RESTORING A SENSE OF HISTORY
The Case of Southern Philippines’ Jolo, Sulu

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

MARIA FELICIA CANTO

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RESTORING A SENSE OF HISTORY
The Case of Southern Philippines' Jolo, Sulu

by

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Bachelor of Science in Architecture
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1980

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degrees
Master of City Planning
and
Master of Science in Architecture Studies
at the
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
February, 1985

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RESTORING A SENSE OF HISTORY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the problems of planning and implementing historical restoration and preservation programs for places where the majority of the residents are among a nation's cultural minorities. Two factors which make the planner's task complex are identified as the ability to build an understanding of the population and different cultures, and the need to address the way historical consciousness is developed within the society and outside of it.

The town of Jolo in Sulu Province of southern Philippines was selected as a case because there is a concern for the future development of Muslim Filipino cultures in general. Due to the ethnolinguistic limitations of historical sources, the discussion centers on the presentation of the history of Sulu cultures. A restoration program is proposed, evaluated, revised and then left open for further comment by the key institutional actors in the town.
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The use of reserved or restricted materials was granted by the Ayala Museum, the Bureau of Cultural Affairs of the Ministry of Muslim Affairs, and the Philippine Air Force.

Several people directly assisted in producing this document. Wynelle Brown and Joy Hecht created text from an unreadable manuscript. The processing
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Mitsy Canto

Cambridge, Massachusetts
November, 1984

Panoramic sketch of Plaza Tulay, Jolo in 1982
From left to right: Mount Tumatangis, Tulay Mosque and commercial establishments of Jolo proper.
PREFACE

The purpose of this thesis is to identify specific problems encountered in planning for ethnic minorities and to suggest a strategy for restoration and preservation actions based on a case. The study does not directly analyze policy or current projects at the national level. And neither does it attempt to resolve the problems of local efforts.

General concepts that have been relevant for the Philippines and its development as a nation have been criticized as being insensitive to essential aspects of Muslim Filipino history. While national interests have been adequately served by an active and publicly supported National Historical Commission, restoration and preservation in the interest of ethnic minorities has been limited and superficial.

There are thirteen Muslim ethnolinguistic groups which together comprise the largest percentage of the minority population. Historians speak of the history of Muslims in the Philippines and, in particular, of the histories of dominant groups like the Tausug, the Maguindanao, and the Maranao. (Fig. 1)

By selecting the town of Jolo as a case, I have

Map of Muslim areas in the Southern Philippines
(Dansalan Research Center: 1980 and Gowing: 1979)
chosen to concentrate more on the history of the Sulu peoples. (Fig.2-3) The selection permitted the study of relevant issues with some detail because of literature available from the fields of history and anthropology. The other groups would require more research before a similar approach can be used.

From the start, an assortment of problems loomed over the complex task of design and planning for Sulu cultures. At one level there was a cry for new ways of understanding the people, their traditions, and their monuments. And at another level, there was a need to create a conceptual structure for plural and conflicting design objectives.

The thesis came to focus on animating a proposed program based on a particular conceptual structure, by testing it through an evaluation of the prospects faced if implemented in Jolo, Sulu.

With a large amount of uncertainty involved, I established a position regarding restoration for Jolo and Muslim Filipinos. Various views were considered in the course of interviews and discussions. My impressions and judgements within the situation were based upon these interviews and other documented sources. People are expected to disagree with des-
criptions and images contained in the text. I have tried to distinguish between direct quotations, and personal formulations of situations, particularly for the sake of people to whom this history is important.

SCOPE

My first concern with research was to understand the issues, suggest a program in response to specific problems and to review the strategy for sensitivity and consistency with the original premises.

The study itself focuses on certain aspects of the environment for the purpose of formulating a program and implementing guidelines. These are:

1. the visual cues in the physical environment which support the memory of local history
2. the processes which encourage the creation of landmarks and special sites
3. the resources in the society which define realistic alternatives for planning.

Social, political and economic issues are discussed to rationalize institutionalized meanings.
and uses which are described in relation to built form and special sites, but the information is not central to the study. Legal considerations for the proposal are mentioned briefly despite their critical role in actual implementation. This was due to the nature of the author's expertise and is not intentional. There is a need for further research in this direction.

METHODOLOGY

Primary data was collected over a period of two years, beginning with a brief visit to Jolo in August of 1982. Interviews with residents and town officers took place during this time. An effort was made to acquire information on current local and national policies, while a search for anthropological and historical references went on.

Visual materials were particularly sought after to be able to offer coherent ideas regarding patterns in settlement form, architecture and building as they changed over time. Past images of Jolo were found in the collections of the Ayala Museum, the Coordinated Investigation of Sulu Cultures (CISCUK) of the Notre Dame of Jolo College, and Dansalan Research Center.
Research exposed problems that were thematically distinguished as those that related to the physical realm and those that were non-physical in nature. The idea was to link the program, the constraints of the context and physical images in the presentation. This called for the incorporation of visual materials into the text. Data on the location of Jolo, land use and site analysis are included in the appendix.

PROCEDURE

In the Introduction, the problems of identifying various cultural perspectives with respect to Jolo's population and of understanding local historical consciousness are identified. The task of the thesis is defined as to frame ideas for restoring a sense of history, rather than restoring particular objects.

From this task three problems follow. They are: First, the need to clarify how plural interests and positions are relevant to restoration in the town. Secondly, there is the need to imagine and test ways of making community sentiments more evident, and increase access to historical sources. And lastly, a need to identify objects and processes which need intervention.

A program is proposed as a starting point in the first chapter. Chapter One contains definitions, objectives, criteria and goals, and guidelines for design and implementation. Potential physical and institutional impacts are discussed.

Chapter Two describes the history of physical growth in the town and isolates seven historical and cultural artifacts for analysis. The sites, monuments and ruins are studied to review the reasons for their maintenance or non-maintenance.

Chapter Three examines four recent preservation or restoration efforts to identify implementation problems. An analogy to housing processes is used to generate ideas for alternatives to known means of administering or implementing projects or programs.

Chapter Four summarizes the characteristics of the planning process undertaken in Chapters 1-3. The reflections on the proposal result in changes to the program and policy recommendations.
PRIORITIES

The thesis problem was defined in terms of major constraints related to building an understanding for the culture of the population of an area, and knowing about the nature of local historical consciousness. A list of possible projects and sponsors for various preservation activities was generated from the examples of local ongoing efforts.

Other constraints relevant for planning were found but were not emphasized because I wanted to focus on the question underlying restoration efforts. For example, it was felt that the problems of restoration and preservation techniques comprised an important part of implementing a program. The topic could not be discussed here but it should be the subject of another research agenda after an analysis of the direction of current efforts and policy implications.
The best is left for the writer to do,
an imaginary history of our race,
a shadow page facing the actual page
with only the quotidian of history.
Half a life is all that documents
and memory serve to us.

- Virginia R. Moreno

Excerpt from SINAGLAHI "reflections of heritage",
an anthology of Philippine literature published
in celebration of the Afro-Asian Writers Symposium.
M.L. Santaromana (ed), Quezon City, Philippines:
Writers Union of the Philippines, 1975.
INTRODUCTION

Preservation and restoration programs require that planners or designers come to some understanding of the culture of a place. For most planning processes, the evaluation of what is worth restoring is made in an official or professional capacity by individuals or a committee. Decisions based on such evaluations essentially control and limit the ways in which the past is presented and perceived. And the reasons for making certain judgements about how the past is to be presented and why, are usually not made explicit.

There are significant differences in outcomes effected by past approaches to this type of intervention or development. Within the Philippines, national concerns for the preservation of historical artifacts have tended to support the presentation of a nationalistic version of history to the detriment of local or regional histories. Despite the lack of physical artifacts of great age and non-participation in the growth of the nation, restoration focused on minority cultures and their histories would contribute vitally to understanding the pluralistic national culture.

This study of the problems of restoration and preservation in Jolo, Sulu was inspired by the historical perspectives found in recent Muslim Filipino studies. From the initial interest, there developed a conviction that such a study would assist current moves being undertaken to address the centuries-old Muslim - Christian conflict in the Philippines.

In this thesis, I propose a program to address known problems encountered in planning and implementing historical restoration and architectural preservation projects. Aside from the uncertainty and subsequent complexity of the task, two major constraints uncommon to projects similar in intent were the level of historical consciousness and the pluralistic nature of cultures found within the town.

The first problem was to recognize that efforts to preserve and restore Sulu history are not necessarily representative of the values of various groups within the society. Given the different, often conflicting values found and the restriction of power to make decisions to within the local society's elite, a means of identifying a wider range of views was used. I thought that a survey of various ideas associated with monuments in the town would be enlightening,
even if ambiguity and subjectivity in determining the meanings were to be inevitable.

The concept for the planning process utilizes an an iterative framework in the thesis to suggest that future planning efforts might benefit from the kind of data used and the ability to refine early decisions. Using the framework, a proposal embodying certain values could be made in a professional capacity with the expectation that necessary changes based on later information (like town meetings) could be incorporated eventually.

The strategy grew out of the needs to make initial decisions, to provide concrete and tangible ideas about what should be preserved, and to allow others to make revisions, deletions and additions to the original program. The process was to be made more fair and to be able to incorporate new information as it was uncovered, instead of clinging to the initial premises set forth. Explanations are provided for changes introduced by the program and for areas where other changes may be necessary after actual discussions in the town.

Historical consciousness and local, cultural appreciation of history had not been previously studied in terms of the existing means of commemorating the past through the creation, maintenance and protection of monuments. The investigation of some monuments and what can be learned about the society from them are undertaken to add to what has already been documented about the way people view their history.

I have presumed that despite that fact one may never be sure of the actual meanings of monuments or symbols, as visual cues in the environment and as objects erected by people with specific reasons one may be able to get a sense of better ways to restore.

**MONUMENTS**

The word "monument" is used in two ways which focus the theoretical orientation of the analysis. Both are based on Alois Riegl's examination of monuments. In the first sense is the idea that there exist "intentional monuments", and in the second idea is that the selection of what to commemorate and how evolve from the society's current appreciation or consciousness of the past.

A monument in its oldest and most original sense is a human creation, erected for the specific purpose of keeping single human deeds or events (or a combination
thereof) alive in the minds of future generations. Monuments can be either artistic or literary, depending on whether the event to be remembered is brought to the viewer's consciousness by means of the visual arts or with the help of inscriptions. Most of the time, both genres are used simultaneously. The erection and care of such "intentional monuments", which can be traced back to the beginnings of human culture, have not ceased.

Monuments are symbols. And as symbols, they have meanings other than what may be thought and remembered by their creators. Despite of what are or what might have been the first intentions behind their creation, one cannot be sure of what interpretations and meanings are attached to specific symbols. It is known, however, that the meanings attached to them or given to them reflect how people perceive themselves, and how they perceive their environment.

Monuments are produced for political reasons, as well as for social and economic ones. In Sulu, and particularly in Jolo, the absence of actual physical artifacts from various ages and the presence of objects created as monuments permits questioning the intentions for citing the achievements of certain people and events over others. Historical perception played an important role in understanding the choices made by specific sponsors.

The second way in which the word "monument" is used adds to the first notion of specific intention and purpose by referring to the broad range of memories and possible sponsors which monuments serve.

The essence of every modern perception of history is the idea of development. In these terms, every human activity and every human event of which we have knowledge and testimony may claim historical value. In principle, every historical event is irreplaceable.

This sense of "monument" is used in line with current perspectives of Muslim history, where historiographic observations have outlined the need to accommodate new ways of seeing the development of Muslim culture, or in this case, for suggesting ways to increase historical consciousness about Muslim history and Sulu cultural development.

RESTORING A SENSE OF HISTORY

The title of the thesis was not worded to be read as, "A Restoration Program for the Town of Jolo" because the central argument of the thesis is that in planning for ethnic minorities, in this case Muslims of the Philippines, the need to give form to historical perception is a need to think about the process
of restoration itself and to ask about what is implied by different decisions made.

The questions, "For whom do we restore?, Why? and what version of history is it?", propose alternative means of assessing the direction that programs are taking, or being made to take. It is conceivable that the result of current studies in anthropology and history would have a similar effect on a direct questioning of the premises for restoration and preservation. The point of pursuing this particular line of inquiry in conjunction with the planning task is the clarification of cultural implications and the introduction of an element of self-consciousness when making judgements about what is to be done.

With this line of inquiry, it may be possible to identify and to comprehend the conditions under which a common culture for the future is possible where there is a plurality of cultures. In the discussion of the case, a "common culture" refers primarily to the level of cultural development in which many cultures offer positive support to each other and are interdependent.³

The development of a common culture is a complex process that policymaking bodies tend to simplify. National government provides a framework which offers an identity encompassing differences between various cultures within its political boundaries. Previous experience with government programs for Muslim Filipinos has resulted in much mistrust for the style of implementation used and the speculated motives. Majul pointed out,

We are restoring for the sake of the Muslim Filipinos who value their past, as well as for the sake of other Filipinos who may also sympathize with them or who hold the heritage of the Muslims as part of the overall national culture. ...They (Muslims) must also be helped in preserving their culture, if only to demonstrate to them that the national community is not out to exterminate them.⁴

Monuments lend themselves to use as propaganda and a focus on their creation could substitute for knowing the cultures and improving upon past planning experiences. The study proceeded in a direction that tried to determine how planning was problematic and why one should consider the notion of preserving culture when one speaks of restoration and preservation.

From the Muslim perspective, development introduced by the national government is considered a form of propaganda, and not an indication of new awareness and concern.⁵ Historical restoration among Muslims in
the Philippines needs to be studied in terms of local historical consciousness and traditional efforts to memorialize the past before moves initiated from the national level can be meaningful.

Instead of looking only at objects and pragmatic reasons for embarking on the task, community response whether in acceptance or rejection should be consid-
ered. History is "restored" for the sake of strengthening the distinctions between the experience of a place and of its people, and the larger culture uniting different ethnic groups. It could be possible to mitigate cultural conflicts to the satisfaction of both national and ethnic cultures. A good place to start would be an understanding of group perspectives and an acceptance of cultural boundaries or reasons for maintaining cultural distinctiveness.

Jolo was selected because the town is inhabited by a predominantly Muslim population within a predominantly Christian country, the Philippine Republic. Different cultural groups are represented within it: the Muslim Filipinos comprised of the Tausug, Samal, and Badjao; the Christian Filipinos who began migrating into the town in the late 19th century; the Chinese who lived in Jolo since the trade with Asia began; and the military who at one time were Spanish, then American, and now representatives of the national government. The town's history has been an important factor in the development or underdevelopment of the town with respect to other areas of the country. It is only in recent years that scholarship and government policies have moved in strategic ways to tackle such basic problems.

The positive approaches found in references for ongoing efforts to resolve the Muslim-Christian conflict were fraught with problems at the theoretical level and in implementation. Real attempts are being made to improve the situation. Realistically, the problems will not go away within the next few years, and possibly not even within this generation. This thesis is a contribution to the prevailing direction of interest by elaborating on what is known about the town and how the culture, major actors and institutions are relevant to any planning effort.
BACKGROUND ON JOLO

Jolo is an important town, but the political and economic realities of the 1980's do not substantiate the claim. Of its past dominance, Saleeby said:

"Prior to the 17th century, while Manila and Cebu were still small and insignificant settlements, Jolo had reached the proportions of a city and was the richest and foremost settlement in the Philippine Islands. With the exception of Brunei, Jolo had no rival in northeast Malaysia."

Majul studied the Islamization of Sulu and Mindanao, and outlined Muslim history during the Moro Wars against Spain as having occurred in six stages from 1568 to 1876. The account of Sulu history ended with the Spanish occupation of Jolo, after its destruction on February 29, 1876.

During the Moro Wars, Jolo was attacked fourteen times and was severely damaged, when not burned to the ground. Majul's history describes the events in 1578, 1597, 1602, 1628, 1630, 1638, 1645, 1731, 1752, 1848, 1849, 1851, 1873, and 1876. They are notable because for the years mentioned there were physical descriptions of Jolo in travelers' accounts. Gowing, claimed that the number of times was sixteen, and if major fires up to 1974 are considered in the pattern, the number is eighteen. The pattern of destruction over time was matched by an ability to rebuild, as the descriptions of the settlement noted.

The passage of time brought wars and military campaigns against the two Muslim settlements of Sulu and Magindanao, and the diversion of commerce to other growing centers like Manila, Cebu, and Iloilo. While still functioning as capital of the province of Sulu, the town no longer enjoys the prominent economic and political advantages it once had.

From 1899 to 1920, a succession of American administrators governed from the nearby port of Zamboanga, which was then the capital of Moro Province. Pacification strategies accompanied Muslim resistance to the introduction of regulatory devices like land titles, the required registration of residents and ownership of ancestral land for taxation, and laws abolishing the right to own slaves.

By 1915 and because of a treaty with the American government, Sultan Jamal ul-Kiram relinquished his secular powers as the sultan. It was also agreed that the sultanate would cease with his death. The Philippine government in 1936 denied a petition from the Ruma Bichara, or council of datus, of Jolo to
recognize the niece and adopted daughter of the late sultan as Sultana. Sulu Moros perpetuated the sultanate and did not subscribe to the policy. Even if there were legal constraints imposed on the institution of the Sultanate of Jolo, in subsequent years different factions recognized rival sultans.\textsuperscript{11}

Economic disparity between Muslim communities and new communities of settlers became apparent by the 1960s. New communities became centers of trade linked by good roads, while Muslim communities remained comparatively isolated and without government assistance. In 1971, the Philippine Senate Committee on National Minorities reported that up to that time not a single irrigation project had been planned for any municipalities where Muslims were a majority.\textsuperscript{12}

Gowing observed that Muslim resistance or rebellion in the Sulu Archipelago continued with dynamics which were different from what was experienced in other areas for other Muslim groups.

The occupation of all available usable land, the closing of free trade with Borneo imposed and enforced by the government in Manila, the strong competition from non-Muslims in fishing Sulu waters, these and other factors have resulted in further limiting the opportunities for legitimate employment: smuggling, piracy and banditry. To deal with these "outlaws" the Philippine Constabulary (joined from time to time by Philippine Army units) has based its largest command, relative in population size, in Jolo. Seething resentment against the government for constabulary abuses, minimal economic aid, and in general, the treatment of their archipelago as a forgotten corner of the Republic of the Philippines led the Suluanos to sue (in vain) for independence through their Congressmen in 1961 and then finally to rise in open revolt in the early 1970s.\textsuperscript{13}

In 1971, martial law was declared when the Marcos government felt threatened by the extent of lawlessness caused by Communist activities and the war-like condition in Muslim areas. It is only during the last decade that government policy shifted by redirecting the implementation of national integration from that of cultural assimilation to one that recognizes cultural differences. The new institutions, legal instruments and enacting statutes were created after a prolonged period of negotiation to provide support for Muslim Filipino interests.

Assolutions to the situation in Muslim areas or the Mindanao Problem, the Southern Philippines Development Authority (SPDA) changed in structure and responsibilities as an agency from 1975 to 1979. The Philippine Pilgrimage Authority was created in 1978.
by Presidential Decree (PD) 1302. An organizational framework for the autonomous governing of Regions IX and XII, of which Sulu Province is Region IXa, was established by PD 1618 on July 25, 1979. Lastly, on May 28, 1981 the Ministry of Muslim Affairs was created by Executive Order #697.¹⁴

How effective these strategies will be in bringing the Muslim areas up to the same level of development as that of other areas in the country remains to be seen. Criticism for the slow rate and discriminatory manner of implementation has been expressed.

The rebellion in the South is over, from the perspective of the national government, because it is unsupported by the majority of Muslim Filipinos.¹⁵ Organized groups of rebels who continue the struggle for secession are fragmented. At the present time, rebels are considered both common bandits or rightfully aggrieved citizens depending upon whether or not they avail of government amnesty and surrender their arms, or continue to actively fight.

Gowing sees the majority of Muslims in the Philippines as undergoing a major struggle to develop an alternative between assimilation and secession through real autonomy.¹⁶ There is a will to have a
more equitable distribution of economic, political and social opportunity that now has a foundation through government. But there is a general concern felt by people from inside and outside of Muslim society that the culture could move toward uncertain and undesired directions. Because of this, scholars see themselves as key participants in the imminent evolution of the Muslim and national cultures. Common themes found in recent Muslim Filipino studies stress the need for pride in cultural differences, suggest positive directions for the future relations between Muslims and Christians, hope for a deepening of beliefs and work toward a better understanding of what it means to be Muslim.

