is possibly the single most serious problem in the achievement of Philippine national unity.

Insofar as the above problem results from lack of information or misunderstanding or wrong notions about the Moros, this book is sent out in the earnest hope that it helps, not hinders, the resolution of that problem.

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Dansalan College
Marawi City
1 September 1978

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MUSLIM FILIPINOS AND THEIR HOMELAND

The Malay World, encompassing the insular Southeast Asian states of Indonesia (with East Timor), Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and the Philippines, has one of the heaviest concentrations of Muslim peoples on earth. Approximately 129 million human beings embrace Islam there, and Indonesia lays claim to being numerically the world's largest Muslim nation—some 90% of her 135 million population adhering to that religion. Racially, linguistically and, in important ways, culturally, the Philippines is very much part of the Malay World. But she is not a Muslim country. Ninety-two per cent of her population of 42.2 million is Christian, a fact which makes her the only predominantly Christian nation in Asia. Still, the Moros (Muslim Filipinos) who inhabit mainly the southern islands of the Republic and who constitute a little over 5% of the population, are self-consciously part of the Muslim majority in island Southeast Asia.

A PROFUSION OF GROUPS

The estimated number of Muslim Filipinos in 1975 was 2,188,000 (Yambot et al., 1975:16). This is considerably below the figures of four or five million which some Moros claim, but it also suggests that the official 1970 Philippine Census figure of 1,584,394 was too conservative. Counting Muslim Filipinos is manifestly an imprecise science (see Appendix) yet the 1970 Census did reveal that the *rate* of growth for the Muslim population has been slower than that for the Christian population. Economic disadvantage, social and political upheaval and high infant mortality in areas without adequate health facilities, partly explain this slower growth.

The Moros are found principally in the southern Philippines: on the island of Mindanao, in the Sulu Archipelago and on the island of Palawan south of Puerto Princesa. Thirteen cultural-linguistic groups have been identified as Muslim (Fox and Flory, 1974) though a few of the groups, such as the Badjao of Sulu, have been less intensively Islamized. Some 94% of the 2.2 million Moros are found in four groups: the Maguindanao of the Cotabato region, the Mar-

anao-Ilanun* of the Lanao region, and the Tausug and Samal of Sulu. The thirteen Moro groups, their estimated number in 1975 and their principal locations are as follows (cf. Yambot et al., 1975:16):

Group	Estimated Size 1975	Principal Location
1. Badjao (Samal Laut)	20,000	South Sulu
2. Ilanun (Iranun)	429,000	From Buldon and Parang, Maguindanao Province, north along the shores of Illana Bay in Lanao del Sur
3. Jama Mapun (Samal Cagayan)	15,000	Cagayan de Sulu
4. Kalagan (kin of Tagakaolo)	5,000	Davao Provinces, on the shores of the Davao Gulf
5. Kolibugan (Kalibugan)	4,000	Zamboanga del Sur
6. Maguindanao	674,000	Cotabato Region
7. Maranao (Malanao)	241,000	Lanao region
8. Molbog (Melebuganon)	3,000	Balabac Island, Southern Palawan
9. Palawani (Muslim Pinalawan)	7,000	Southern Palawan
10. Samal (Sama'a)	202,000	Sulu Archipelago
11. Sangil (Sangir)	3,000	Sarangani Island Group
12. Tausug (Joloanos, Sulus)	492,000	Sulu Archipelago, mainly Jolo Island
13. Yakan	93,000	Basilan Island

Malay in race, the Muslim Filipinos are virtually indistinguishable physically from Christian Filipinos. Anthropologists today stress that except for those Filipinos who are of Chinese or Negrito stock, the Filipinos are racially one people.

The thirteen Moro groups speak various languages or dialects—often the name of the group and of the language being the same. A native speaker of Tausug, for example, refers to himself as Tausug (“people of the current”). Some of the languages are so closely related as to be mutually intelligible. This is the case with the Maranao, Ilanun and Maguindanao languages which, taken together, vir-

*The distinction between Maranao and Ilanun has not been clearly defined and in many accounts they are grouped together as Maranao. They are very closely related ethnically. The Maranao are Ilanun who, centuries ago, migrated from the shores of Illana Bay to the Lake Lanao area where minor cultural and linguistic differentiations from their Ilanun kinsmen have occurred (cf. Labar, 1975:35). The figure given for the Ilanun in the above table is probably way too high, while that for the Maranao is too small.

tually constitute one Mindanao language. The dialects of the Badjao, Samal and Jama Mapun are also closely related. But there is no single language which is understood by all the Muslim groups. In nearly all the groups there are some who have studied Arabic for religious purposes.