Attitudes toward the past and the history of conflict have changed over time. There are a variety of views with completely different ideological orientations which would be against the historical perspectives presented here. But as a starting point for discussions on the restoration of a sense of history this study draws from the contemporary works of historians and anthropologists. From their discussions of historical research, or documentation and interpretation, two major problems are defined.
writers who were more sympathetic or used empirical methods to document what they saw and understood. The change has been attributed to the fact that research on Muslim societies was undertaken by scholars in the fields of anthropology, archeology, linguistics, and history. The subject matter of the literature ranged from the controversial to the more non-controversial aspects of the cultures observed.

Filipino Christian historians until late in the 1970’s tended to regard Muslims as peripheral to the development of the country. Of these nationalist historians, the works of Teodoro Agoncillo and Gregorio Zaide were used as standard textbooks. It is somewhat ironical that currently their main contributions to understanding the Muslim-Christian conflict can be drawn from what they and other Filipino historians did not mention. Omission of basic information helped to explain why most of the educated Filipinos know little or nothing about the Muslims, or other ethnic groups for that matter.

Muslim Filipinos and, more recently, some non-Muslim Filipinos had more concern for localized and ethnic studies by the 1970’s. A few attempted to re-interpret and reconstruct the past and have paved the way for other scholars. One noticeable distinction between the attitudes of various writers is that the history and culture of Muslims is seen as a single process in some work, and in other works as different ongoing processes with meaningful variations for each ethnomedlinguistic group.

All writers of Philippine history now agree that the importance of local and regional histories has been denied and should not be underestimated in the future. The serious social, political and economic effects of the former orientation climaxed in the form of the Mindanao Problem and conflicts experienced over government hydro-electrification and the displacement of ethnic groups in Northern Luzon.

In relation to the development of historical consciousness within Sulu, local written sources determined the depth and breadth of knowledge about the past. Access to them was limited for two different reasons. The tarsilas and the luntars were written in jawi, a native script derived from Arabic script and were confined in usage and influence to the literate upper levels of Tausug society. These documents were never reproduced for mass consumption and continue to be closely guarded hierlooms of per-
sons who are related by kinship to the Sultanate and datuhip. The events recorded focused on the issues of royal succession, adventures and affairs. The other written historical sources were also not within reach of Muslim masses because they were written in Spanish or English. When English was introduced in Sulu through the American public school system, the same upper levels of Tausug society and non-Muslim residents in Sulu had access to these external sources. Tan observed that there is no evidence to show that the historical consciousness of the masses was ever affected.

Mass consciousness...differed from that of the ruling class in the sense that it represented a more consistent anti-colonial reaction and attitude in Muslim society until it was affected by the American public school system.

The ruling class was the center around which everything in the society revolved. It is for this reason that the history of the Sulu people is the history of the sultanate and datu. The majority of Sulu peoples were more in touch with the oral tradition because of the exclusiveness of written sources. Oral traditions became more important in the transmission and preservation of the local historical sense. Narratives like the parang-sabil, and to a lesser extent, the kissa or katakata, are valued for their historical content even if they contain elements of fact and fiction.

The dualism or dichotomy contained in oral sources has been interpreted by Kiefer and Tan as important to understanding historical consciousness for the Tausug and Tausug-speaking peoples in Sulu as an awareness of themselves as both secular and mystical, real and unreal, concrete and abstract. It is a consciousness that permits the Tausug to deal with the conflicts inherent in the society. One group of which are those that arise from observance of traditional customs and practices, and the pressure to adopt modern ways.

An expansion of the basis for knowing history has been recommended for the people as a means to survive in modern times. In the light of various directions being taken by Muslim historians, social and political actions would be improved as a result of an increase in concern with what is generally known and believed about the past. From a historiographical perspective, this direction would lead toward the legitimization of reforms and new institutions pros-
THE PROBLEM OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

THE SOURCES

When the term "historical consciousness" is used, it means the awareness of the role and significance that past experience or knowledge has in social action. Jolo's population consists mostly of Muslim Filipinos who are of the Tausug culture, speak the Tausug language and identify with the history of the Sultanate of Sulu. Other cultures represented in the town and have different perceptions of history. The historical base for local consciousness should be studied in order to grasp the ways in which the past is made meaningful and what perceptions of history have an effect on social actions.

Tan noted that because Muslim Filipinos belong to different ethnolinguistic groups there is a corresponding variety of what historical consciousness means. Although there is a sense of history that Muslim Filipinos have in common and identify with, Muslim studies have brought to light contemporary issues and problems regarding the actual complexity of developments in Muslim cultures. The absence of some of the sources found in other groups suggests that different kinds or levels of historical consciousness developed.

There are two basic sources of Muslim historical consciousness. These are the textual or literary sources and the oral traditions. Because the Tausug are the only group of the Sulu cultures for whom many events of the past are recorded in both of the basic sources, their historical sense dominates that of the Samal and Bajaw. What is known about the transfer of knowledge about the past of Jolo and Sulu ultimately relates to the history of the Tausug, whether it is created by them or about them.

The written sources of the Tausug are called sarsilas or tarsilas and luntars. The former are the literary genealogies of the sultanate and the latter are brief annals. Majul refers to khutbahs and kitabs or religious sources in his work because of their historical value but these were not written with historical intent.

Other types of written history have been added to the traditional ones since the advent of the Spanish colonial system. All of them provided external views of Muslim societies. Tan classified them
The categories are helpful but problematic because some sources encountered were written with attitudes different from what prevailed, used other methods, and had access to better information. These classifications are nevertheless useful because they simplify the organization of an overview but for each case unique contributions have also been cited.

The "Hispanic" sources written during the Moro Wars and until the late 19th century generally looked at Muslim societies as savage and primitive. None of the accounts of the Muslims of Sulu are without prejudice. Many had low regard for Muslim life and followed in the wake of invading or attacking forces. In the light of Spanish historiography, the accounts are valued for descriptions of settlements and the Sulu society from about 1565 until 1898.

There is another body of literature which was not considered and these are the accounts of travelers to Sulu who may not have been either Spanish or American. They shared the biases found in the works described by Tan but were written by authors who were less involved with the political conflicts of their period and were less derogatory in their accounts. One notable exception for this period was the work of Najeeb Saleeby, who was a Lebanese-born administrator in Jolo. Two tarsilas were made available to him by Hadji Buto, the sultan's minister and later a senator of the Philippine Republic, for use in the book The History of Sulu which was published in 1908. His was the most basic and comprehensive text used in Muslim studies until more recent histories were written in the 1970's.

A new attitude in American sources after the end of American political rule in 1946 arrived with other
scribed by scholars and politicians.\textsuperscript{11} Jolo residents have a higher literacy rate than in other parts of Sulu due to the concentration of both Muslim and non-Muslim primary and secondary schools, and colleges within the municipality. Even if there is a greater number of Muslims in the population than any other group, the existence of more than one cultural entity in the area of the town since the earliest periods of its history implies that the other ways of viewing the past should be examined for their relevance in the present and the future.

Despite the paucity of knowledge about the Samal, the Badjawi, and the Chinese community who have long been associated with the place, ethnic histories or a local history would make it possible to perceive coherent reasons for having been in one place over time. Cultural development in this sense could have a firmer foundation.

Historiographical writing would provide better ways of understanding written sources of history. With the limited quantity of external and internal sources, any inquiry based on the problems of creating history would generate new information.

**HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES**

In the recently published historical and anthropological references consulted for this study, there were similarities found in perceptions of the history and culture of the Muslims. While anthropologists were concerned with making the society comprehensible by pointing out cultural patterns in the present, all writers of history seemed to agree that historical sources were to be used to resolve cultural conflicts. Historians looked into Muslim values, customs and practices for the purpose of showing the way, or their way.

Muslim writers assume that the only way to give meaningful interpretations of the past is to view it from the "Muslim perspective". It is recognized that there is an essential link between Philippine Muslim history and that of the Muslim world, but because of geographic, political and cultural reasons, history for the Muslim Filipinos is a record of separate experiences. Cesar Adib Majul and Samuel K. Tan, who are both respected Muslim historians, made it a point to write about their perspectives and they stressed different points.
Majul stressed the value and contribution of the Muslim culture to Philippine culture and advocated for a deeper understanding of that which made the Muslim Filipino different from other Filipinos, their religion. While in agreement with Majul's idea, Tan emphasized the notion of pluralism and differences in ethnic experiences among Muslims Filipinos as what should be better understood. Both views complement each other and offer an image of the future that is hopeful about relationships between Muslims and non-Muslims and peace.

In contrast to the "Muslim perspective" of both writers there is the perspective offered by other Muslims. The spokesman of an armed Muslim group, Abhoud Syed Lingga claimed that Muslims who valued their religion should join in their effort to protect their homeland with secession as their common goal. Muslims who may also believe in socialist ideology or have a Marxist interpretation of their history are few in number but have a great influence on the way non-Muslims understand the cultural conflict.

A non-Muslim historian, the late Peter G. Gowing, devoted much of his work to clarifying the nature of the cultural conflict in Mindanao and Sulu. He observed that the different Muslim and non-Muslim historical perspectives which were documented and espoused by various groups shared one sentiment: Even as there were political reasons for their disagreement, the preservation of Muslim culture and beliefs in the predominantly Christian nation was a central concern.

His perspective on Muslim history was not radically different from those of Majul and Tan, but with his eighteen year experience of life in Muslim and non-Muslim communities, he had knowledge of the different views. Although he was supportive of the optimistic Muslim perspective, he could academically present an understanding of all views and discuss how the conflict could be negotiated.

Thomas M. Kiefer, an anthropologist who is an authority on Tausug culture, defined the relationship between history and anthropology in Sulu history. He noted that the writing of history in the present times might take advantage of the knowledge about customs and traditions as practiced currently by the society. He also identified six cases in which the use of ethnographic data were of assistance in making
historical information better sources of information about the Tausug culture. 16

1. To identify the fit between the present style of a culture and that of the past.

2. To evaluate the use of oral history.

3. To make comparative observations which might illuminate ambiguous parts of an oral or written record.

4. To give comment on the plausibility of early observations by travelers.

5. To identify and interpret possible functionless artifacts or notions about the past.

6. Provide a background of cultural context for the source being used, against which the historical writing can proceed.

After citing the examples for why there is such a need due to the nature of the sources themselves, he suggested a perspective for the study of the writing of Tausug history, or its historiography.

A sense of history at the very least implies a sense of continuity and perpetuity in the things that matter. All other things being equal, social groups and offices which define themselves as permanent and continuous are more likely to leave traces on the sands of time, if only as Brown (1973) has neatly shown for 19th century Brunei, because they have some interest in legitimizing their perpetuity.

In Sulu, the only sound history the Tausug have produced, in deed the only history for the most part concerns the sultanate. But this is the exception which proves the point, the sultanate was the only corporation sole in the polity. 17

The dominance of Tausug culture in Sulu and Jolo resulted in most people's acceptance of a version of history that inhibited questioning. This theme found in Muslim history can be compared to the way in which no one questioned the authority of the sultan. Because of the need for recent histories to establish a link with the past that was tangible and immediate, an evaluation of the rightness or appropriateness of the contemporary message of history is not possible.

The extent to which the sultan and the sultanate have any influence in current social action has not been the subject of study, but the institutions are
presumed to be basic and essential to the culture of Sulu. Certainly, the sultanate and the development of Tausug culture are inextricably linked. In the light of new concerns regarding the transformations and dilemmas of ethnic minority groups, however, one may find that the groups that were formerly unmentioned in genealogical annals or played subservient roles in the society may have increasing status. This is only one example of change that would require some study of the part of those concerned with interpreting history. Traditional institutions that were once critical in providing people with a sense of identity may no longer have the powers or hold they once did.

Historiographical studies in Philippines have until recently received scant attention from scholars. Potential benefits to the development of newer social and political models in for cultures in the Philippines were outlined. Different approaches to the study of history have been demonstrated as being able to bring out information about formerly unquestioned facts. Demography, sociology and anthropology are some of the important fields which could give a better sense of why histories were written.

Cultural and local histories are now the primary concern of historians, when in earlier years most historians wrote social and political histories.

THE PROBLEM OF POPULATION IDENTITY

The task of understanding the people and culture of Jolo, Sulu for planning purposes is critical and not simple. An understanding is critical because of the tense political and economic context described earlier at a general level in this introduction, and because of unique local institutions and rules that will determine whether or not planning directions are acceptable in the context of Jolo. The task is not simple due to the way research by social scientists has to be collected, analysed and used.

Given the paucity of knowledge in the field of Muslim studies in the Philippines, it is necessary to outline aspects of the cultural system which would affect later developments in programming and implementation. It was thought that firmer ground for the observations and recommendations could be established.
Research for this direction of inquiry depended mainly upon the work of anthropologists who did fieldwork in Jolo or Sulu Province.

The materials highlighted ideas that could be grouped into three issues influencing a culturally responsive program. These were:

- quantitative information
- group identities, key institutions and norms
- hierarchies or the organization of leadership

for planning and implementation tasks

As a collection of bits of information, they described what the local culture was like through its institutions and defined what was unique about the local context. The conflicts and problems exposed showed the effect of local administrative precedents and military actions.

Since the three points defined basic parameters or rules regarding the society, they became the foundation for the initial program presented in Chapter 1 and defined an agenda for further research. Questions like: Who are important individuals to consider? Which groups or causes would not normally be supported and require intervention by planners or designers? And, why would certain ideas be more acceptable
than others in a proposal? Not all these questions are possible to answer at once. In fact, some of them cannot be asked in a candid or direct way. They are mentioned because ultimately, implementation depends upon these unknown factors as much as it does on the analysis and interpretation of known facts.

STATISTICAL PROBLEMS

The Tausug and the Samal are the third and fourth largest of the thirteen Muslim ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines. The two groups are found concentrated mostly in Sulu Province.  

The earliest problems with statistical information were pointed out by Najeeb Saleeby during the American administration of the province. He noted that the 1903 census for the town did not include areas of the town inhabited by Moros. These areas were parts of Tulay and San Raymundo, and all of Busbus. American and Filipino military personnel were also excluded from the count despite their continued presence in the town and region.

In the 1970's, Richard L. Stone studied the population of Siasi municipality, the largest voting district by population in Sulu province, using an aerial survey and based on calculations by the residents of specific communities concerned. Based on his analysis of Tausug barrios and Samal barrios, he argued that the 1960 census figures in each case could have been overstated by as much as an average of 46% for the former and 23% for the latter.

An explanation offered was that given the high degree of political organization that existed it would not have been difficult for ambitious politicians to exaggerate Muslim voting power. Experienced observers of Philippine Islam, have pointed out that
inflated population returns could be reflected in inflated voting returns and made possible a stronger political voice in national life.

Additional problems are found in the most recent population count conducted in Jolo by the National Census and Statistics Office on May 1, 1975. The population characteristics were described in terms of total figures and in terms of "Mother Tongue". While the values showed a diversity of languages spoken and permit one to estimate a parallel diversity of ethnic origins, more attention to the existence of distinct groups could have been added to the report.

For example, within the total of 34,458 people counted as speaking Tausug, no other cultural distinctions were made. The census did not include questions that would help determine whether these residents belonged to groups that could be conventionally called Muslim, non-Muslim, non-Tausug, Samal or other groupings. Also, military personnel were not included for security reasons even if the forces deployed comprised a large percentage of the total population.

The total figures given for how large each group in Jolo or Sulu may be are estimates which have been presented as problems by others. They are questioned here to describe the problem of using a quantitative analysis for evaluating the significance of cultures in the town. Escalated violence over cultural and political conflict is an indication that qualitative analyses should be used instead.

**GROUP IDENTITIES AND KEY INSTITUTIONS**

Richard Stone observed that within the three distinct ethnolinguistic Muslim groups found in Sulu province there existed smaller groups or subgroups.
Within the Tausug, one may distinguish the Tao sug, those people who live in the market centers and near the shores. Then there are the Tao gimba - those people who live in the interiors of the various islands.

Within the Samal group, Stone also called attention to the Samal higad or shore dwellers who are fishermen, and the Samal gimba, who were shore dwellers, but who were farmers. He suggested that among the third group, the Badjao, there could be subgroups but the superficial image was that of a homogeneous one.

In Jolo, as in the rest of the province, Tausug culture has been the most dominant in the development and persistence of key institutions. Members of the ethnic group have higher social status than the Samal people. People who are Tausug or Samal have an even higher status within the society than the Badjao.

Only the Badjao are known by a variety of names, most of which are condescending and indicate the lower status of the group. These are Samal laut, Pagan, Pala'u, Luwa'an, Badjao and Samal Pala'u.

When one uses the name of a group, such as Tausug, the name refers to the group of people, their language and their way of life. The word Tausug has several distinct symbolic associations. Kiefer noted that when a man says, "I am a Tausug", he may to any of three things. First, he may be saying that he is a member of an ethnic group which speaks the Tausug language and has a particular form of adat or customs which set him apart from other Muslim groups in Sulu.

Secondly, he may be saying that his primary political loyalty is with the Tausug Sultanate of Sulu with subsequent involvement in a particular set of legal and political institutions.

And lastly, he may be saying that he is Moslem. The point sets him apart from Christians or other non-Muslim Filipinos. Kiefer went on to say that in
most cases someone could refer to himself as Tausug at all the known levels of meaning. But there were a few exceptions known to him.

For example, a Tausug might refer to a Yakan10 as a "Tausug" with an emphasis on the second and third levels but not on the first level.

A Yakan may respect the legal and political institutions of the Sultanate of Jolo, and he may be Muslim, but he will not be interpreted as saying that he follows Tausug traditional laws and is, even ceremonially governed by them.

HIERARCHIES AND LEADERSHIP

All groups must be identified in terms of their leader, and not in terms of discrete social boundaries which set them off from other groups...No fact of Tausug society is more basic than the principle that everything must be defined in terms of its center, and not in terms of its edges.

With the ethnic differences (such as livelihood and housing practices) hard to discern in brief reports or preliminary site visits, Kiefer's observation presents a theme that is relevant to all three Sulu cultures. The traditional Sultanate of Sulu and the hierarchy its existence defined was spiritually guided by the ulama or panditas. Holy men made sure that sacred laws were not contradicted by laws made by men.

Kiefer described Tausug society and social organization in terms of five concepts important in their culture. Each notion corresponded to a major principle of recruitment into groups: territory, kinship, friendship, loyalty to a politically legitimate officeholder and membership in a mosque. Tausug individuals belong to various groups at the same time with different degrees of loyalty owed to each.

One cannot presume that this system of divided and increasing amounts of loyalty to leaders within the society is consistently true within Jolo. Since constant contact between Sulu groups and non-Muslim groups takes place, leadership within the town will be made up of individuals who may not be part of the traditional hierarchy. Prominence in community activities might help in identifying who the leaders are but their importance may be limited. In Jolo, examples of sources for leadership are the imams, officials like the mayor and the governor of the province, and various datus or headmen who draw their powers from what remains of the Sultanate.
NOTES FOR THE INTRODUCTION:


2 Ibid., further discussion on p.21.

3 The use of the term "common culture" was drawn from two sources. First, Frederick Barth, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969) p.10 for the value seen in preserving the differences between groups and the potential stability of culturally pluralistic context,

"Ethnic groups are categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves, and thus have the characteristic of organizing interaction between people".

Secondly, and given the cultural plurality within Jolo, Raymond Williams definition of the term "common culture" seemed appropriate as introduced in his conclusion "The Development of a Common Culture" from Culture and Society 1780-1950 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983) p.333, which was originally published in 1958.

"A culture in common, in our own day, will not be the simple all-in-all society of old dream. It will be a very complex organization, requiring continual adjustment and redrawing. At root, the feeling of solidarity is the only conceivable element of stabilization in so difficult an organization."

4 From a letter to the author date August 24, 1984.

5 The historical perspective alluded to is based on the collection of writings by Cesar Adib Majul, Samuel K. Tan and Peter G. Gowing. Despite their differences they have a positive outlook for the future of Muslim Filipinos.


8 Ibid., pp.107-293.


10 Ibid., pp.2-19.


12 Ibid.


14 All four initiatives received attention in the press and in the publications of government agencies that were involved. Summaries may be found in Ministry of Muslim Affairs (1982) and the Southern Philippines Development Authority (1980).

15 The opinion may be read in Gowing (1979: 230-251).

16 Ibid., pp.225-227.

A. THE PROBLEM OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS


2 Ibid.
Majul (1973) used khutbahs and kitabs to shed light on the validity of historical facts in the tarsilas used. This method benefited his description of the problem of chronology in the succession of rulers for the Maguindanao and Sulu sultanates.

Travel Accounts of the Islands 1513-1787 (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1971) and Travel Accounts of the Islands 1832-1858 (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1974) were compilations drawn mostly from Blair and Robertson, The Philippine Islands (1908). The accounts of Jolo and Sulu include those of William Dampier (1686-1687), Thomas Forrest (1774-1776), Alexander Dalrymple (1841), Charles Wilkes (1842) and Frank S. Marryat (1844).

Peter G. Gowing, "Teaching Muslim-Filipino History". A paper read for the panel at the Fourth National Conference on Local History on "The Teaching and Writing of Local History", held at the University of San Carlos, Cebu City, Philippines on November 27-29, 1981 and John Larkin's Introduction to Perspectives on Philippine Historiography: A Symposium (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asian Studies, 1979) p.2-10, shared this opinion but each identified different trends in Philippine historical writing.


Ibid., Samuel K. Tan (1976) previously introduced the idea.

Op.cit., Kiefer (1979:60-61) previously introduced the idea of the dominance of the sultanate hierarchy up to the present and the limited access to written historical sources made oral sources more accessible to most Tausug. Oral sources such as the parang sbabil should thus be studied for their historical content, despite the fact that they may contain myths and express aspirations.


Gowing (1979:163-229) summarized the points made by known Muslim and non-Muslim political figures about where present trends in conflict resolution may lead in a chapter entitled "On the Horizon".


Kiefer (1979:55-60)

Ibid., p.61.


Ibid., p.9.

Ibid., The collection of essays edited by Larkin present four different approaches to historiography. These covered the fields of anthropology, geography, demography and sociology. Aside from Kiefer article which studied history using ethnogra-
B. THE PROBLEM OF POPULATION IDENTITY

1See Preface (fig.1) for the Dansalan Research Center illustration and table. Read Peter G. Gowing (1979: Appendix) for a brief essay on the various estimates for the population of Muslim ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines.

2Najeeb M. Saleeby (1908:144-145) He noted even then that the town had a mixed cultural composition. Most of the Filipinos counted in the survey emigrated to from Zamboanga and Cotobato. He also observed that not all Muslims were the same. He said,

"Many of the Moros living at Tulay and Busbus are of mixed origin. The mixture is chiefly of Sulus and Samals, with each other and Chinese. The Jolo type of Moro is by no means Sulu and has consequently misled many authors and ethnologists. A large number of Samals frequent Tulay and Busbus and often temporarily reside there, but because of their strong migratory habits no estimate has been made of them."


4See Appendix B, "Population Characteristics". These 1975 NCSO figures were found in the 1980 Census of Population and Housing (Manila: National Economic Development Authority and the National Census and Statistics Office).

5Kiefer (1972:132-134) brought up the point on the size and presence of military forces on Jolo Island indirectly. He was describing Tausug fighting.

6Gowing (1979:257)


8Kiefer (1972:2)

9Ibid., page 3.

10The Yakan are also Filipino Muslims who are mostly found on Basilan Island north from Jolo. Refer to the map in the Preface (fig.1).

11Op.cit., and there are many points associated with the dominance of the Tausug culture in Sulu that flourish. These were discussed in Stone (1974).

12Kiefer (1972:8)

13Ullama (Arabic) and Panditas (Tausug) are the plural forms of the nouns used for holy or learned men. Traditionally they were often foreigners, usually Arabs, in the pre-Hispanic settlement at Jolo.


15Ibid., Much of Kiefer's thesis on the Tausug revolved around understanding the relationships between an individual and various groups. He proposed that territory was the smallest social unit to which Tausug belonged. The group's varied in size. And the implications of association or membership varied and were linked to a sense of duty.

16Saleeby (1908:145) was quoted in Note 1 of this section as having pointed out that people with different ethnic origins lived in Jolo. In 1982, discussions with local residents indicated many thought that the peace and order problems could be blamed on the presence of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. To be fair, feuds between kinship groups and political or business rivals should have been considered or mentioned before noting this claim. Kiefer (1972) said he had witnessed the violent climax of a feud in or near Tubig-Mangka, in Luuk, on Jolo Island.
CHAPTER 1 -
THE PROPOSED PROGRAM

DEFINITIONS

The following definitions are provided to clarify the operating principles and concepts of the program. Some of the terms found here are used in a manner different from their uses in planning and social science references and official government documents.

Redefinitions were made in reaction to finding that existing definitions given in preservation literature could not accommodate the ways in which Sulu rituals and customs generate knowledge about the past. Attempts to compensate for the biases of the Western sources are explained in the notes.

1. Cultural heritage

Artifacts of culture passed down from preceding generations. These are objects or processes which contribute to understanding a people's origins, cultural evolution and current state.

The greatest achievements of all cultures may receive global acclaim and may merit inter-
vention from outside the local area. There exist, however, aspects of culture which are not often recognized but are as important to the survival of traditions. Attention must be paid to such processes and the relationships which give identity and create distinctions within a multi-cultural setting.  

2. Valorization
The process of enhancing or trying to enhance the price, value or status of artifacts and cultural processes through organized action.

Such actions may occur formally through official means, with legal and binding implications, or informally through popular support and mass action.  

3. Monuments
The concept includes architectural works, rare artifacts of great age, and evidences of cultural achievement in urban or rural settings.

4. Preservation
The action and mechanisms used to protect and support man-made and natural elements found to be evidence of a particular civilization, significant development, or an historic event.

The processes which created, maintain, or continue to define the existence of a culture may also be considered worth protecting.  

5. Restoration
The action used to return man-made and natural elements to an original state for future use.

Physical artifacts and traditional processes of a culture may be "restored" when it is determined that intervention can contribute to the survival of the culture, its development, and the perpetuation of memories of its past.

6. Implementation Process
Operations which ensure the actual fulfillment of projects and special tasks through concrete measures.

Among these are the creation or provision of instruments and means of expression, the acquisition of authority or a public mandate for given tasks, and the revision of programs and
plans to suit problems which may arise.\textsuperscript{7}

7. Administration

The management of preservation or restoration to ensure the implementation of projects which merit wide attention and require the use of resources that are not immediately available.\textsuperscript{8}

Educational objectives and documentation are to be supported by administration.

OBJECTIVES

1. To suggest a vision for the restoration of a historical sense within the town of Jolo and its vicinity. (Fig.11)

It is recognized that the environment of the island is richly endowed with historical sources which receive little attention. If acknowledged, these sources would contribute much to improving the understanding of the culture of the Sulu peoples.

Certain landmarks found in the locality may be significant not only to the cultural heritage of Sulu, but also to that of the Autonomous Regions of Southern Philippines and the nation.

2. To contribute to a base of information that will continue to build upon what is known and understood about the cultural heritage of Jolo.

This body of knowledge will serve as a basis for decisions on the special status to be granted to historical landmarks and on future development.

3. To introduce a process through which decisions for preservation and restoration would occur in a public forum and would be used to hear different supporting or opposing opinions.

The creation of this forum or process is directed at wider participation in future decisions.

CRITERIA AND GOALS

In the case of Jolo, special measures should be taken to protect man-made and natural elements in the environment as part of local traditions and rituals. The heritage of a culture is latent in both physical
and non-physical artifacts.

Historical consciousness is to be developed through research, education and public acknowledgement of the value of certain landmarks and special sites. There should be respect for processes which support a people’s sense of history.

Research on Sulu cultures should be assisted and facilitated by a coordinating body which will have the responsibility of publicizing recent findings and documenting projects, as well as, that of building an archive.

Some of the elements which are considered important to the cultural heritage of the peoples of Sulu, and which deserve preservation and restoration are the following:

1. Sites which are considered sacred and figure prominently in historical sources.

2. Monuments that commemorate important people, events and specific cultural achievements.

3. Districts of Jolo and its vicinity which possess a strong and consistent architectural character.

   Examples of these are the areas where most structures are built over the water. These are Tinda Laud (Chinese Pier), Busbus, Takut-Takut and Alat.

4. Natural environmental features that are dominant in the topography and geology of the area and support local perceptions of the place.

   These environmental features should have the stature of Bud Datu and Mount Tumatangis.

5. Native historical sources which might be literary or oral in nature.

   For literary works there are the tarsilas and the luntar, or royal genealogies and annals. In the oral tradition of the Sulu peoples, there are the parang sabil or longer epic narratives, the kissah or short stories, and the “katakata” or myths and legends.
Physical Implications of Development
PHYSICAL GUIDELINES

1. The physical boundaries of the program described in this document include the domain of the traditional Sultanate of Sulu in the Municipality of Jolo and the areas with key historical sites in the town's vicinity. (Fig. 12)

2. The private ownership of monuments must be respected as in the case of historical texts like the tarsilas and the luntars in the custody of the descendants of the datu and sultans of Sulu.

3. Sacred sites and the sites of major historical events should be protected and kept accessible to visitors. The ancient coronation site of the sultans of Sulu, gravesites of religious or noble persons, and the location of the first land formed on Lupa Sug are in this category.

4. Existing monuments that are physically threatened due to neglect, vandalism or deterioration from exposure to the elements should be consolidated, maintained or reconstructed. Distinctive features should be conserved with the wish to bring back an image of original form and to create stylistic unity with the surrounding structures or site.

5. Monuments which are still "living" should not be used for functions far removed from their original use, and the additions necessary for new functions should not alter the character of the work.

5.01 Materials for buildings and other structures should be consistent with those originally used. If unavailable, other materials may be substituted with careful attention to be paid to recording the changes.

6. When monuments are altered in form or transferred because of physical threats, a record of the acts must be made and stored for future reference. The substitution of materials should also be documented for the same reasons.

7. Monuments already existing shall remain in place.
Free-standing objects like gravemarkers and other commemorative objects should be protected from vandalism. If they must be moved to protect them from perishing, their location and storage must be recorded for public benefit.

8. The local authorities are to be advised of the nature of proposed archeological projects before final approval is given. Recommendations for granting or withholding approval must be secured from those who have rights to the land or their representatives.

9. Areas of the town of Jolo which possess a special architectural character resulting from local building practices should be conserved. The areas of Buebus and Tulay are two examples found in the first studies of the program. Most of the residents in these areas have constructed dwellings over the sea. (See Appendix C)

10. New developments and public investment in Jolo should be planned so that construction does not disturb or damage monuments and historic sites.

IMPLEMENTATION GUIDELINES

1. The program is to be implemented by a local town committee, known henceforth in this document as the "Committee" and composed of representatives of the community.

1.01 The primary tasks of the Committee will be to organize for preservation and restoration efforts, to monitor and express the sentiments of town residents in regard to planned development which may result in the destruction of landmarks, and to review the status of ongoing and planned projects. The Committee may initiate activities of its own or give support to efforts by others.

1.02 The members of the Committee will include one representative each from the Sulu Historical Society, the Notre Dame de Jolo College, the Office of the Governor of the Province of Sulu, and the Office of the Mayor of Jolo. Other members of the committee would be elected from four community groups in Jolo. Major interest groups are to be represented in the Committee such
that many views regarding preservation and restoration will be heard. It is expected that in time, the composition of members in the Committee will have to be changed in order to respond to changes in the town.

1.03 Committee members shall receive no salaries or honorariums.

1.04 Meetings are to be open to the public and held four times a year. Special meetings may be called for when deemed necessary.

1.05 Official acknowledgement will consist of the declaration of a monument's legacy to the Sulu peoples and the nation. The action will be equal to the designation of formerly unrecognized objects and sites as worthy of preservation and restoration.

2. The restoration of monuments and historical sites must have recourse to all the sciences and techniques which can contribute to the study and safeguarding of the cultural heritage.

2.01 A center for the study of Sulu culture shall be created to assist in coordinating and facilitating research on the subject of current processes.

2.02 Documentation and education are important tasks that the center will also oversee.

3. Ongoing preservation efforts are to be incorporated into the implementation process of this program.

3.01 The difference between what currently exists and what is contained in this document is a new institutional framework. It attempts to restructure the ways in which groups are involved and represented in decisions dealing with preservation.

3.02 Efforts shall be made to avoid undermining the benefits of adequately hearing various views from within the society. Active participation by different people may be driven by different perceptions and aspirations, and there is a value in
hearing contrary opinions.

4. The criteria may be modified through additions and deletions if groups comprised by town residents, or a consensus of town residents through a majority vote, decides that there are substantial reasons for change.

5. The conferring or acknowledgement of landmark status by the Committee for monuments, sites and protected processes for Jolo and Sulu cultures will depend upon satisfaction of the outlined criteria, in whole or in part. Designation will entitle the landmarks to receive assistance from the Committee.

6. Joint public and private efforts in preservation are to be encouraged. The perspective of each interest groups is to be taken into account for project evaluation. The nature of disagreements regarding possible courses of action must be made known to the participants.

7. To discourage irrevocable change to monuments and historic sites, such as physical destruction or the causing the landmarks to become inaccessible due to sale to individuals or corporations, the following procedure will be observed:

7.01 A notice of the possibility of such outcomes shall be made public before actual sale or implementation.

7.02 There will be a moratorium on final decisions after initial notification to permit concerned groups and individuals to file complaints against the project.

7.03 After receiving comments during the required waiting period, the Committee will meet to decide upon its official response.

7.04 The status of a deliberation process will be made known to the public. Town meetings, the press, and posters will be prepared and mounted in the areas affected by the planned project.

8. The owners and custodians of properties
designated as monuments or landmarks are responsible for the care and maintenance of the cultural properties in their possession. When necessary, they should seek assistance in the undertaking.

9. Documentation such as written texts, maps, photographs and architectural drawings should be collected and stored for future use if possible.

9.01 If not, knowledge of their location and the identities of their owners or custodians should be recorded.

9.02 An attempt to increase access to these materials should be initiated for the sake of research.

10. Cultural processes which created, maintain or continue to create works of art, architecture and other aspects of tradition should be the subject of research. Aside from historical studies, there may be a desire to focus on more current issues such as the role of history in today's society.

PROJECTED IMPACTS

The program possesses characteristics which have been designed into the language of the document, the features of the program, and the choice of issues covered. First, most of the items covered are at a level of generality that offers the potential of making the idea of restoring the past acceptable by more people with possible modifications.

Second, the program is an attempt to make a forum for dealing with relevant data and public sentiment the subject of discussions. Third, the program undertakes a research agenda concerned with deriving appropriate instruments for implementation to provoke comment on the use of those that are known and to invent new ones to achieve the stated objectives and goals.

It is pertinent to mention that an evaluation of projected impacts should be questioned when prepared by the designer. In reality, the program must be reviewed by outsiders to the formulative phase of the planning process in order to improve the quality of the work.

This section provides readers with the opportu-
nity to investigate the planner's concerns and to take note of areas wherein additions, deletions and other refinements may be needed.

The projections have been based on readings of historical and anthropological references used. There are inherent biases contained here which are inclined to value a better quality of participation by town residents. Recommendations included in the designed guidelines are expected to be questioned and commented on by interested parties.

The major issues were separated into those that dealt with institutional impacts and those that dealt with physical impacts. As more information becomes available, it would become possible to look at finer categories within these headings.

An example of the subjects for further research in evaluating the impacts involves the actual costs, legal issues and the consensus of local priorities. This information would refine the language used in the program, shift or offer substitutions for the scope of concerns and objectives, and modify or even reject the notion of representation.

Known precedents for organized efforts in Jolo have been adapted and mentioned because of their earlier successes. In this sense, the major organizational components are not new. The two groups mentioned were:

1. A committee to represent groups which have a real interest in preservation and conservation, but which also has no actual powers or financial resources defined in the program's implementation guidelines.

2. A research center to support the building of a base of knowledge about the culture to help inform future decisions, but which has no real sponsor identified.

The first institution, the committee, is new in the sense that stipulations for its membership or constituency try to cross barriers between the strata of social, political and economic hierarchies. Sponsors recognized for previous support of restoration have been included for practical reasons, while a wider representation is aimed for.

The research center has a significant precedent in Jolo which was known as the Coordinated
Investigation of Sulu Cultures or CISCUL. CISCUL was a private, non-profit organization begun in the 1960's by Gerard Rixhon, who was then the president of the Notre Dame of Jolo College, a small, liberal arts school in the town.

The group ceased operations in the late seventies when Rixhon left his position at the school. Research papers were published yearly and with a large local and international circulation.

In retrospect, much was achieved by the small scale operations, as evidenced by the quality and quantity of studies published by the group up to the late 1970's. Vital leadership for research is now lacking.

Institutional Impacts

The program articulates many ideas about what is worthy to preserve or restore. It presents a "wish list" prepared by a sympathetic writer. Initial studies made it possible to find ways to support local traditions. Issues associated with representation, controls for development, and the fit with the national perspective are included in this section.

A. REPRESENTATION IN IMPLEMENTATION

The designation and selection of monuments and special sites have been left open to the committee and individual interests, in recognition of the power of prevalent values. There is nothing in the program that indicates how likely it is for the two organizations mentioned to successfully pursue desired directions in their complimentary roles.

Different ways of achieving both fair representation and a desired increase in historical consciousness might be worthwhile to develop as possible alternatives for consideration as part of the program. There are other limits to what can be expected of the major actors involved:

1. The Committee, despite acceptance by a majority of groups, may force a formerly poorly represented minority to act without experience.

2. Influential groups in the town may not accept a reduction in their current status and authority unless the compensation for doing so is accepted as well. Alternative roles need supportive
arguments to justify their possible selection and probable fit into the community.

3. The manipulation of planning and decision making processes to serve specific interests is a characteristic shared by most democratic systems. Jolo is no exception. Local projects have been designed for high-impact and short-term results.

B. DEVELOPMENT CONTROLS

The physical and implementation guidelines add a layer of building and development controls over those that already exist. The powers and effects of the controls introduced would be similar to building codes and ordinances. While these do not exist at the local level, national standards are applicable and they deserve investigation.

Enforcement of national codes, for the lack of a substitute means of control over construction, would conflict with preservation concerns. Dwellings over the water which are typical for Sulu would never meet these standards. Ad hoc application of national codes or the preparation of specific ones in Jolo would be necessary to accept as an alternative.

Other effects will be felt by the creation of development controls which support historical preservation. They cover a number of related issues:

1. Creating controls implies that the task of monitoring compliance to the rules becomes the responsibility of an individual or a group. Administrative and financial resources are needed.

2. Because the program has not yet dealt with specific cases, there is little said about the form and directions of future growth. In the most stringent scenario, landmark designation would freeze development in downtown areas. (See Appendix C) Areas outside of the commercial center, presently used as agricultural land may be allocated as possible locations for growth.

3. There is need for a physical development plan to guide the manner in which growth should occur and where it should be located.

Given that regulations restricting growth may result from concern for the protection of
districts and public spaces, planning efforts might focus on directing development toward agricultural areas. (Fig. 12)

4. Land values will rise or fall depending on the designation of sites or districts as protected areas.
   Developers' interests and will become an important factor in the final decisions on the protection of landmarks.

5. Ownership and land tenure are issues which may pose problems for implementation due to the way in which traditional practices may still be observed in modern times.
   Government land titles have less influence than traditional rules and rights governing the control and use of land. Further study of these issues is necessary.

NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

From the national perspective, the program is acceptable because it reinforces the concern for developing a national identity that is plural and draws its strength from deeper understanding of local histories and cultural experiences.

1. Reflecting the lessons learned from previous policies toward the Muslim Filipinos, there is a concern expressed about the dilemmas of cultural survival even in the literature published by the government. Hence, a national concern for historical restoration in areas where there are ethnic minorities may be acknowledged as consistent with national policy.

2. The problem of implementing relevant policies at the national level is also experienced at the local level as seen in projections for Jolo.

3. Conflicts of interest between national agencies and Muslim groups have been experienced not so much over aspirations, but over the particular steps taken to achieve desired outcomes.

4. There would be little or no opposition to restoration expected from the national government as
a matter of principle. A study of national or military participation in restoration for Jolo and Sulu will help to identify "typical" procedures and decrease the uncertainties.