All of the indigenous languages and dialects spoken by the Moros belong to what has been termed "the Central Philippine Subgroup of the Malayo-Polynesian (Austronesian) Linguistic Family." Hence they are related in varying degrees to the languages spoken by the major Filipino Christian groups such as Ilocano, Visayan and Tagalog. Generally, the Moros are monolingual except in the larger ethnically mixed settlements along the coasts. In Sulu, Tausug is the *lingua franca*, and both the Samal and Badjao feel obliged to learn it.

Each of the thirteen Moro groups occupies a more or less distinct territory, though in some instances the smaller groups have their living space penetrated by families belonging to the larger groups. Again using Sulu as an example, the Tausug mix on various islands with the Samal, though numerically their concentration is in the Jolo island cluster. Generally the Tausug outnumber other groups in the northern half of Sulu and the Samal increase in number in the southern half, nearest Borneo. But the Tausug are found all over, ranging even to distant Palawan and the East Malaysian state of Sabah.

The Badjao—the name given to a boat-dwelling Samal people—are the smallest of the Moro groups in Sulu. Living as "sea gypsies," they move with the wind and tide in their small house-boats. They are the least intensively Islamized of all the Muslim groups and their religious beliefs and customs are still largely animistic. Even so, it is a mistake to call them "pagans" for Islamization continues steadily and is bringing about social and value changes among them (Nimmo, 1972:96).

The Maranao, Ilanun and Maguindanao are found mostly on Mindanao, though each group has kinsmen in Sulu and Sabah. As noted above, the Maranao and Ilanun are so closely related ethnically and linguistically that they are often thought of as one group. The minor differentiations which exist spring mainly from the fact that the Maranao historically have been somewhat isolated in their Lake environment while their Ilanun cousins have remained centered principally on the shores of Illana Bay and oriented to the sea. Very likely, what are today identified as three groups—Maranaos, Ilanuns, Maguindanaos—came from common progenitors not many centuries back. For their part, the Maguindanao have long been found in the broad valley of the Pulangi River and in communities scattered all

over the Cotabato region. Together the three groups make up 61% of all Muslim Filipinos. They have maintained fairly close contacts over the centuries and on occasion have formed military alliances to repel outsiders.

The unifying bond of Islam notwithstanding, the Moro groups differ among themselves almost as markedly as the Muslim population as a whole differs from the Christian Filipino groups. Anthropologist Melvin Mednick (1965:15) has commented that the Muslim Filipinos "in a micromanner... illustrate the range of diversity to be found in the Philippines."

The Moros differ in their subsistence patterns, ranging from those who are predominantly sedentary agriculturists, such as the Maranao, to a group which is almost completely dependent upon the sea, the Badjao. Between these two may be found practically every other kind of subsistence adaptation which exists in Southeast Asia. Both wet and dry rice cultivation are practiced among the Maguindanao as well as the Maranao; slash and burn (swidden or *cañgin*) agriculture is found among the Yakan; and sea-and-coast oriented livelihood—i.e., fishing, trading, smuggling—is seen among the Samal and Tausug. These differences in subsistence are by no means rigid, for there are many fishermen and seafarers among the Maguindanao and many farmers among the Tausug.

Moro groups also differ to some extent in their historical development and in the intensity of their contacts with the rest of the Philippines and the world beyond. While the Maranao have been, until this century, comparatively the most isolated and least touched by external influences of the major groups, the Maguindanao have felt the brunt of encounter with migrating peoples from the central and northern regions of the Philippines. The Tausug have been the most exposed to foreign influences by virtue of Sulu's location hard by the lanes of international shipping.

The Muslim groups differ as well in the details of their social organization; in the degree of their Islamic acculturation; and in their dress, customs, arts and many other aspects of culture. These subjects will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

While acknowledging the differences which distinguish the various Moro groups from one another, these differences should not be so emphasized as to lose sight of the things they have in common which justify their being included together under the general name "Moro," or "Muslim Filipino." Chief among these, obviously, is their adherence to Islam. Almost as important is their retention of the old "datu system" which, being touched by the unifying and legitimizing effects of Islam, provided a cohesiveness in the face of threats to their way of life that did not exist among the non-Muslim groups

of the Philippines at the time of the Spanish arrival. Again, more will be said in the following chapters about these two major elements of Muslim Filipino solidarity.