In summary, there are still areas in the text where what is known about influential institutions within the society would assist in refining evaluations of the possible outcomes. Ongoing processes still need to be studied in order for the institutional analysis to be made. An example of what a "refinement" means is the possibility of making more specific rules for participation, and more stringent rules for the design of the Committee.

Although the program has some basis for its recommendations, acceptance by local government and the private sector are needed. Many of the ideas are too vague to be rejected even if some should be. The planning process needs more focused criticism and will benefit from further study.

Physical Impacts

These projections are based on an analysis of visual materials for Jolo. The major points have been graphically in a site analysis. (See Appendix D) The creation of landmarks and special sites will have the following effects:

1. Nodes would be located in a spatial scheme. Individual perceptions of the town will surely vary but it will be diagrammatically possible to conceptualize a network of monuments for planning purposes.

   In reality, most people do not perceive landmarks as linked in the environment. Linkages between nodes are more conceptual than they are physical.

2. Public transportation and infrastructure systems would increase public access to monuments and special sites.

3. Restoration and preservation may cause landmarks to become less accessible to the public because
of the different interpretations that can be identified for the term "protection" in Sulu tradition.

The ownership, inheritance and possession of rights to land have not yet been discussed and could be an area of possible conflict. Access to tarsilas has been limited to only major writers of Sulu history Majul (1973) and Saleeby (1903).

4. Symbols and emblems will be created. Specific forms will be identified with Sulu culture. The images will be institutionalized. Conventional meanings and interpretations for historic scenes will develop in relation to a consensus of sentiments.

5. When ordinary objects or places come to stand for something, attention is focused in the object. Landmarks draw out positive and negative perceptions. If appreciated in a positive sense, the monument would be protected. If not, the monument would be left vulnerable to attack.

6. An agenda for research on forms and changes in form is implied. Initial study exposed areas where knowledge of planning and architecture in the town was limited. Although some images are associated with the concept of "architecture in Sulu" are relatively popular outside of the region, these are only appreciated at a stylistic and superficial level.

The scope of projections for physical impacts has been limited to the most abstract observations. In the following chapters, a discussion of existing landmarks and images of Jolo will examine the nature of the relationship between monuments as symbols, their sponsors and local perceptions of the objects. Clearer evidence and justification for designating or for choosing some images for protection over others is still forthcoming.
The definition of cultural heritage was based on two November 16, 1972 conference papers of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), particularly the "Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage" and the "Recommendation concerning the protection, at national level, of the cultural and natural heritage".

As stated in the proposed program, the definition accommodates the concern that standards for what are important to preserve may differ even within a nation. By saying, "Attention must be paid to such processes and relationships which give identity and create distinctions within a multicultural setting."

Valorization is a process defined in the 1980 Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary under "valorize", as "to enhance or try to enhance the price, value or status of by organized and usually governmental action". European sources of preservation literature used the term with an awareness that the process of preservation intervenes in situations where no action would mean the neglect and imminent destruction of objects. The value of such objects was based upon standards believed acceptable by a small group within the society and not necessarily the masses.

The definition of the word, and hence the concept, was introduced into a basic premise for Sulu preservation because I felt that alternative standards for what is valuable in the context should be considered potentially valid. It is possible then to accept that two or more standards for what it of value, and the source may be known authorities or reached through consensus.


There was no change to the UNESCO definition of monuments because the wording was general enough to apply to multi-standards for landmarks.

The definition of preservation in the UNESCO papers did not include an interest in traditional processes as the object of intervention, as mentioned here. The documents did mention cultural processes as being important for the support of projects and discussed them with regard to implementation. The additional statement was to make it a basic premise that processes themselves could be the subject of preservation efforts because in areas where there are minority cultures thriving traditional patterns have conflicted with or been disrupted by government economic development or intolerant administration.

The definition for restoration was modified to include the notion that since there is regional autonomy for Muslim areas of the Philippines aspects of Sulu cultures that support their religious, social and political identity might be officially revived. Certain traditions are known to have thrived under suppressive conditions even if these were discouraged or made illegal in past administrations.

Implementation processes was a term included in the definitions for the same reasons behind the inclusion of the word valorization. In the wording, alternative tools for project implementation were cited. The "revision of programs and plans to suit problems which may arise" was added to make realization of a need for flexibility basic to preservation or restoration planning. The experience in Jolo has been that power wielded liberally for inappropriate reasons may receive little support, or strong and negative responses from those offended.

Administration is a term that is usually mentioned in operating documents for specific projects. I thought it necessary to make a distinction between
large projects that needed administration and natural activities which do not need administration. Education was cited as a responsibility of administration in order to give a hint of the level of authority and organization that might be required to restore a sense of history.

There are instances in which some of the historical noted here were questioned by scholars. Kiefer pointed out that the word luntar is not found in the Tausug-English dictionary. Samuel K. Tan (1977:133) described it as a brief, written genealogical annal that is found only in the Tausug culture. It is not well-known and therefore there may be some doubt that it exists. Najeeb Saleeby (1908: 118) mentioned that he obtained and used a luntar along with the tarsila provided for him by Hadji Buto. On the other hand, Tan (same reference) questioned the existence of another historical source called usulan and he suggested that it be disregarded.

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CHAPTER 2 - HISTORY AND PHYSICAL ARTIFACTS

Jolo is the Spanish representation (or rather misrepresentation) of the word Sulu, sometimes written Sooloo. The early Spaniards wrote it Xolo, which later changed to Jolo. The complete form of the word is Sulug, as it is rendered in Maguindanao. The Sulus pronounce it and write it Sug. Sug means a sea current. The flow of the tide through innumerable narrow channels separating the numerous islands of the Archipelago gives rise to unusually strong currents which figure prominently in the seafaring life of the people. Therefore the term is an appropriate designation for the Archipelago as a whole.

I. PHYSICAL CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT

The story of development has been divided into five sections. The physical transformation of Jolo is presented to create a background for understanding the setting in which monuments and memorials are found and to provide a foundation for judging future directions for spatial expansion.

The Early Sultanate until 1876
Spanish Colonial Development 1876 - 1899
American Colonial Development 1899 -1934
Modern Sulu Development 1934- 1974
February 7, 1974 and Contemporary Plans 1974 to the Present
The periodization was based on the identification of major changes in settlement pattern and town growth.

1. Traditional building practices, settlement patterns and rules governing rights to land were established before 1876.

2. Spanish development brought public infrastructure and services, waves of non-Muslim residents, and the first land filling operations for port expansion.

3. In the American period, the process of land registration and taxation came into conflict with traditional practices while the boundaries of Jolo expanded and were demarcated.

4. There was a thirty year period from 1934 to 1974 during which the architecture of major public buildings, mosques and residences suggested an early tendency to borrow features from Islamic models in other countries.

5. Since the 1974 incident, Jolo has experienced a slump in economic development save for housing projects which have constituted the largest percentage of growth.

A. Pre-history and the Early Sultanate

I. SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Historians estimate that before 1310 A.D., Islamic settlements along the western edge of Jolo island existed due to the inscriptions on the tomb of an Arab trader whose burial is indicated in that year and which is located on a hill just outside of the town. The location of major trade routes between Borneo in the south and other islands of the archipelago further supports the estimate.

The rulers of Sulu changed their capital four times. Prior to Islamization in the late 13th or early 14th centuries, the capital was Maamburg on the southern side of the largest island of the Sulu Archipelago. In about 1390 until the first half of the 16th century, the capital was at Bwansa on the western coast of the same island. The fourth sultan of Sulu moved the capital to Bawang, three miles away from Bwansa in the 1500's. After the Spanish conquered the capital in 1876, the seat of the sultanate returned to Maamburg.

In 1380, a noted Arab jurist named Makdum, preached Islam throughout the Sulu Archipelago.
died at Sibutu, where the people venerate his grave. The columns and walls of the mosque he built in Simunul Island still remain. A photograph in 1923 shows the form of the most basic type of mosque found in the Sulu Archipelago. Recently, the mosque was renovated and enclosed with concrete hollow block walls. Its roof was raised and made to resemble those of mosques found in North Borneo and Indonesia. Wooden jalousies were provided for additional protection from the elements. Although the mosque is considered to be the oldest and most famous in the Philippines, its appearance is new.

Around 1390, the tarsilas claim that a certain Rajah Baginda arrived from Menangkabaw in Sumatra and began his rule over the local peoples by establishing a capital at Bwansa, 3 miles southwest from Jolo. Abu Bakr, a Muslim missionary who had been to Palembang and Brunei, reached Jolo island in about 1450. After marrying Rajah Baguinda's daughter he became the spiritual master and overlord of the islands. He established a dynasty and became the first sultan of Sulu with the name Sharif ul-Hashim.

Mosques were built and religion and law were taught. The people and their chiefs abandoned their former gods and slowly converted to Islam.
The government of the sultanate was framed on the same principles as those in Arabia, Abu Bakr gave himself the power and rights of a caliph. 11

During this time, the foundation of traditions governing the use of property and rights to land was created.

1. It was agreed that all the shores of the island and all the territory within which the royal gong or drum could be heard should be the personal property of the sultan. The rest of the island was divided among the subordinate chiefs and their people. 12

2. The island was thus divided into five administrative districts, subject to the authority of the sultan through a panglima 13. Each of the districts was then divided into smaller divisions administered by chiefs, who in Tausug were called abaraja, orangkaya, laksamana, parukka among other names. The districts were called Parang, Pansul, Lati, Gil'tung, and Luuk. Boundaries were marked by large mango and durian trees which do not exist today. 14

3. It is possible that Abu Bakr's territory extended beyond the islands but no records mention the limits of his empire at the time of his death in about 1480. 15 By the 18th Century, the Sultanate of Sulu had dominions in North Borneo. (fig. 15-17)

Succeeding sultans continued to rule from Bwansa until the fourth sultan Maharaja Upu, known as the Sultan Mu'izzul Mutawadi'in, "the exalter of the humble" moved to Jolo's present location in the first half of the 16th century. 16 The settlement was known as Bawang and was the capital until 1876. When Spanish forces defeated the Moros and gained control of the main settlement of Sulu, the sultan was forced to move to Maimbung.

The sultans moved to nearby islands, like Tawi-Tawi, for defensive purposes. 17 These other locations were not capitals because they were temporary and did not develop extensive settlements or buildings compared to what existed in Jolo. 18 As the symbolic center of Muslim power in Sulu, the settlement at the site of Jolo was a target for frequent Spanish attack.
15
Map of 10th-15th century Southeast Asia
(Majul, Cesar Adib, in Muslim in the Philippines, 1973, p. 47)

16
Map of 18th century Sulu Sultanate
Showing dominions in North Borneo including Malludo, Pappal, Tirun and Magindara
(Majul, Cesar Adib, in Muslim in the Philippines, 1973, p. 171)
II. MAIN FEATURES

The main architectural features of pre-Hispanic settlements were mosques, markets, large houses which belonged to the aristocracy, the Chinese trade area, and housing areas built over the water. (fig.18-19)

These structures comprised the core or center of the settlement. Forts dotted the land outside of the center in order to protect it from attack by land and by sea.

A. CORE AREAS

There were four main areas in the settlement that were mentioned in Spanish accounts and summarized by Saleeby.19

1. Tiyangi Sug "the shops and markets of Jolo", was located where the walls of Jolo were built. Luway was on the western half of this area at the shoreline.

2. Tulay, was an area named after the kind of fish which could be caught in its waters. The
area was southwest of the markets and extended inland along creeks.

3. A Chinese community of traders inhabited an area on or near the water.

4. Busbus, was an area northeast of the markets and settlement proper. Most of the houses in this area were built in the water on coral beds.

The name of the area Busbus came from the Tausug word which means "to chop up" or "to dress wood". In the tradition of the sultanate, people convicted of capital crimes were chopped to pieces while tied to a tree in the vicinity.

Tulay, southwest of the town walls, was an area composed of a triangular-shaped delta which was mostly marshy, and extensive rows of buildings stretching out like roads toward the sea. Most structures were built over shoal and beach at the head of the bay.

A narrow tidal stream called Suba' Bawang ran through the settlement from the hills south of Bawang toward the bay at Tulay. It is said that at one time
a well-defined, sandy spot, different in formation from the surrounding land, existed at the foot of the hill, Bud Dato, and was considered sacred because it was supposedly here that the first land of Lupa Sug was formed. A centrally located and long strip of dry land connected Tulay with the base of the hill.

The sultan’s palace, termed “istana”, his fort or “kuta”, and stockades were built along the lower left bank of Suba’ Bawang, and hence, the stream was later named Rio del Sultan. Opposite the palace on the right bank of the stream were the houses and stockades of the datus or sultanate nobility. Two bridges connected both sides.

All of the structures described by Saleeby and by Baltasar Girauder, a Spanish writer who followed the attacking forces in 1876 were destroyed. (fig.20) Only a limited number of visual records remain.

During interludes of peace, the settlement prospered a center for trade which had begun with North Borneo before the establishment of the sultanate. Chinese began to live among the Tausug and Samal people in their settlement, concentrated around what became known as the Chinese pier.
Never becoming active within the sultanate hierarchy, the Chinese prospered as merchants and traders and were peripheral to the society. Giraudier described a large house that belonged to the son-in-law of the sultan, (fig. 21) who was supposed to have been Chinese.

Amongst the number of houses saved from the fire on the day Jolo was taken, there was the house of the Chinese man Nea, the son-in-law of the sultan...All of it was in wood which was solidly covered and built with zinc. On the side that faces the sea, there was a small flat roof where you could enjoy a beautiful view. There were two smaller structures attached to the house for servants. It was reached by land using a long pier made of wood which may have been of ancient Spanish construction. By the side of the sea were stairs for shipments. Boats could reach it at high tide.22

Chinese seem to have been assimilated into Tausug society through intermarriage. They became Tausug without gaining any political powers and were neither considered nobles or slaves.23

The Chinese pier started as a cluster of trading houses where early Chinese traders conducted business with their native customers. In 1758, the community on the pier increased after all unbaptized Chinese were deported from Manila.24 About 4,000 Chinese arrived in Jolo. In the succeeding years, the number of Chinese in Jolo would fluctuate depending upon the
status of relations with the sultanate and the peace and order situation. 25

B. FORTS

At the outskirts of Bawang were various kuta or cotta which belonged to subordinate datus. These were the primary defenses from seaward and inland attacks against the settlement. The most famous of these forts was Daniel's Fort near Busbus. Girauder describes that it was the most hidden in the dense vegetation that surrounded the settlement. In order to destroy it, all the vegetation was cleared to be able to fire upon it from ships in the bay. 26

One other strong fort was located at the foot of Bud Dato just above the original settlement. It was known as the kuta of Panglima Arabi. As for most of the kutas, the large and well-appointed house of the sultan's administrator was within the coral-filled, wood plank walls. 27 Another fort was reported to have had a wall clock and a European chair.

Despite the erection of the strongest of the sultanate's defenses around Tulay, the area was open to attack from the sea and from the east.

C. CEMETERIES

There was a drive to destroy sacred artifacts and tombs which began in the 16th century with the earliest Spanish attacks. Many of the reports described the magnificence of those that were destroyed. Later and immediately following the 1876 attack and destruction of Jolo, Girauder wrote a description of two tomb sites. The first was that of a tomb found within the walls of Daniel's kuta, (fig. 22) and the second description was that of a cemetery nearby. (fig.23)

Of the tomb he said,

Amongst the multitude of gravemarkers that we have seen on the tombs of stone and wood in the cemeteries of Jolo, none has the richness as seen in the accurate sketch we reproduced. It is 5 feet high and its excellently cut on a hardwood log. If our informers are correct, it is now kept in a museum in Madrid. We have reproduced in major points the inscription to facilitate its translation, which we cannot verify.

Of the cemetery,

There were stone tomb structures on land suitable for farming. Wild plants and flowers were sparingly cultivated amongst the stones. A wall 5 feet high forming a square which was 20 meters long on a side surrounded the cemetery and closed off by a door made of heavy wood...The graves were better than those found in the area leading us to suspect that they were those of the noble ancestors of Daniel.
22
Gravemarker of Tomb near cotta of Panglima
(Giraudier, Baltasar: 1876 from Ayala Museum)

23
Concealed cemetery near Fort Daniel
(Giraudier, Baltasar: 1876 from Ayala Museum)
The artist who tried to copy the inscriptions on the tomb knew no Arabic. All one can confirm from the image is the location of the inscriptions and the use of the six-pointed star which is a Semetic design element.

The large, unpaged folio from which these images were taken had many notes on the remains of Jolo after the fires and during the clearing of the area to make way for the new Spanish settlement planned.

After the conquest of Sug by Spanish forces in 1872, the sultanate moved its capital to Makibung and the town of Jolo was constructed.

B. Spanish Colonial Development

I. SETTLEMENT PATTERN

After clearing the area, the Spanish authorities established their religious and military presence. (fig. 24) They gained control of the immediate vicinity and made plans for their settlement. A walled center was built first. Two new forts were constructed on the sites of the kutas of Daniel and Panglima Arabi.
Just outside the walls, the areas of Tulay, the Chinese Pier or Tinda Laud, and Busbus were slowly rebuilt. The residential area of San Raymundo was created.

Roads connected Tulay, Asturias, San Raymundo, and Busbus to Jolo proper, and to each other across agricultural land. The roads converged at a single intersection in front of the gate leading to San Raymundo.

II. MAIN FEATURES

Bawang, the third capital of the rulers of Sulu, virtually disappeared with extensive Spanish building and improvements. Defensive walls enclosed Luway to make a protected central area which was thereafter, called Intramuros or the Walled Town. A street grid connected all the older, rebuilt areas of the town. Two new areas were made.

Land was filled and raised above sea level. It was surrounded by a loop-holed wall which was 8 feet high and 1 1/2 feet thick for protection against Moro assaults.

Streets were laid out in a rectangular grid typical of Hispanic town planning. These streets were broad, paved and lined with double rows of flame and acacia trees which grew to above two stories. All buildings were painted white or were whitewashed and had tiled roofs.¹

A. CORE AREAS

1. INTRAMUROS OR THE WALLED TOWN

Three rectangular blocks in the street grid were left unbuilt for parks. Business establishments, warehouses, a large marketplace, a church, a theater, two schools and a hospital were erected. A public water supply system was installed. A 120 meter long pier was constructed and provided with a lighthouse at its outer edge.²

The town wall had five gates. (fig.25) Two were at the sea front near the pier and the other three gates were on the land side. One faced Tulay, another faced Busbus, and a third one faced San Raymundo. A tower called "Torre de la Farola" was mounted on the San Raymundo gate.³ Many blockhouses surrounded Intramuros to provided much need protection. (fig.26)
4. BUSBUS

Busbus was an area northeast of the town proper which was wholly inhabited by the Moros. The people were mostly Tausug, but migratory Samal and Badjau may have lived among them as well.7

Most accounts by travelers to Jolo offer descriptions similar to that of Saleeby in 1908.8 Houses were dilapidated nipa huts built on wooden piles over the water on a coral reef which extended further northeast along the shallow bay.

Behind Busbus was marshland that stretched toward the base of hills. The water from the marsh escaped into the bay by two rivulets. One, called "Tubig Uhang", ran through Busbus. The other "Buyung Canal", was man made. It marked the northeast boundary of the Spanish town.9

5. SAN RAYMUNDO

San Raymundo was southeast from the town center, and the walls of the town separated the area from the sea. Two roads and bridges connected the gates to this area. The continuation of the roads formed two
main streets that were part of a small grid of six town blocks reclaimed from swampy land.

The buildings were nipa huts. Streets were muddy and narrow, unlike those of the walled area. A large coconut grove behind San Raymundo extended to Asturias and a guard tower called Blockhouse No. 2.10

B. FORTIFICATIONS

1. FORTIFICATIONS IN THE CORE

The fort of Alfonso XII was near the Busbus gate on the northeast corner of the Walled Town.11 It was built on higher ground and commanded an extensive view of the surrounding countryside, the bay and the town.

There were large barracks built for soldiers and additional towers or blockhouses built outside the Walled Town. (fig.27) The Cuartel Espana faced the bay on the side of Busbus. At the end of the wall beyond the barracks was Torre Norte.

Nearer Tulay and the intersection of the beach and town wall was another sturdy building called Cuartel Defensivo de las Victorias. The gate to
Tulay and a tower Torre Sur flanked the cuartel. The block lying diagonally between the cuartel and the market had eight buildings which were known as Casas de la Colonia para Deportados meaning the colony's houses for people to be deported.12

2. FORT ASTURIAS

Outside the walled town and adjacent to Tulay was Fort Asturias. It built near the sacred ground of the Tausug at the foot of Bud Datu.13 As mentioned earlier, the Spanish fort was built on the site of a kuta. It was named after the Spanish princess of Asturias and developed into an area known simply as "Asturias", which was mostly inhabited by military personnel and their families.

Life within the town was peaceful until broken by attacks from juramentados or Muslims sworn to commit ritual suicide. About four years after the occupation of the town, a traveler named Guillemand drew a street scene which shows the tree lined streets and Antillean houses of Intramuros.

The town of Jolo never became as developed as the nearby Spanish fort at Zamboanga City. (fig.29)
Hispanic town planning generated settlements with the same features. These elements may be observed in modern towns. The legacies of Spanish planning are the fort, the plaza and the street grid. (fig.30-31)

30 Main plaza in Zamboanga City, planned 1715 (Photograph 1982)

31 Municipal hall facing main plaza in Zamboanga City (Photograph 1982)
C. American Colonial Development

I. SETTLEMENT PATTERN

The town of Jolo expanded beyond the boundaries established during the Spanish period. An increase in the population created new districts within older areas and consolidated the town core. New technology was introduced and more administrative buildings were built. Land titles and registration for tax purposes caused the greatest conflict. During this time, the boundaries of the town were defined through official geodetic surveys.

II. MAIN FEATURES

A. THE LARGER CORE AREA OF DISTRICTS

The Walled Town contained most of the administrative buildings for the local government and the military, a hospital, Jolo Electric Light and Power Company, large stores, and some big houses. By the 1920's it was the most populous district. The residence of the sultan and a senator, the jami mosque, the Public Hospital, and an ice plant were built.¹

Bureaus of the Philippine government were well represented in Jolo. By 1923, the island had three large concrete market buildings, 86 kilometers of telephone lines, and 54 kilometers of first and second class roads being maintained.²

The houses of prominent residents became grander in scale and used more permanent materials such as concrete, hardwoods and galvanized iron.³ Somewhat similar to the Antillean houses, the first storeys were usually concrete and masonry while the second story were made of wood. In general, the building form of houses belonging to the upper class did not differ from the Antillean houses found in other parts of the country.⁴

The Chinese Pier grew in population and was considered a separate administrative unit or barrio. By the 1920's, the Chinese pier was densely covered with mercantile houses of at least two stories. Docking space for smaller boats were behind the buildings on the water and the pier itself was the only means of approaching the houses by land.⁵
B. FORTIFICATIONS

Asturias grew larger due to a larger military population whose number at any time was kept secret. Colonial architecture within the military camps was similar to what can be found in other areas like Marawi City in Lanao del Sur. Steeply pitched galvanized iron roofs sat on the double-entry wooden structures. The buildings were raised above the ground by about 4 feet and were usually square or rectangular in plan.

C. PORT DEVELOPMENT

There was a rapid increase in the rate of physical development. Administrative policies centered around the need to bring the Muslim areas up to the same level of development as the Christian ones in the north. A concrete pier and more warehouses were constructed. Swamps south of Jolo proper were filled in to increase the amount of buildable land.

Plans were made to dredge the harbor between the Chinese Pier and the walled city. According to Orosa, it was hoped that economic development based
34 Wireless station at Asturias, Jolo
(Orosa: 1923, p.8)

35 Lighthouse and signal station, ca.1960
(CISCU, Notre Dame of Jolo College)

36 Map of Jolo, 1923
(Orosa: 1923, p. 5)

37 Government iceplant in Jolo proper
(Orosa: 1923, p.9)
38
Jolo Central School, 1923
(Orosa: 1923, p.114)

39
Jolo Central School during recess time
(Orosa: 1923, p.115)

40
The Municipal Government Building of Jolo
(Orosa: 1923, p.10)

41
Cotta, defensive earthwork on the island of Jolo
Entrenched Tausug would fire through tubes of bamboo,
(Orosa: 1923, p.27)
42 Sultan's residence at Maimbung, the capital of the Sultanate of Sulu after 1876
(Orosa: 1923, p.53)

43 Sultan's residence at Maimbung, ca. 1900
(CISCUL, Notre Dame of Jolo College)

44 Istana, residence of Sultan Jamalul Kiram II in Jolo
(Orosa: 1923, p.54)

45 Residence of Sultan Harun at Maubu
(Orosa: 1923, P.31)
on commercial trade would lead to an expansion of physical growth.\cite{10}

D. Modern Sulu Development

I. SETTLEMENT PATTERN

After World War II, two new barrios formed. These were Alat and Takut-Takut, located near the bay and south of Tulay.\cite{1} The new barrios were evidence of the fact that Jolo's population was the largest in its history during this time. (See Appendix B on the population estimates of Jolo and Sulu.)

II. MAIN FEATURES

With capital from war reparations payments after 1946, modern architecture began to influence town form. A greater density of buildings were built in Intramuros and Tulay. Concrete buildings up to six stories high gave Jolo the appearance of a prospering provincial capital.\cite{2}

By the early 1970's, Jolo had a population of 47,085. The town's land area was spread over 596
hectares. Most of the town's residents lived in the Intramuros. The 1970 Census showed that Intramuros (Walled City) had a population of 12,770; Asturias 8,077; Alat 2,524; Busbus 8,281; Chinese Pier 2,405; San Raymundo 5,593; Takut-Takut 4,090; and Tulay 3,335.3

A. CONSOLIDATED CORE AREAS

1. INTRAMUROS

The Walled Town or Intramuros was the formal center of town. It had the pier, the best houses, two plazas (Plaza Marina and Plaza Rizal), two small hotels, the Jolo municipal hall, and a movie theater.

In the walled city, a few buildings and houses which included the Jolo Community College, began to enroach over the water. Houses were connected to one another and to solid ground mainly by bamboo foot bridges. While Jolo's dry land area is only 596 hectares, the land use survey in July 1977 showed a total of 677.7 hectares. An excess of 81.47 hectares comprised areas off-shore which were used for housing.4

2. ASTURIAS

There were two main portions in this area, Barrio Asturias or Camp Asturias and Asturias-Matada. In Barrio Asturias there are two hospitals, the Sulu Provincial Hospital and the Philippine Constabulary Station Hospital.

The Philippine Constabulary provisional headquarters and two radio stations, DXSM and the Far East Broadcasting Corporation's DXAS, were the most prominent built features of the barrio.

The other area, Asturias-Matada, was called "Matada" because its main feature was the Jolo slaughterhouse for cattle and hogs.5

3. ALAT

The only Chinese school, and one radio station, DXSU, were located in the barrio. Most of the local Chinese traders who frequented Sabah in North Borneo lived in Barrio Alat.6 Both Alat and Takut-Takut were sizeable when American forces liberated the town of Jolo in 1946. By the 1970's these areas had absorbed much of the incoming migrants from rural
areas and were mostly slum.\textsuperscript{7}

Barrio Alat was congested with houses mostly built on marshland. Bamboo footbridges connected most of the small sari-sari or variety stores along the main road, and stores that sold tungug or mangrove bark as alternatives to firewood. The only Chinese school in Sulu province, the Sulu Tongchi School.\textsuperscript{8}

4. BUSBUS

In Busbus, most of the houses were built over the water in the traditional fashion. On its eastern side there was solid ground which permitted the building of a number of larger houses.

The Notre Dame of Jolo College, the Philippine Muslim College, the Sulu Doctor's Hospital and the Jolo Power Plant were the largest groups of buildings to be found. There were two Muslim cemeteries located near the colleges and one makeshift market along the main street.\textsuperscript{9}

5. CHINESE PIER OR TINDA LAUD

The Chinese Pier became known as Tinda laud or

\textsuperscript{7} Orosa: p.3

\textsuperscript{8} Orosa: p.3

\textsuperscript{9} Orosa: p.3
A cemented causeway ran through the center of the barrio built entirely on water. Bamboo footbridges connected the houses to the causeway. Most structures were made of native materials and were very close to each other.

6. SAN RAYMUNDO

San Raymundo had housing subdivisions and houses of concrete which were not close to each other. The airport was part of the barrio. A cock fighting ring and a leprosarium were the major buildings of the area.

TAKUT-TAKUT

The term Takut-Takut came from takut, a native word for an area in the bay with good small-scale commercial fishing resources. Some fishermen erected houses there to be close to an important source of food, and they became the area's first residents.

The area began to consolidate after the American liberation of the town in 1946. Since then, most of its population belong to the lowest income groups of...
50
Tulay Mosque and Capitol Theatre in the 1960's
(CISCUL, Notre Dame of Jolo College)

51
Plaza Tulay viewed from its south corner ca.1970
(CISCUL, Notre Dame of Jolo College)

53
Street vendors near Jolo market
(CISCUL, Notre Dame of Jolo College)
Jolo. Most of the housing is built over the water on marshy land that is poorly drained.

B. TULAY

The commercial center of Jolo was Tulay and the markets. Large business establishments, mostly owned by Chinese, extended to this area from Intramuros. One could find the principal mosque of Jolo, three movie houses, two offices for major banks, and most of the smaller commercial establishments of Jolo as well.13

B. THE SULU PROVINCIAL CAPITOL SITE

In 1968, the Sulu Provincial Capital Building was inaugurated at a site west from the town core.14 It was an expansion away from where growth had previously taken place, over the last three decades.

The Sulu Provincial Capitol Building in Jolo is an example of the use of non-traditional forms in a modern building. (fig.52) The most obvious imported feature is the onion-shaped dome. Erected in 1968, its interior features a stained glass window by the nationally established Tausug artist Abdul Mari Imao. The development of the capitol site was important because it seemed to pave the way for the general growth of the city toward the west. In the following years, more and more new developments of small to medium scale were done at locations of intermediate distances between the core and the capitol site. Public transportation routes by pedicab and jeepney made the distances much less than had been thought in earlier years.

52 Jolo Provincial Capitol Building 1968
(CISCUL, Notre Dame of Jolo College)
54
Aerial view of Busbus from the south
Photograph 1982

55
Aerial view of Jolo pier from the northeast
Photograph 1982

56
Aerial view of Jolo from the pier ca.1970
(CISCUL, Notre Dame of Jolo College)
E. February 7, 1974 and Contemporary Plans

After years of prosperity and growth, Jolo experienced a major setback in 1974. From the account of the Jolo Socio-Economic Profile, in 1977,

The infamous February 7, 1974 incident started at about 4 o'clock at dawn on that day. A sudden, heavy volley of gunfire was heard from the direction of the airport. Rebel forces had somehow managed to enter the town, and some of their units were attacking the contiguous encampments of the Sulu Air Task Group (SATAG), Philippine Air Force, and the 1st Brigade, 4th Infantry Division of the Philippine Army on the northern fringe of the airfield...The conflagration that razed approximately 80% of the town started about three hours later. First to go up in flames were the residential houses close to the aforesaid military encampments..."

For three days, smoke rose over Jolo at various hours. At night the sky had a reddish glow. Four of the eight barrios comprising the town were completely destroyed. These were Alat, Chinese Pier, Takut-Takut and Tulay. Only the partially destroyed mosque and plaza remained in Tulay. Houses in Asturias-Matada were devastated. The barrios of Busbus, San Raymundo and the walled city were partially destroyed. Of the three, Busbus had the least damage, with two buildings within the

57 Map showing areas affected by fire in 1974 incident (Presidential Committee on Reconstruction and Development in Mindanao: The Reconstruction and Development Plan for Mindanao or RAD Report, 1976)
Philippine Muslim College compound burned.

San Raymundo lost the buildings which contained the Division of Public Schools. The walled city lost many business establishments and a school. Barrio Asturias or Camp Asturias left untouched by the fire. 2

The population of Jolo decreased from 46,586 to 37,623, which was attributed to the worsening of the peace and order conditions in the town. 3 By February 1975 about 60% of the damage has been repaired. There were 212 houses in Tulay. The town's major mosque, Tulay mosque, had been repaired by members of the 524 Engineers Brigade of the Philippine Army. There were also 202 small variety stores by then. The Chinese Pier had 328 houses, one school and one commercial building. In Takut-Takut, 213 houses, two schools, and two commercial establishments were newly constructed. 4

In Intramuros, there were 335 new and old houses. The damaged Notre Dame Cathedral was reconstructed with a modern design. There were also six schools, sixteen government offices, 57 commercial establishments, four recreational centers and one industrial building. Only one movie house out of the four existing before the fire remained. Plaza Marina and Plaza Royal sustained only very minor damages.

San Raymundo had 725 houses, eight religious buildings, eight schools, sixteen government offices and twenty eight small commercial establishments. The Division of Public Schools office was rebuilt. 5

Busbus, with the least damage, had 1,343 houses, two mosques, six government offices, two medical clinics, one hospital, seven commercial establishments, one industrial building and nine schools. 6

Within a year, Asturias had 836 houses, two mosques, one Catholic chapel, eight schools, two government offices, two hospitals, nine commercial establishments, and three recreational centers. The area had been unaffected by the fires. 7

CONTEMPORARY PLANS FOR JOLO

There were two contemporary proposals for the rebuilding of Jolo which merit discussion. The plans provide information about issues perceived by their planners as vital to the physical make-up of the town, hint at the direction of development in the
future and indicate (by omission) areas were the design concepts needed more development.

The first of these plans was Armand Sarthou Commandante's *A Planning Concept for the Integration of Communities in Sulu*, a graduate thesis submitted to the University of the Philippines in April, 1974.8

The second was the rehabilitation plan for the reconstruction and development of Jolo featured in a report prepared by the Inter-Agency Task Force for the Rehabilitation of Jolo and the Presidential Task Force on the Reconstruction and Development of Mindanao. The document was known as the RAD Report and was published in 1976.9

The government sponsored plan in the RAD Report was concerned first with reconstruction that looked forward to developing Muslim Mindanao. Designed at the height of the conflict in the Southern Philippines, the ambitious plan claimed to focus on people, infrastructure and the economy. The projected goals were:10

1. Restoration and Improvement of all public facilities in the affected areas of Jolo.

2. New construction of temporary housing in the
government center and the nearby seashore for the affected families.

3. Long range development plans which included the creation of an industrial area and the expansion of port facilities.

Both plans proposed industrial development but only the RAD Report indicated which areas would be likely locations. The planned industrial area was to extend from the present port area of Jolo toward the northeast along the foreshore. (fig. 58) Much of Busbus would have been cleared to make way for the new construction. A new street pattern for the rest of the town would have been introduced.

Commandante's plan was general enough to make major recommendations regarding the design of town cores in settlements where there were Tausug, Samal and Badjaw together in the population. (fig. 59)

Both plans were not successfully implemented, although housing for the poorer barrios in Jolo was constructed. 11 Formal or physical evidences of their implementation are not noticeable due to many delays encountered, such as in land acquisition. 12 The government plans were regarded as mere propaganda. 13
Aerial view of Tulay district after the 1974 fires
(Lollibrigida: 1976, plate no. 150)
60a
House in San Raymundo
Built in about the early 1960's, architect unknown.
(1982)

60b
Aerial view of the Jolo and its port
View toward the southwest. Shows large cinema and
theatre at center, nearby islands in the horizon and
people in foreground for a sense of scale.
(1982)

60c
Aerial view of Busbus from above the Municipal Hall
View toward the northwest. Madrasah and service area
for the town hall in the center and foreground.
(1982)
Sketch Summary of Growth and Physical Change

(See Appendix C)
F. Patterns Observed

1. **Predominant Elements:**
   The most dominant elements in the town throughout its history were its markets and port, its housing, and its mosques. The pattern of growth was very different from what is typical in Arab Muslim cities.\(^1\) The difference in the culture and topography of Jolo have been identified as the main reasons for this.\(^2\)

2. **Patterns of Growth:**
   The following points summarize observations on patterns of growth and change through the various periods beginning with the earliest settlement until its contemporary plans.

   a. The street pattern did not exist until 1877.\(^3\) The pre-Hispanic forts outside the original settlement and the centers of newer areas were major formal elements. Long streets and areas with non-gridded street patterns connected the town core with centers outside of the core at the fortifications, and other towns.

   b. The Walled City or Intramuros was, and still is, the center of activity and the kuta of Panglima Arabi / Port Asturias / Camp Asturias location was a second major supportive activity. They were directly connected with one street. The logic behind building over the sites of kutas was to make use of the strategic location selected by previous Muslim builders.

   c. The history of architectural development in Jolo has not been well documented, as in the rest of the country. Existing documentation, such as the lithographs and sketches in Western sources should be supplemented with archeological studies in the future.

      Much was destroyed during attacks on Jolo by the Spanish, later in World War II, and most recently in 1974. There is little coherence or continuity in what is known of the construction of institutional buildings particularly from the American period to the present.

   d. The makeshift houses of the Sulu peoples in Busbus and Chinese Pier, which were built over
the reefs and shallow water, reflect the most continuity. Traditional linear passages through each area no longer exist except in one housing project built by the National Housing Authority in the late 1970's.

e. The town contains Islamic elements similar to those identified by Von Grunebaum (1961:141-158) and Ismail (1970:4-10) in the early settlements of Arab cities. The jami mosque and markets of Jolo may be the core of a larger and more developed Islamic city. Hammans or bath houses were not essential to the notion of an Islamic form of development, and will not develop in Jolo because of the culture and the proximity of the town to the sea.

f. Spanish and American colonial architecture have not been influential in the designs of major government and religious buildings. Since most residential and commercial structures use native materials, local methods of construction are dominant in the town. The style of building is similar to what is seen in major provincial centers elsewhere in the Philippines, with the exception of dwellings built over tidal land.

It could be that the destruction of older buildings over the years has decreased direct influences during modern times. Very few buildings were found to have been constructed more than twenty five years ago.

g. Institutional and commercial buildings constructed within the last twenty years are "modern" and "international style" when these are of concrete. Ceremonial buildings such as the mosques and building housing the provincial capitol offices bear strong Arab and Mogul features. And certainly, other influences such as the work of architects who were based in Manila is observable. A major structure, the Notre Dame of Jolo Cathedral built in the late 1960's is an example of modern architecture in town.

3. MORPHOLOGY AND MODELS:

Increasing identification with Islamic countries in the Middle East and promises of economic
prosperity are two sources of changes observed in the type and forms of structures built in the town. With greater economic activity, more permanent buildings would probably develop first for commercial and institutional buildings, and lastly in housing.

Based on observations of the prevalent use of Middle Eastern and Indian forms for recent mosques and public buildings, there is a trend to use traditional Sulu design elements less often. Of the Sulu design elements, a decrease in the use of wood and other semi-permanent construction materials has indirectly caused less demand for wood carvings in the interiors of structures.

In the future, it may be possible to see the use of artistic motifs in local architecture because of a current trend to revive traditional crafts at the national level and within Jolo.

4. MATERIALS AND CRAFTSMANSHIP:

Semi-processed building materials for houses, such as woven palm leaves and bamboo strip pa-

els for walls, sections of palm leaf strips for roofs, galvanized iron, and shorter pieces of lumber are available in the markets. Traditional craftsmen were observed to devote their efforts to the production of small carved items that can be exported rather than to the decoration of houses. 6

As a consequence, save for the techniques for building houses over the water the practice of using local decorative elements, such as the tadjuk pasung on the gables of Tausug houses has disappeared from Jolo. 7

This survey only hints at various directions for architectural inquiry. Further field research would offer more data on the local architecture and the use of physical artifacts.
NOTES FOR PHYSICAL CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT:

THE EARLY SULTANATE

1 Najeeb M. Saleeby, The History of Sulu (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1908) p.133.

2 Cesar Adib Majul, Muslims in the Philippines (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1973) pp.59-50. He refers to the tomb of Tuhan Maqbalu, an early Arab missionary. The tomb is dated 1310 A.D. The same tomb is discussed later in Chapter Three of this thesis as an example of a local restoration effort.

3 Ibid., p.2, the routes are also found illustrated in Roolvink Roelof, Atlas of the Muslim Peoples (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957) p.18 and p.24.

4 Saleeby (1908: 133)

5 Ibid., Saleeby does not refer to the name of the pre-Hispanic settlement at the site of present day Jolo. Bawang was the name given to the early settlement recently by Tausug historians and the reason for this is not known to me.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid, Majul (1973: 62)


9 Majul (1973: 180-181) in unpaged and unnumbered figures between the noted pages. It is the same photo seen in the Dansalan Research Center slide/film strip set (1980).