Cultural differences between Muslims and Christian Filipinos are significant, but it is broadly true that they have more in common with each other than either has with the so-called "Tribal Filipino" cultural communities which make up roughly 3% of the population. The Christian and Muslim peoples are mainly coastal, lowland or plateau agriculturalists (though many Christians are urbanites) who live in permanent settlements with populations often ranging upward from several hundred persons. Both Christians and Muslims engage in cottage industries, are active in trade and have contact with other peoples within and outside the Philippines. The Tribal Filipino groups, in contrast, tend to be marginal and isolated. Their settlements are small; often as not, temporary; and scattered through relatively inaccessible hill and mountain country. There are few craft specialties among them while their agriculture is based on shifting cultivation and relies largely on the dibble-stick. The notable exceptions to this general description are, of course, the Igorot groups of the Luzon mountains who live in permanent communities and make extensive use of impressively engineered rice terraces (cf. Mednick, 1965:2-6).

The factors which most characterize the Muslim Filipinos as a whole—Islam and the *datu* system—also most differentiate them from the Christian Filipinos. This differentiation is the product of history. Spain, arriving in the Archipelago four centuries ago, halted by force of arms the Islamization then in progress in the northern and central regions. Islam was pushed out of Luzon and the Visayas and thereafter contained in the southern islands. Spain tried, but failed, to effectively incorporate the Moro parts of Mindanao, Sulu and Palawan into the political system under which she had united the northern and central islands. Consequently, the social and cultural development of the Moros has been more or less independent of the development of the other lowland Filipino groups. That development was along "Islamized Malay" lines, in contrast to the Hispanization and Christianization which occurred in the north. "It was not," Professor Mednick (1965:4) reminds us, "until the assumption of American jurisdiction of the Philippines in 1898 and the resulting pacification of the Moros that the separate streams of development came together again." Even so, the Moros belong to that category of Filipinos—along with the Igorot peoples of Luzon and the other Tribal Filipino groups in Mindanao and Palawan—who were little touched by centuries of Spanish acculturation. They are

part of what Dr. William Henry Scott has called "the un-hispanized Philippines."

MOROLAND

The land of the Muslim Filipinos, Moroland, has been described picturesquely as a vast green crab, in tropic waters, stretching out an irritated claw after a school of minnows skipping off in the direction of Borneo. The crab is the island of Mindanao. The irritated claw is the Zamboanga Peninsula. And the minnows are the islands of the Sulu Archipelago. Moroland is a territory of 36,540 square miles, exceeding in size the combined areas of all the other islands of the Philippines excluding Luzon. By way of comparison, Moroland is larger in territory than either Portugal or Austria. And the Muslim population of Moroland outnumbers the populations of many independent countries such as Albania, Costa Rica and Libya.

Actually, Moros have never occupied the whole of Mindanao. Historically, they have been concentrated in the western and southern portions of the island. Islam had not had time to take hold among the Filipino groups inhabiting the northern and eastern parts of the island before the Spaniards began encouraging the colonization of those areas by Christianized Filipinos from the Visayas and Luzon. The Spaniards also established a Christian presence at the very gate of Moroland when they placed a strong fort and settlement at the tip of the Zamboanga Peninsula. During the American regime (1898-1946) and under the Republic, increasing numbers of Christian Filipinos migrated to Moroland, notably to northern Lanao and Cotabato. They settled on vast tracts of fertile lands unused, or little used, by the Moros who traditionally have favored riverbanks and shorelines. The mountainous interior portions of Mindanao have long been the habitat of such Tribal Filipino groups as the Bilaan, Tiruray, Manobo and T'boli of the Cotabato region, the Subanun of Zamboanga and the Mandaya and Bagobo of Davao.

In Muslim Filipino history three regions of Moroland have loomed more important than others: the Sulu Archipelago, the Lake Lanao region, and the Pulangi River Valley, that is, the Cotabato region.

Sulu

The Sulu Archipelago is the southernmost chain of islands in the Philippines and extends for 200 miles from the Zamboanga Peninsula to northeast Borneo. The archipelago was one of the principal routes of early migrations, maritime traffic and Islamization from Borneo to Mindanao, the Visayas and Luzon.

Sulu (a name given by foreigners) is made up of 369 named islands and at least 500 nameless protrusions. It has a total land