10 Saleeby (1908: 161-162) The tarsila used was the one produced by Hadji Buto, the prime minister of Sultan Jamal ul-Kiram II. Majul later used the same tarsila (1973: 12), a tarsila from Basilan and the Serajah Melayu (Malay Annals) from Brunei to identify the inconsistencies in the accounts of succession and the problem of chronology.

11 Saleeby (1908: 162)

12 Ibid., p.162-163

13 A panglima was an administrative governor and a military leader.

14 Op.cit., p.163, Saleeby drew a map of the boundaries of the districts by noting where the trees were said to have been.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid. pp. 163-165

17 Majul (1973) describes each major battle and from the pattern it was inferred that the movement around the Sulu Archipelago was a defensive maneuver to protect the sultan.

18 Majul (1973: 275) shows plans of the Samal cotta on Balanguingi Island in 1848. It was the largest and strongest cotta with five or six others distributed in the area. Travelers to Jolo described a larger settlement, with more people and a denser, concentration of cottas in what seems to be a smaller land area.

19 Saleeby (1908: 133-137)

20 Ibid., p.132

21 Ibid., p.134

22 Baltasar Giraudier, Expedicion a Jolo, 1876, Bocetos del cronista del Diario de Manila (Madrid: J.M. Mateau, 1876) Each image was accompanied by notes but the entire folio was unpaged. The excerpt was translated from Spanish.

23 Op. cit, pp.144-145 and Giraudier's identification of the Sultan's son-in-law as Chinese but without an official title was one example that seemed to make the observation valid.
24 Saleeby (1908: 133)

25 Ibid., p.138 observed that in 1851, the number of Chinese in Jolo exceeded 500. Offering his own estimate, he figured that in 1908 that number had grown to over 1,000 for all the areas of the town.

26 Giraudier (1876) took note of the layout of the forts in his notes for a lithograph entitled "Vista Parcial de la Cotta de Daniel" and "Vista de Jolo Antes del Bombardeo".

27 Ibid., from the notes of the lithograph labeled "Casa de Panlima".

B. SPANISH COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT

1 Saleeby (1908: 135-137)

2 Ibid., p.135

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., p.134

5 The development of markets in Tulay near the gate of the Walled City was probably due to the great number of Chinese traders who lived in this area. Orosa (1970: 5) has a map which shows the proximity of the markets to the walls of the town.


7 Saleeby's description of the population of Jolo did not distinguish between groups of Muslims or Moros. The idea of there even being group distinctions only came after World War II and maybe even as late as the 1960's.

8 The 1842 description of Charles Wilkes came from the Travel Accounts of the Islands 1832-1858 (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1974) p.79. Wilkes is quoted in Chapter Three of this thesis in the discussion of dwellings over the water.


C. AMERICAN COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT


2 Ibid., p.10

3 Most of the photographs of houses in Orosa (1923/1970) show these materials. Smaller dwellings were not photographed.

4 The term Antillean is commonly used in the Philippines as an architectural term to refer to a structure showing Spanish influences. Some examples have been included in the photos.

5 Orosa (1923/1970: 7)

6 In Marawi City, the main city of the Maranao Muslim Filipinos in Lanao del Sur Province, Camp Keithley buildings which were similar to what is seen in figure 32. A number of the American period structures still exist there with minimal changes seen on the form over time.

7 The description is from my notes during the 1982 visit to the Lake Lanao area and Jolo. Changes which may have been done since the 1920's are difficult to know about. Appendix B mentions that very few buildings in Sulu and probably in Jolo are older than 25 years. It may be safe to assume that most of the structures have not been renovated or are of recent construction.

8 Orosa (1923/1970: 7)
D. MODERN SULU DEVELOPMENT


2. Figures 51-53 belonging to CISCUL and photos seen in The Sulu Star, the local newspaper show the buildings which were taller than those that are in their place.


4. Ibid., p.6

5. Ibid., p.7

6. Ibid., p.8

7. This account in the profile was reflected in the news reports from The Sulu Star in which articles about relocation of squatters occurred in these barrios.


9. Ibid., p.9

10. Ibid., p.6

11. Ibid., p.7

12. Ibid., p.8

13. Ibid., p.7

E. FEBRUARY 7, 1974 AND CONTEMPORARY PLANS


2. Jolo Municipal Development Staff (1977: 15)

3. Ibid., p.10

4. Ibid., p.15

5. Ibid., p.16

6. Ibid., p.17

7. Ibid.

8. Armand Sarthou Commandante did part of the research in Jolo and on other islands of the Sulu Archipelago. Since then, Tawi-tawi became a separate province and therefore the Muslim groups are more heavily concentrated within certain political boundaries. The non-sedentary Badjawi do not fall under this observation.

9. The edition of the RAD Report (1976) used was the first edition. Later editions were said to have been colored and featured more specific physical proposals for Jolo itself.

10. Ibid., p.53-63

11. The need for housing in Jolo reached critical proportions after the 1974 incident. Other substitutes to government built housing came in the form of the private housing cooperative which worked in conjunction with the Vicariate of Jolo and involved all people who were Muslim and non-Muslims.

12. Conflict over land acquisition in modern Jolo had its roots in the American colonial period. People were required to be registered and pay taxes in order to own land through a title. Later conversion, of rice land to coconut farms also added to reasons for conflict over land. This was mentioned in Kiefer (1972: 20).

13. Gowing (1979: 158) highlighted the idea that a general mistrust for projects sponsored by the national government had roots in both the Spanish and
American colonial periods. And these roots continued to the present.

E. PATTERNS OBSERVED

1By the term "patterns of growth", I mean the continued development of a physical organization in the town which seems to have been based on the need for a defensible port and market area. The culture of the Middle East and the desert environment makes for the great differences in the patterns observed by Adel Ismail, The Origin, Ideology and Physical Pattern of Arab Muslim Urbanization (Karlsruhe, Germany; by the author, 1969). The cases he considered were Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo. It also seems that in the most primitive stage of Arab urbanization, there may be a similar elements seen in both cultures but this would be due to Islam and the erection of mosques.

2Ibid., After Spanish forces invaded Jolo in 1876, Jolo's dominance as a trading port gave way to the emerging dominance of Zamboanga, Iloilo (in the Visayan Islands) and Manila. Thus, the development of Jolo as a center was limited by the volume of trading which actually passed through her port.

3Saleby (1908: 133-135) and Giraudier (1876)


5Ismail (1969) noted the elements that von Grunbaum had noted earlier but he also investigated 10th and 14th Century theories on town form and growth. His own thesis proposed that given the context of Arab culture, cities could be compared by looking at several design elements they all shared or could share when a certain level of development was reached.

These elements were dwellings and their organization in quarters, and public urban elements like open spaces and roads. Returning to Jolo, it seems that there has been no equivalent or comparable sense or consciousness for town growth.
legend:

a  The Spanish Wall
b  the Monument for Spanish Conquerors
c  the Rizal Monument
d  the American Memorial Marker
e  the Ruins of Fort Darul Jambangan
f  the Tulay Mosque
g  the Cemeteries

Location of Existing Monuments
II. MONUMENTS AND RUINS

In this section, existing monuments and ruins in Jolo and its vicinity are investigated in order to learn more about ways in which the past is perceived. (fig.62) The forms of commemoration and the perceptions noted in this list have been related to ongoing efforts. These glimpses of how the past is represented physically in the environment do not cover all the possible monuments and landmarks in the town. The study takes particular interest in the aim of the sponsor of a monument and how the monument may take on meanings other than what was intended.

A. The Spanish Wall

The remains of the Spanish walls can be found along the southeastern edge of the regular street grid facing San Raymundo. The only gate which remains is on the road leading to the pier. Other sections of the wall and the gates have disappeared due to the expansion of the town.

The street grid was extended southwest from the walls toward Tulay. Land was reclaimed toward the west to create government land for the expansion of the port and markets. The walls and gates facing Busbus were destroyed by the municipal government, in recent years, to make way for the construction of new public buildings.

A green wooden sign with white letters was erected by the Sulu Cultural Historical Society, Inc. to commemorate the existence of the Spanish walls. In upper case letters, the sign announces:

Be it known to all:

From whatever angle it is viewed, the historic grandeur of Moro fearlessness in battle and firm determination to resist foreign aggression, which the Spanish walled fortress silently lends to the great citadel of Islam in the Philippines, never diminishes. Known for decades by the name of Jolo, this ancient city, popularly called Lupa Sug (the land of the current) may be aptly considered the first city in the Philippines.

This brick wall was constructed upon order of Spanish Governor General Jose Malcampa in 1876 during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Jamalul Alam, Sultan of Sulu, to protect Spanish troops. It especially stands as the undying monument showing to the victorious progress of the Filipino nation, the magnificent spectacle of Sulu Muslims' heroic defense of our native land, unparalleled in the history of colonization. Thus, this monument is preserved as a grim reminder of a glorious past.

by: Sulu Cultural-Historical Society

The sign is impermanent. It reflects sentiments...
that have limited credibility outside of Jolo. While the text puts into words the pride felt for Muslim heroism, the inaccuracy of some of the claims made leaves the informed reader with doubts regarding the sponsors' knowledge about the history which is so proudly being commemorated. Local residents may not be as aware of historical facts as someone who has studied the history of the place, but since the text attempts to point out "facts" to enhance the appreciation of Jolo's history the sign's consistency with historical sources merits investigation (fig. 63).

The claim that Lupa Sug may be "aptly considered the first city in the Philippines", is not correct on two counts. First, the Tausug name "Lupa Sug", which is literally translated to mean "the land of the sea current", refers to Jolo Island and not the original settlement at the site of the town of Jolo. Majul mentioned that the name of the original settlement was Bauang, or Bawang, and he has been supported by other Tausug historians.

Second, no historical data on the pre-Hispanic settlement gives credence to the claim that the site was ever an "ancient city". The ancient city never existed in the sense that a large population size,
and a land area of significant size have not been claimed for Bauang.⁴

Of course, there are at least two other ways in which the settlement may have been a "city" for the sign's sponsors. At the level of metaphor, the settlement might be considered a "city" if one takes note of Saleeby's description.⁵ He stated that when Manila and Cebu were small settlements, Jolo was an important commercial and political center. Other sources noted that the settlement was a place where many co-existed and was a melting pot of traders from China, Borneo and other countries.

Majul's history of the Muslims supports the idea of considering Jolo as the site of an ancient city by noting that the dominions of the Sulu Sultanate included areas in North Borneo and Mindanao in the 17th century.⁶ The settlement might have had the proportions of a city, although this has not been proven, because it was the seat of the Sultanate of Sulu and was its capital. (fig.16)

There have been enough descriptions of the traditional Tausug cultural system to make it possible to speculate that relationships between classes and cultures in Sulu societies and

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⁴ Commemorative plaque at the ruins of Fort Pilar in Zamboanga City. (1982)
relationships with foreigners were relatively sophisticated. If not a city in quantitative terms, the cultural life of Bauang may have been comparable to that found in other centers of Southeast Asia.

The physical state in which the ruins are found does not give the sense that the walls are "undying monuments". Portions of its structure have been used for other construction projects in the town. Hence, the monument's obvious physical ephemerality makes another argument for the accuracy of the sign. Residents will not be able to think of Jolo without seeing an image of the wall, but whether the image is ennobled and regarded as a monument or is made common by the thought of it as material for extending one's house or Jolo's streets should be made a factor in future restoration efforts.

Within the context of national history, regional histories and local claims attempt to raise distinctions between historical experiences. The differences define "uniqueness" and strengthen the current identity of the people and place.

For a last point with regard to the text, the history of colonization in the Philippines is not certain to offer proof of "unparalleled" defense. Other regional histories in the country may claim similar prominence and cause one to question how valor and bravery could be measured and compared. The implied comparison is not interesting by itself until one contrasts how outsiders view Sulu history with how the local residents come to know and identify with their history. The questions of historical accuracy then become secondary to achieving the goal of increasing historical consciousness.

Relevant to possible interpretations for the sign in Jolo is a comparison with another sign which was installed for a similar commemorative purpose. A contrasting historical sense is revealed when a sign erected by the Philippine National Historical Commission is studied.

In the nearby city of Zamboanga, a bronze plaque commemorates the building of Fort Pilar and does not indicate to the reader what is the significance of the monument, other than establish its age. The fort itself has undergone recent restoration. The sign is more imposing than the one in Jolo. It has also been made less pervious to vandalism and exposure to the elements. (fig.64)

Possibly, the attitude revealed through the sign
in Jolo may have been a direct response to the sense that nationally significant events and places have received more attention than, in the eyes of the sign's sponsors, equally significant local and regional events. (fig.65-66)

Jolo figures prominently in the history of the Muslim Filipinos, but the town is not as prominent in the history of national development. Therefore, efforts to restore a sense of its history in recent times were initiated and supported locally. Even if actual efforts may be questionable, one can accept the imperatives which motivate the sponsors.

65
Spanish gateway to Jolo proper from Airport Road. (1982)

66
Provincial Seal, 1982
(CISCUU, Notre Dame of Jolo College)
B. Monument for Spanish Conquerors

In the central plaza at Tulay stands a monument erected by General Arolas in 1891 in memory of the three renowned conquerors of Jolo. On one side the monument bears the inscription "A la gloria de los que su esfuerzo hicieron esta tierra Española"; the second side bears the inscription "Corcuera, 17 de Abril de 1638"; the third side, "Urbistondo, 28 de Febrero de 1851"; the fourth side, "Malcampo, 29 de Febrero de 1876". 

The monument is located directly in front of the Tulay mosque, the jami or main mosque of Jolo. The Spanish governor of Mindanao and Sulu, General Arolas erected another monument which was obelisk-shaped along a street connecting Tulay and Asturias which was named after him.

The events commemorated are black days for the town and the Spanish conquerors are remembered with notoriety in the history of Sulu. Expeditions were sent to Mindanao in 1637 and to Sulu in 1638 by Governor Sebastian Corcuera. During these expeditions, Majul noted that Spanish friars witnessed the destruction of copies of the Qur'an and other Arabic manuscripts, and the destruction of the tombs of the late sultans.10 The destruction of the tomb and grave of one of the first Muslim missionaries to Sulu was witnessed as well, in which soldiers exhumed the remains in the hope of finding valuables.11

On February 28, 1851, Spanish forces were led by Governor Urbistondo in an attack that succeeded in the completely destroying Jolo.12 It was only later, on February 29, 1876, that the occupation of Jolo was possible and this time led by Governor Malcampo.13 The sultan moved his capital to Maimbung on the southern side of the island where the war against Spain continued.14
Maimbung was attacked by the forces of Governor Arolas on April 16, 1887. The Darul Jambangan, fort and palace of the popularly recognized Sultan Amirul Kiram was attacked from the land by Arolas while an attack from the sea was launched by Sultan Harun, the sultan selected by the Spanish authorities. The Maimbung cotta was burned to the ground, but the settlement was allowed to remain intact since the Spaniards had previously decided to occupy it.15 (p.306)

According to Oswalda Cabel, the curator of the Sulu Historical Museum, the inscribed monument in the plaza was severely damaged by American forces at the end of World War II and by vandalism in later years.

In the 1970's the second monument by Arolas was moved from its location on Arolas street to replace the inscribed monument at Plaza Tulay. People still refer to the replacement as the monument to the Spanish conquerors of Jolo, because of the presence commemorated even without inscriptions. There would have been no memory of the inscriptions themselves if Gowing had not referred to it in his book. Spanish troops evacuated Jolo on May 18, 1899 the same day the American forces formally occupied the town.

Most Tausug are not aware of the details of the Spanish occupation of Jolo, but they do recall that until 1876 the control of the Sulu archipelago belonged to the sultanate. Vandalism directed at the monument gives evidence of some hatred felt in remembrance of colonial occupation.

It is interesting to note that when the first monument was replaced by the second one, which was uninscribed, no vandalism occurred. The text had made it impossible to perceive the monument as anything else but an object of the Spanish times. The current monument is easier to ignore as it is the same color as the planters beside it in Plaza Tulay.

One might speculate about Arolas' aims in making a monument for the conquerors of Jolo and the reasons why a Spanish monument continues to be maintained by authorities in Jolo. The Spanish monument was created in 1891, 15 years after the Malcampo first occupied the area. Despite the continuation of the Moro Wars against Spain until 1898, life within the walled city and the vicinity of the town was stable.

Christian residents emigrated from the Visayan islands and Mindanao to take advantage of commercial opportunities in Jolo. The settlement became a real
town and melting pot despite maintaining a mostly Muslim population. People became affluent and the residents, who aspired to prominent civic roles, could do so. Spanish forces suffered greatly in the long and protracted wars and the creation of a monument to remember the contributions of their heroes does not seem unnatural.

Although some Tausug might not have wanted or continue to dislike the idea of the monument dedicated to the conquerors, non-Tausug residents of Jolo would appreciate Spanish monuments in the same way that these are preserved or restored in non-Muslim areas of the country.

From the national historical perspective, the colonization of the country resulted in much growth and development. Opportunities were created for the Christian Filipinos through education and commerce in non-Muslim areas. In Jolo, the stable and profitable lives of Christians was ensured by a strong military presence which continues to this day. The first arrival of non-Muslim residents began long before the Spanish occupation through traders. But the establishment of a Christian population within Jolo did not happen until 1876.

The monument can be seen in a positive light as evidence of a link between Sulu and the rest of the country, a celebration of the Christian presence in Jolo, and an attempt at presenting the past truthfully as a chronological sequence of events. Certainly, there is a large amount of editing accomplished by official public or private efforts to preserve certain monuments and not others. One finds that the planned maintenance of physical artifacts from different periods is greatly influenced by more pragmatic issues, such as the lack of a budget or leadership, rather than for issues involving symbolism and meaning.

C. The Rizal Monument

The first chapter of this book began with a description of the unveiling of the Rizal monument in Jolo. The Moro and Christian figures standing side by side below Rizal on the monument symbolized the vision of unity between the former enemies.

Regrettably, time has not been kind to the figure of the Christian Filipino. Once his left hand held the tools of a blacksmith. Today the hand, the tools and part of the left hand are missing. In fact, the whole monument has been damaged in recent years. It is in much need of repair.15

(Gowing: Mandate in Moroland, p.2)
The monument is located in Plaza Rizal.(fig.67) It honors Dr. Jose Rizal, the Philippine national hero who is considered the premier martyr to the cause of Filipino nationalism and ideological hero of the Philippine revolution. The figure of Rizal stands on a pedestal above two other figures placed side by side. One represents a Moro and the other a Christian Filipino.

On April 19, 1921, when the monument was unveiled in the municipality of Jolo, the Filipino held the tools of a blacksmith in his left hand and the Moro held a plow. Two years before the unveiling, the American civil government had turned over its tasks to Filipinos.

In Gowing's perspective the Rizal monument was symbolic of over-arching American objectives in the government of Mindanao and Sulu from 1899 to 1920. One objective was to turn the Moro away from fighting and raiding in favor of pursuing a peaceful and law abiding livelihood so that he might become united with the Philippine nation and live with Christian Filipinos. Another objective was to bring modern medicine, education and other forms of social service for the Moros.
The objectives cited for the American mandate in Moroland at the time of the erection of the monuments were statements of ambition rather than testimonies of achievement. In the eyes of the municipal government which authorized the construction of the monuments, the problems and objectives inherited from American administration in Sulu province and Jolo continued to exist and became manifested in legal and cultural problems. Military campaigns in the rural areas of Jolo were successful in eliminating the leaders of outlaw bands. The years from 1915 to 1918 marked the establishment of peaceful conditions in Sulu.

In a comment about possible interpretations for the monument in the light of present Muslim-Christian relations and its prospects for the future, Gowing suggested that if one looked at the monument with an optimistic perspective a different interpretation for the Rizal monument is possible. The statue could be a symbol of the truth that Muslim-Christian Filipino unity also requires immediate and extensive repair.

Pessimists might disagree with Gowing's summary of the developments in Sulu as too trusting of the motivations of current efforts by the government. But it is not unreasonable to believe that a means to reconcile the past catastrophic conflict might be found in historians trying to learn from the past and offer a vision for the future.

D. The American Memorial Marker

A stone marker with four tiers is visible from the main intersection just outside the old walls of Jolo, where the streets leading to the airfield and the provincial capitol grounds cross. The first two tiers are hexagonal and they cover a maximum horizontal dimension of 6 feet. The two highest tiers have square bases covering areas of about 3 and 4 square feet. (fig. 68)

On the second tier above ground level, an inscription on the plastered surface reads,

MEMORIAL GARDENS
IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE
OF THE BRAVE
AMERICAN SOLDIERS
1949

In a similar manner, carved on the third tier stacked above it is an inscription which reads in larger letters, "2nd Cavalry".

Capping the marker is the last tier. It is a
American Memorial Marker
Dedicated to the memory of American soldiers of the Second Cavalry who perished in battle against the Muslims in 1911. Erected in 1949. (Ayala Museum)

The cube which bears a bronze plaque that faces the intersection. The text designates the object as the memorial marker dedicated to American soldiers who were members of the 2nd Cavalry, and who perished in battle against the Muslims in 1911. The entire monument was erected in 1949.

Bravery was demonstrated by soldiers in the American military campaigns which had high death tolls before a peaceful period in 1915-1918. Juramentados attacked American soldiers just as they had attacked Spanish soldiers in earlier years within the vicinity of the town proper. Outside of Jolo, Muslim datus gathered strength in preparation for full scale battles against the military. (fig.69)

On April 17, 1911, a juramentado killed Lieutenant Rodney of the cavalry, on the Jolo-Asturias road. Lieutenant Rodney was unarmed and was walking with his little daughter, who was not harmed, however. The juramentado tried to rush to the wagon behind the Lieutenant, which carried several unarmed Americans, but he was killed by a guard before he could do further mischief.

The death of Lieutenant Rodney caused General Pershing to order that officers should not go unarmed, and that soldiers should go out in threes. On April 19, 1911, Sergeant Ferguson, while in charge of the guard at Asturias, was killed by two juramentados, who were in turn killed by a sentinel.
The later years were memorable for the great battles on Bad Dajo and Mount Bagesak where hundreds of Moros were killed, with relatively few deaths on the Philippine Constabulary side. Many soldiers who fought the Muslims in these battles were Filipinos.

The American memorial marker can be compared with the monument of the Spanish conquerors in that their existence in the Muslim town may be seen from the Muslim perspective as reminders of negative experiences with colonizers, and from the perspective of the non-Muslim residents as positive evidence to bring peace to the area. (fig. 70)

E. The Ruins of Fort Darul Jambangan

The ruins of the palace built by Sultan Jamalul Alam (Jamalul Kiram) are located at Maimbung. This was the fort built by the Sultan of Sulu at the new capitol while Governor Arolas governed Mindanao and Sulu from Jolo in 1887.

The word Jambangan means "a place where the flowers grow in abundance". The palace was famous for its beautiful garden. No plans or further
The kuta or fort guarded the palace built by Sultan Jamalul Alam (Jamalul Kiram). Destroyed in 1876. (Photograph: Ayala Museum)

Information on the design of the palace and its grounds have been encountered in this study. What remains are sections of adobe walls, foundations and floors. The lack of documentation makes it difficult to identify sections of the site which may have been later additions. Makeshift shelters seen in the photographs (fig. 71-72) indicate that the site may be occupied by its owners or their tenants.

The remains make it clear that not all artifacts of great age are made the subject of preserve and restore their memory. One factor that guarantees the non-restoration of the site is its ownership and the lack of money. Projects of this scale could not be undertaken without the cooperation of group which is interested in seeing it happen.

F. Tulay Mosque

The existing Tulay mosque is larger than the mosque built on the same site in 1917, and which was photographed for Orosa's book in 1923. (fig. 73) Rapidly rebuilt in 1974, the mosque is the most prominent Islamic form in the town. From the plaza, one can see through wrought iron grilles into a
paved courtyard.

The dome and trim on the roofline and minarets are painted light blue, accenting the remaining white surfaces. There are two main entrances. One is along the long axis of the building's rectangular plan and opens onto a walled courtyard. The second entrance opens directly onto a side street on the longer side of the building. The latter entrance is the one kept open for daily worship. (fig. 74-75)

The Tulay mosque is significant because it is the jami mosque of Jolo. Its design, similar to that of newer mosques in Sulu, makes use of Islamic architectural models in the Middle East and India. The phenomenon can be defined as consistent with the current trend of Muslims in the Philippines to stress their identification with the dar ul-Islam. Many examples of the use of "purer" Islamic forms can be found in Sulu and Mindanao.

The religious and civic buildings both have acquired design elements that borrow from Indian and Middle Eastern architectural models. (fig. 76) The Sulu Provincial Capitol Building in Jolo (fig. 52) and the Tulay mosque are two examples found in Sulu. Another example in the Lanao del Sur, the territory
Tulay Mosque, View from the south
Photograph 1982

Tulay Mosque, View from the west
Photograph 1982
Mosque in Maimbung near the town of Jolo
Destroyed by arson ca. 1970.
(CISCUL, Notre Dame of Jolo College)

Tamano Mosque at Ditsaan-Ramain, Lanao del Sur
View from the northwest. Located near Marawi City.
Constructed 1979.
of the Maranao, the Tawano mosque is another good example of the pattern. (fig. 77) The Taj Mahal was its model when it was constructed in 1979. Since then, the building has acquired more decorations that have traditional Maranao motifs.

G. Cemeteries

In Sulu, the gravemarkers stand as eloquent testimonies of the Samal, the Badjao, and the Tausug. Most gravemarkers in Sulu consist of an upright form called sunduk in Tausug and sundek in Badjao which is placed over the head and surrounded by or resting on a rectangular frame called kubul.

The sundek for men may be simple or elaborate, but they are generally cylindrical with round or pointed tops. They are either inserted directly into the ground or placed on top of a box, boat, bird, horse or crocodile-like base.

The sundek for women are, in general, flat, covered with classical ukkil or semigfigurative ornamental, leaf and scroll designs, which are incised or painted with a comb motif. Most sunduk for adults are between two or three feet high while those for children are usually short, probably between 6 to 15 inches high.

Kiefer noted that while in everyday behavior Tausug are quite unconcerned with the souls of the dead, two yearly rituals are conducted in each community to pacify them. The first ritual Nispu occurs a
month before Ramadan. Several days later, the entire community turns out at the cemetery to clean the graves, remove weeds and plant flowers. A prayer for the dead is offered, and the Koran is briefly read to ease the sufferings of the deceased and bring religious merit to the reader. This second ceremony is followed by a communal feast in the graveyard.

In Jolo, there are two Muslim cemeteries of different age. The older one has wood, stone, and concrete gravemarkers and is called the Busbus cemetery. It has an area of 1,602 square meters and has Tausug gravemarkers which date to the 19th century. The newer cemetery is larger and is known as the Kandang Maw-ag. Its area is 63,013 square meters. Gravemarkers found here have typical Sulu features like the sunduk and kubbul but they are more simple in design than what may be found in other areas of the Sulu Archipelago.

Szanton pointed out that Tausug gravemarkers are not as elaborately carved as those belonging to the Samal. The high art of ukkil or arabesque-styled carving is seldom expected on Jolo Island. It is found in other islands of the province. White cloths wrapped around the gravemarkers indicate recent vi-
Never Tausug cemetery near the airfield of Jolo. View toward the west, 1982.

sizes. Statues and raised reliefs of angels and saints are common decorative features. There are family crypts and small altars. In contrast, the missionaries' cemetery is spartan with simple crosses and plain monuments. November 1, the feastday of all the saints and the following day are the only days of the year when the Catholic cemetery is thronged with relatives of the dead paying their annual visits.

The Chinese cemetery is one of the largest in Jolo with an area of 10,997 square meters. The older graves date to the 18th century, providing a hint that the Chinese arrived earlier in Jolo than the Christians. The monuments in this cemetery have massive proportions. Chinese calligraphy for identification and decoration is usually carved onto almost dry plaster. Most of the funerary monuments look like large sections of whitewashed spherical sections of concrete lying on their sides.

The Japanese cemetery has an area of 927 square meters. In recent years it has been seldom visited although in other parts of the Philippines, tour operators include similar sites in their itineraries to oblige the interests of tourists who lost relatives in the country during World War II. The Sulu Masonic
sits to the gravesites. A grave is oriented with the head to the north so that the face of the deceased may be turned toward Mecca. Names and dates are written in Arabic, English and Tausug.

There are 8 cemeteries in Jolo which indirectly offer information regarding accepted group definitions, relative population size and some of the rituals associated with the memory of the dead.

Conceptually, Muslims, Christians, Chinese, Japanese, Sulu Masons and the military seem to be physically divided in the world of the dead in a manner similar to the way they lived close to each other in the world of the living. Their memory is celebrated and remembered physically by distinctive gravemarkers and through particular rituals. The Tausug example of ritual visitation may take place at different times of the year but common points can be established.

Christians are buried in one of two cemeteries. The Jolo Catholic cemetery has an unspecified area while the Christian Missionary Alliance cemetery measures 5,631 square meters.

The first cemetery is densely packed with monuments and grave markers in different shapes and cemetery has an area larger than that of the Japanese cemetery with 3,358 square meters. Knowledge about their rituals was not available.

The municipal staff did not know the size of the lone military cemetery. When investigated, it was found that for security reasons the information was unavailable. All that was known was that the area is located within the military camp.

Gravemarkers are cultural landmarks which signify remembrance of the past at the most modest scale. Visitation is usually takes place without any organization. Physical maintenance occurs in an incremental way and depends on the care of relatives. Cemeteries do not require planned intervention or protection because the society naturally performs the task at the present time. Because of this tendency, it may be ideal to design a program relevant to it.

Historically, Muslim cemeteries in Jolo have not always been protected or as well maintained. As previously in this chapter during the Moro Wars, Spanish authorities ordered the destruction of sacred tombs for symbolic reasons. Other ideas regarding the importance of sacred tombs are discussed through two examples in the next chapter.
NOTES FOR MONUMENTS AND RUINS

1. Little information was available on the Sulu Cultural-Historical Society, Inc., except for what is mentioned in this section about the group's participation in major activities. A charter or constitution that would have been explicit about its goals, objectives and procedures was not available for the study. What is actually discussed here was taken from interviews with members and non-members and from information about specific projects sponsored by the group. Impressions about the institution may not be reliable based on these sources.

Discussion about the society is nonetheless important. It is pursued because of the need to evaluate the relationships between key institutions that undertake preservation projects in the town. The direction is arguable, but it is felt that the situation is typical of the kind of situation planners will find themselves in a developing country.

2. The problem may be that most people who use the term only began to do so recently, and then maybe only in Jolo. The difference may not be important.

3. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the name of the early settlement was not mentioned in the most popular source of early physical descriptions of Jolo. Bawang came into use also recently and it is not known whether the term is in fact an ancient one or whether it is new.

4. The problem may be that most people have come to use the term "city" because the portion of the town formerly enclosed by the Spanish walls was called Intramuros or the Walled City. Also, Kiefer reminded me that in Spanish sources Jolo is referred to as a ciudad and not a pueblo. It was always a "city" and not a "town".


7. Ibid., Majul describes the relationships between the major actors.

8. The problem of historical consciousness, a major problem for designing a preservation program, may be returned to in the Introduction.

9. Saleeby (1908: 136)

10. Majul (1973: 84-85)

11. Ibid., the sources cited were by the friar Francisco Combes and W.E. Retana.

12. Ibid., p. 286

13. Ibid., pp. 292-293. Spanish forces controlled only Jolo until July 22, 1878 when a treaty between Spain and the Sultanate was signed.

14. Ibid., p. 293. Spanish forces destroyed other major settlements including the capital of the sultanate at Maimbung.

15. Ibid., p. 306


17. The same monument described by Gowing (1983: 2) was also described in Orosa (1923/1970: 4 and 6).


19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., p. 344


22. Ibid., pp. 39-40. The battle of Bud Dajo in 1906 was described in more detail in Gowing (1983: 160-163). The 1912 battle of Mount Bangaak can also be found in Gowing (1983: 238-242).

23. Alexander Spoehr, "Spanish Remains in Basilan and Sulu", in Sulu Studies 3 (Jolo: CISCUL, 1973) has a rough sketch of the Sultan's palace in Maimbung. The drawings were dated 1899 and signed by an H.M.
Reeve. He was an American army officer who was among the first to arrive after the departure of Spanish forces. Spoehr directs the reader to other sources of descriptions for Maimbung.

24 Orosa (1923/1970: 71)


26 Jolo Municipal Development Staff (1977: 20)

27 Ibid.


29 Ibid., p. 11

30 This was observed in both the old and new cemeteries. It is a characteristic found in the rest of the Muslim world as found in James Dickie, "Allah ans Eternity: Mosques, Madrasahs and Tombs" in Architecture of the Islamic World (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1978) p. 44-46

31 The Jolo Municipal Development Staff (1977: 21) lists all the town's most important areas and public features. (See the excerpt from this study in Appendix B, part 2)

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.
CHAPTER 3 - IMPLEMENTATION MECHANISMS

In this chapter, recent preservation and restoration initiatives are examined in order to identify characteristics and procedures that could offer ideas for necessary revisions to the implementation process described in the first chapter.

Four examples of local efforts were selected and an analysis which involved the attributes of each project, a comparison between the expressed motives and the accomplishments of the major actors or sponsors was made. The efforts were similar to each other because they all tried to preserve or restore something about the past and, in one instance dealt with the same kinds of historical artifacts. Each of the examples presented used different methods for implementation, which achieved the purpose of activities broadly regarded as preservation or restoration.

Most of the situations described were pieced together from a variety of references. Thus, the questions put forth for each example raised new issues. Alternatives to existing processes were explored for their appropriateness and fit into what became known about the local institutional make-up.
The study of relevant aspects of housing in Jolo identified existing mechanisms, and tried to extract themes for outlining alternatives. A parallel between restoration and housing was drawn to help clarify where changes might be introduced and to get a sense of the practices or rituals which still survive with vitality.

I. LOCAL RESTORATION EFFORTS

A. Sanguinolent Inscription

In kami parang sabil. Nag baogbog kamisin hulah iban bangsa agama.  
- (signed) Talib

We are doing ritual suicide. We are defending our land, nation and religion.  
(English translation)

Peter Gowing wrote that the Tausug message was written in blood and that it could be found on a wall in a stairwell at the Notre Dame of Jolo College. He described Talib, the author, as a Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) fighter. (fig.81) He was said to have died during a siege of the main building. The event occurred in 1974 during the siege of Jolo, an
event which was allegedly initiated by Muslim rebels. 1

Gowing drew a comparison between this act of dedicating a human deed and a means to remember it by in the name of a larger group, to the acts committed by juramentados or Tausug who were practicing ritual suicide.

Talib was a juramentado only in the sense Gowing described. The ritual is no longer practiced because panditas discouraged it by being unwilling to officiate in the necessary declaration of intent to die for the faith. 2 The act of magsabil was a symbolic gesture of faith which also became a means of extracting vengeance for personal reasons. Eventually, the term juramentado changed and was used to refer to anyone who ran amuck in Jolo and Zamboanga City, and killed someone for no apparent reasons. Talib was not practicing ritual suicide if one considers the original practice and rites in Tausug tradition.

The sign's allusion to the old ritual offers grounds for speculating that by using a modern interpretation, the old rites by themselves are no longer meaningful. New rites have replaced them to create a new ritual that draws from the tradition. Possibly, what is now important to people is the enobling of the individual and his actions through an allusion to basic ideals from the past.

By the summer of 1982, the lettering had faded but one could still read the words. Preservation may or may not have been intended. The entire building did not have painted walls in circulation areas, but walls were clean of graffiti. When asked about the message, staff members would offer a vague look until they were brought in front of it. Expressions on their faces would then change. According to some of them, it was as if one had seen the proof of a myth.

It was impossible to determine who exactly had decided that the inscription was to remain. School authorities were possible sponsors because the location suggested their complicity. The act seemed to have been condoned, if not praised, because no attempt had been made to remove the message or paint over it. The fact that Gowing called attention to the sign's existence and meaning made it a "monument" located within the community, of which he was the secondary sponsor after Talib.

Few people knew of the inscription's location. More people knew about its existence and the greatest
number of people had some knowledge of the siege or other incidents related to the event.

Studying the monument itself, one finds crudely painted letterings. Gory images of the situation are brought to mind. Many have said that such memories should be forgotten, but there are people who claim otherwise. Informants who witnessed the February 7, 1974 incident or who heard about it did not want the inscription removed or preserved. They claimed that many preferred to look toward the future instead, but did not want to consciously destroy what remained of the siege.

The act of writing on the wall created a unique type of monument. The inscription, by itself, was no work of art. Association to ritual suicide, however, caused the sign to represent an achievement of traditional belief in the nobility of the death faced by the writer, over forces threatening to irrevocably change the society.

A member of the Sulu Cultural-Historical Society omitted this "monument" from a hypothetical list of monuments for Jolo and Sulu. The explanation given was that although it was true that objects like the sign could provoke much thought about the past, the event during which it was created had strong and negative memories associated to it. Speaking for the group and claiming that the opinion might not represent the views of all members, it was added that the goal of their work was to turn people of Jolo and Sulu toward a positive outlook for the future. There were other monuments in Jolo which suggested less polemic views about the present and yet were "proven" as acceptable monuments of the past.

This example was notable because it would have the least amount of assistance for implementation from all of the three most powerful entities who engaged in restoration for the town. The three were the Sulu Cultural-Historical Society, Inc., the offices of the provincial governor and mayor of Jolo, and the military.

There are a number of mechanisms which preserve its memory and physical existence. This example would not normally be called a preservation or restoration effort except for the fact that "history" was alluded to and used by sponsors at different levels of involvement. Talib wrote the message and Gowing created a monument by writing about it. These are the mechanisms which were observed from the incident:
1. Gowing's book contained both a photograph and a translation. The book *Heritage and Horizon* is currently used as a history textbook in public high schools of Muslim areas in the country. Many young people are guaranteed to be reminded of Gowing's interpretation and message.

2. The school administration in Jolo seemed to have a tacit policy which allows the sign to remain. The policy has maintained the writing and prolonged the life of the monument, even if it is an ephemeral one.

3. Military personnel are rotated to other geographic areas of the country and don't seem interested in it. Even though the military as a group may have a negative interpretation of this "monument" and logically may want it destroyed, no actions have been taken. An observation post on the roof deck of the building that was under siege was still manned in 1982. There seemed to be many opportunities to remove the sign.

4. People who survived the February 1974 incident can relate the story of the wall as if they had seen it written. Jolo is a town where folklore and gossip are used like oral sources for history. The "truth" of a situation is determined by how many people can agree on a story. The reality may actually be close to what was reached by consensus. One can be immediately referred to the source of a story. This may be someone who was there, or someone who was told immediately after the act was witnessed.

Gowing was aware of the meaning which the sign might have for some people, and of the effect it can have on people's imagination. Talib may be considered a hero to Muslims. But to non-Muslims who know very little about Tausug society and the practice of ritual, he could be considered less noble.

Only people associated with the school seem to know about the sign, which in a sense may be a factor related to its preservation. In the interviews they spoke of their stories.

From an interview, Gowing claimed that the act of documenting the circumstances of the sign and his interpretation of its significance was to remind many
of what where manifestations of the Muslim-Christian conflict in the south. He wanted to call attention to the perspective of the MNLF by turning a little known incident, which he thought indicative of an important sentiment shared by many Muslims, into a public one which would hopefully be read about by other Muslims and non-Muslims. The author Talib may have envisioned that the sign and message would be ephemeral. Gowing has ensured its longer life and the perpetuation of its message.

B. The Tomb of Tuhan Maqbalu

Said the Prophet, peace be upon him: "Whomever dies far away [from his home] dies a martyr." Allah has taken away the late blessed martyr Tuhan Maqbalu on the date: the sacred holy month of Rajab may Allah increase its holiness, the year ten and seven hundred.

(English translation of the Arabic inscription on the tomb of Tuhan Maqbalu.)

The Arabic inscription translated above could be found on a tombstone found on the hill Bud Dato which marked the grave of a venerated Muslim who may have been a ruler or chief in Sulu. (fig.82) The stone was

82 Tomb of Tuhan Maqbalu (Tuan Masha'ika) Dated 710AH/1310 AD on Bud Dato, Jolo (Ayala Museum, Dansalan Research Center: 1980 and Gowing:1979)
broken under mysterious circumstances in around 1970. It is not known whether it has since been repaired, restored and replaced.

For more than six hundred years and in the face of the adversities of Sulu history, the tomb has been the object of lavish care and respect. The area surrounding the tomb was where, according to tradition, many Sultans of Sulu were crowned. The name of the hill Bud Dato meant the hill of the rulers and was based on this story. It is also known that sultans would flee to this hill when Jolo was being attacked.

The gravemarker was used by Majul as a vital archeological datum to support his periodization of the Islamization of Sulu. He claimed that the date 1340 or 710 AH suggested that a Muslim settlement or community existed in Jolo by the end of the 13th century. The titles Tuhan meaning chief and shaikh meaning a learned Muslim believer, and the fact that the tomb is considered sacred by the Tausug attested to the prominence of the person buried. Nothing could be said about his race except that he could have been Arab or a converted Filipino.

Since the publication of Cesar Adib Majul's *The Muslims in the Philippines* in 1973, other historians in Muslim areas have accepted his ideas regarding the Islamization of Sulu and the periodization of the pre-Hispanic sultanate. The use of the stone as an archeological datum made the early developments of the sultanate more credible and comparable to contemporary levels of development in the rest of Asia.

Majul related an incident which revealed something about the care of the monument and the kind of conflict which arose from disagreements regarding the identity of the missionary. In 1924, Hadji Buto, an advisor of the Sultan, had the tombstone brought to Jolo to be cleaned. A committee of chiefs and hajis read it and claimed that the stone marked the grave of Rajah Baguinda. At the same time, Hadji Buto made a request for funds to construct a park on Bud Dato. The request elicited a positive reaction from the American Provincial Governor Carl Moore.

Not long after receiving the request from Buto, Moore received a letter which complained about the transfer of the tombstone. Datu Tambuyong of Patikul claimed that he, as a descendant of Rajah Baguinda,
should have been consulted on the subject of transferring the tombstone. Secondly, he claimed that Hadji Buto had no authority to have the stone moved since Buto was not a descendant of Rajah Baguinda or a datu.

Later in another letter to the Governor, Hadji Buto affirmed that the tomb did belong to Rajah Baguinda and was also the site of the coronation ceremonies of Sulu sultans.\textsuperscript{10}

Majul argues that the claims of various datus were not verifiable or believable. There is, however, an interesting problem surrounding the identity of Tuhan Maqbalu that reveals the tendency to desire to identify oneself and one's clan as descendants of a datu, the sultanate, or an early Arab missionary. Or maybe even some combination of all three. The care of funereal monuments is undertaken with pride by the upper or ruling sectors in Tausug society, while for the masses of people, many objects and events are surrounded by mystery and supported by folktales and oral sources of history.

Kiefer gives reason to believe that the activities initiated to underline rights belonging to relatives of the deceased may have been related to the perpetuity and protection of the sultanate.\textsuperscript{11} The circumstance described within Majul's account identified a personage, an object, and a site as sacred and also identifies the role of relatives as that of those who define what is sacred.

This example helps to explain how aspects of the culture may not need active intervention. And if a need is perceived, the information on the importance of kinship and rights over tombs and graves would help to identify the kinds of intervention which would have the least problems in being accepted.

There are special sites that do not have any problem in being maintained and protected the Tausug. These are the tombs of the sultans and early Arab missionaries which are not found in the town proper but near it on the slopes of Bud Dato and Mount Tumatangis. Combes noted that tombs had become places for visits or pilgrimages, thus making Sulu, more specifically Jolo, a sacred center for Muslims of the Sulu archipelago and comparable to Mecca.\textsuperscript{12}

About the process of intervention, more is said about the institutional map and the relationships between major actors. The inclination to preserve something that is not "public" but instead in the
The Introduction contained the historiographic notion that the history of Sulu was the history of the sultanate and the ruling sector of Sulu society, mostly because of the desire to perpetuate the legitimacy of the institutions and its dominance. In recent years, other sectors of the society which are now better developed could put forth a claim that the former glory of the sultanate did not in itself have to be revived.\[^{13}\]

Instead of developing the sultanate's history and while the traditions of the place are tied to that of the sultanate, new ways of seeing former roles should be cognizant of the effects on the Sulu peoples' basis for social action and interaction. The interpreters of the past, internal and external sources, would complement each other if their findings were presented in a more comparable way.

Majul called attention to the fact that other sacred tombs exist near Jolo. One such example is said to be the tomb of the first sultan of Jolo whose name in the tarsilas or genealogical annals is Sultan Sharif ul-Hashim, or Syed Abu Bakr.\[^{14}\] The site was not specified except that it is located on one of the slopes of Mount Tumatangis, (fig.83)

This story adds to the list of myths and mysteries focused on the tallest natural land formation near Jolo, and creates reason to believe that the preservation of important areas on the mountain is important to the preservation of a sense of history.

The support of historical consciousness has taken place without requiring a rigorous foundation of historical data or facts. In the Majul account of the Rajah Baguinda shrine, "facts" were taken from the probability that the "tradition" or traditional sources were correct. Majul himself contested the truth of the claim because of existing problems in the use of the oral genealogies.\[^{15}\] The tarsilas are known to be unspecific and unverifiable.

The version of history promoted by local authorities and living interpreters of tradition provided an existing artifact to commemorate a great ruler by appropriating an already well known grave. With academic distance from outside of the society, one interpretation is that in the Majul account there is a statement to reiterate, "The past is alive today".
86
Tomb of Sharif Ul-Hashim, first sultan of Sulu in the 15th century
(Dansalan Research Center; 1980, and Gowing:1979)

83
Tomb and Shrine of Rajah Baguinda on Bud Datu, Indanan, Sulu near the town of Jolo.
Shrine constructed 1980, grave dates after 1450.
(Sulu Historical Museum and Library)

84
Tomb of Rajah Baguinda, ca.1970
C. The Rajah Baguinda Shrine

On December 27, 1980, the Rajah Baguinda shrine was inaugurated at Bud Datu, in the town of Indanan, Sulu (fig.84). Guests were asked to assemble at the Jolo Town Hall and were brought to the site of the shrine, several kilometers outside of Jolo proper.16

The program and invitation announced that the event marked the final celebration of the 6th Centennial of Islam in the Philippines.(fig.85) Details describing the project planning, the major participants and some historical background were featured in the text.

Plans for the construction of the Rajah Baguinda shrine were finalized in mid-1976 by the Office of the Provincial Engineer. Subsequently, these were submitted by the Sulu Cultural and Historical Society, Inc. to the Office of the Regional Commissioner for Region IX for financial assistance. By April 1979, the first check in the amount of 50,000 pesos was given to the Provincial Government by Rear Admiral Romulo M. Espaldon, the Regional Commissioner. The total cost of the project at the time of completion was 150,000 pesos.
One month later, on May 27, 1979, the cornerstone was laid by Princess Sakinur-In Kiram of the Sultanate of Sulu; Judge Jainal D. Rasul, President of Sulu Cultural and Historical Society, Inc.; Col. Rodolfo A. Canieso of the Philippine Army; and Assistant Commissioner Abdulhamid Lukman of the Office of the Regional Commissioner of Region IX.

Two government agencies contributed to the budget for the shrine. These were the Office of the Regional Commissioner of Region IX and the Office of the Commission for Islamic Affairs. Both agencies had one commissioner. Technical support and manpower were given to the project by the Office of the Provincial Engineer; the 3rd Infantry Brigade, First Infantry Division of the Philippine Army; the Commissioner, Rear Admiral Romulo M. Espaldon; the Governor of the Province of Sulu, Gov. Muss S. Izquierdo; and Colonel Canieso of the Philippine Army.

The tomb was already a sacred monument because it was a sultan's grave. The purpose for building a structure over the shrine, when taken literally from the text, was to further emphasize its importance. In an interview with the curator of the local museum, a different reason for the project was introduced. This interview was later supported by the accounts of two other residents and found reliable. The story here is what all of them recalled.¹⁷

Some soldiers went to the tomb sometime in 1975. They broke the gravemarker, supposedly put it aside and searched the grave for valuables. The accounts differed with regard to whether the act was witnessed by nearby residents or whether the grave was discovered in its disturbed state later on.

What seems important and common to the stories was that there was much outrage over the incident and the military commander tried to make amends by ordering his men to search for the gravemarker and to restore the tomb.

This affront to Tausug tradition damaged the relationship between the military and the local residents, even if the latter were not Tausug. When the shrine was conceived of and planned later on, the project's overwhelming support by major actors was also explained and justified. Each participant had different reasons for being involved.

Considering the larger context of the situation, peace and order situation in Sulu from 1974 to 1980 was at its worst. Filipino soldiers who were sta-
tioned in Jolo were feared by residents, just as the soldiers had fear for rebels hidden in the community. Many military abuses were reported during "clearing operations" or "salvaging operations". Technically, for "clearing operations" they were authorized to search for hidden weapons in the homes of suspected rebels. But in reality, they were often found looking for possessions which they would then personally appropriate. During "salvaging operations" suspected rebels were captured, made to confess and were often summarily executed without any legal recourse. Not much would happen when soldiers were reported to their commanding officers.

Rebels came to be regarded as guardians and, were often relatives of the people robbed or killed. Since they were already wanted for other crimes, they performed vengeance in the names of those offended. There were many casualties on both sides. Rebels and the military would ambush and kill each other outside of the town.18

The account is featured despite the controversy it could bring because the issue has not yet died in Jolo. Discussion offers an example of how the shrine might not exactly serve the sponsors' intentions. A consideration of the explicit and implicit motives behind various actions is prompted.

The project was implemented through a process that involved secrecy and mutual support in the initial stages. In the interviews, the controversy over what actually occurred emerged as less important than the consensus of truth formed by people who talked about what happened but were not involved in the process. The sense of a wrongdoing was remembered.

D. Sulu: "A Cultural Revival"

From July 27-29 in 1982, an event called "Sulu: A Cultural Revival" was held at the Sulu Provincial Capitol grounds, about one kilometer from Jolo proper. A program and invitation to the event was designed and printed with the seal of the Province of Jolo (fig.87). It listed the names of all the major sponsors, provided a brief background to the event and noted the different activities scheduled for the three day celebration.

The occasion was marked by seven major activities. The last item was not mentioned in the program printed for the event, and was included only at the
1. The investiture of ministerial office & title of the Sulu Sultanate on Lieutenant General Fidel V. Ramos (Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines) by the Sultan of Sulu, and the presentation of a resolution by the Provincial Government of Sulu which adopted him as a Son of Sulu.

2. Presentation of awards to Dr. Lucrecia R. Kasilag and Mrs. Lucrecia Reyes-Urtula, two prominent Filipinos from Manila who had popularized Sulu music and dance.

3. The inauguration of the Sulu Provincial Museum and Library which was given an entire building at the Provincial Capitol site.

4. The opening of Agro-Industrial Exhibits with the participation of each of the seventeen municipalities of the province. Local crafts and agricultural products were displayed and sold.

5. Cultural presentations of local music and dance, and a local beauty contest for Miss Jolo. Beauty contests were held yearly in Jolo.
6. Sportsfests featuring the revival of traditional sports such as sipa, bintih, sanggul, timbag, gustil, bira, as well as other sports like horse racing, bullfights, cockfights, boat races and swimming competitions.

7. Surrender of arms by Muslim rebels who are returning to the fold of the government.

An overall purpose for the event was explicitly stated in the program. To paraphrase the text, the supporters of the event wanted to "establish and put in perspective the historical fact" that the Sulu Provincial government is legitimately the oldest system of governance established and supported by the Filipinos. Through observations on this manner of celebrating or reviving Sulu culture, the motivations and aspirations of the major sponsors may be known. It will be possible to compare the stated goals with the outcomes evaluated in other sources.

A rationalized argument about the relationship between the provincial government and the traditional sultanate was given in the program. The text made the claim that the political will of the Sulu people was evident in the establishment of the sultanate by Syed Abu Bakr in 1450.

"The sultanate, the original expression of political will had persisted and metamorphosed into the provincial government... 20

There was little said about the sultanate itself except to make a claim about its age and its link to the present. The first question asked in order to verify the claim was to check what had happened to the sultanate in recent times and what were its prospects in the 1980's. Gowing narrated what transpired from the American period until 1979.

The Philippine Government in 1936 denied a petition from the Ruma Bichara of Jolo (council of datus) for the recognition of Dayang-Dayang Hadji Piandao as the Sultana of Sulu, succeeding her late uncle and adopted father Sultan Jamal ul-Kiram II, who passed away in 1934. They declared that based on the agreement signed by the late sultan, the Sultanate ceased with his death. Sulu Moros did not recognize the policy, different factions recognized rival sultans. 21

In the early 1960's, when the Republic of the Philippines began to press a claim to North Borneo on the basis of the Sulu Sultanate to which the Philippine government claimed succession it was necessary for the legalities involved to officially resurrect the Sultanate of Sulu.

In September of 1962, officials reconvened the remnant Ruma Bichara of Jolo to settle on the rival claimants as sultan. Muhammad Ismael Kiram was duly recognized as the "legitimate" sultan though two rivals continued to press their claims. 22
The rival sultans in 1962 had two claims. First, they claimed that by tradition the sultan had to be selected by the Ruma Bichara without the involvement of the Philippine government. Secondly, they claimed that also in accordance with the traditional rules of succession they were the more legitimate heirs because Muhammad Ismael Kiram's mother was a commoner while both their mothers were of known nobility.

Sultan Muhammad Ismael Kiram passed away in December 1973 and was succeeded by his son Datu Mahakutta Kiram. The new sultan was enthroned at Jolo in May 1974.23 By 1983, another sultan had been enthroned. Gowing and Majul noted a decline in the wealth and power of the sultanate's descendants in modern times. The first legal actions provoking this decline began with a treaty signed in 1915 during the American colonial period.24

The text was silent about the present role of the Sultanate of Sulu in Sulu society. The sultan participated in the investiture ceremonies and thus, retains some amount of social prominence. He was referred to by his "office" and rank, but not by name in the program. In contrast to this omission, both the governor's name and position were repeated five times in the text.25

The impact of western civilization damaged almost totally the indigenous culture of the Filipinos, endangered their ethnic identity and for sometime weakened their political will. Now is the time, especially for the people of Sulu to revitalize what has been weakened and to recover what has been lost. The Sulu Provincial Government with Governor Musa S. Izquierdo at the helm takes this first step for all concerned to be involved so that Sulu and her people are appreciated in their correct dimensions.26

The "correct dimensions" for appreciating Sulu and her people refers to a generally sympathetic perspective which the provincial government would like to develop. There is no doubt about who the major sponsor of the event was, and neither is there any doubt about what was intended.

Political purposes were clearly served in that the legitimacy of elected office was linked to and offered as a substitute for the traditional leadership. And not only that, as part of the three day activity a person from outside of the society who was also with the military was given a non-customary, symbolic title.

A reason for accepting the military presence in Jolo, with a benevolent image, was created for the public. It is not known how many people of Jolo or
Sulu supported this action, but it is likely that there would be dissenting opinions for the prerogative exercised by the Governor. It is likely that the Governor may have been a ranking member of the traditional leadership himself. His relationship or position within the sultanate is not clear.

The Sulu Provincial Museum and Library was a new institution introduced to accomplish the broad task of providing support for a revival or revitalization of Sulu Culture. Its curator, Oswalda Cabel, had been with the Coordinated Investigation of Sulu Cultures (CISCUL) and was trying to model projects after precedent set by the group which had been led by Fr. Gerard Rixhon at the Notre Dame of Jolo College. The problems encountered by the Museum are of interest to clarify the problems that a new institution in Jolo would encounter.

From the interviews, the Sulu Museum and Library had little funds for acquisitions and management. The chief means of building the collections of both the library and the museum were through donations. One attitude toward the past which proved unsurmountable was the fact that most residents chose to protect their heirlooms themselves. There was no value seen in donating prized objects as charitable gestures, particularly since ownership was a source of status which in hard times meant a source of income.

Artifacts from the past represent the status that a family possessed or had possessed in previous years. Many wanted to retain the memory even if all knew that the traditional authority no longer existed in the present times. For those who still functioned as heads of kinship, territorial, private or public groups, heirlooms symbolized local affinities.
E. SUMMARY

1. Documentation plays an important role.

   Written records of the past assisted in creating a monument out of an obscure sign, served as the basis for contesting claims about monuments, and in two major projects provided the means to express attitudes toward the past.

   The process of documentation satisfied both immediate and long term needs for highlighting certain "facts" that needed to be remembered. In the long run, these records themselves had the potential of becoming "monuments" because of their potential ability to outlast the object, activity, or sentiment that is planned and executed by any sponsor.

2. The four examples provide expectations regarding the sponsors of various activities.

   Individuals and organizations who have been active in restoration or preservation and who have definite loyalties or interests are expected to play similar roles in the future. A consensus from community leaders often brought about the initiation and development of major or activities but there was a case of individuals acting independently and without support, in the name of a group cause. From outside of the community, scholars provided another source of authority by calling attention to certain values and historical connections.

   Various groups that were interested in restoration and preservation included datus and legitimate descendants of members of the sultanate system; leaders who were elected officials and used the powers provided by public office, like the governor of Sulu and the mayor of Jolo; members of the military; and the Sulu Cultural-Historical Society, Inc., a group whose members were prominent citizens in the community and may also come from the previously mentioned groups.

3. The reasons for engaging in various activities were similar because these were linked to local traditions and customs.

   Existing links to the past constituted some of the most basic points of agreement for the community. On the other hand, there were links
to the past that no longer existed but were desired by some of the sponsors.

4. Projects were directed at the public at large who were in Jolo and outside of it.

A consciousness of the conflict between Muslim and non-Muslims was evidently behind many of the activities. The case of the "Cultural Revival" sponsored by the provincial government made the issue of legitimacy a major motive for high impact projects with short-term effects.

5. Attitudes toward the past were revealed.

A body of traditional beliefs was used as a foundation for the restoration activities noted. There was a unified belief in the need to preserve the past but each project was observed to have had different sponsors promoting their own interests and positions.

About the past, there were different perceptions of the conflict in the area. Conflict within Jolo consisted of the stress between various groups such as the military, the government and Muslims who continue to resist government control.

The different notions of the past and the ways in which the conflict is expressed and commemorated indicate that at the present, attempts to resolve conflicts have not been successful or that more time is needed before conditions will show the effects of current programs.

6. The implementation of programs does not occur in any coordinated way with lasting effects.

A completely administerable or manageable program is not expected, based on the range of alternative ways of thinking about restoration shown in the examples. The efforts observed were personalized expressions by key individuals who were acting in a ritualistic manner and expressing traditional values.

The traditional role of the panditas, for example, was important in social control. They discouraged ritual suicide by refusing to participate in the rituals essential to those who were nagsasabil.

7. The term "administration" should be used for
aspects of a large-scale endeavor that require management and coordination, and may not cover all possible activities regarded as restoration.

When "large scale projects" are referred to, the term means organized intervention that utilizes expertise external to the community for the purpose of creating new possibilities. The planning effort that prompted the proposal of a program outlined in the first chapter is a large scale project.

It does not exclude the consideration of ongoing activities or the notion of there being certain desired ongoing processes, serving similar restoration or preservation goals, which would continue without assistance or planned development.

There are characteristics which the planned project possesses and which suit the potential of the kind of organization called for.

Administration should be required for projects that have large budgets or high planned costs. Typical activities that require administrative support are the research center or the physical restoration of landmark buildings and historic districts.

Administration should be concerned with the creation of legal and socio-political possibilities within the existing stringent system.

NOTES ON LOCAL RESTORATION EFFORTS

1 Refer to Chapter Two of this thesis for the account of the February 7, 1974 incident. Two versions of what happened were found in documentation by the government.

One was in the Report on the Reconstruction and Development of Mindanao (Manila: The Presidential Task Force and the Inter-Agency Task Force for the Reconstruction and Development of Mindanao, 1976) pp.53-54 which included a transcript of the report of Mayor Aminkadra Abubakar to President Marcos (pp.135-139).

The other was the Jolo Municipal Development Staff, 1977 Socio-Economic Profile of Jolo (Jolo, Sulu: Municipality of Jolo) pp.8-10. Both accounts differ from what was heard from informants about the event, but there is no way to known what really happened.

From the point of view of the townspeople interviewed, the military caused much of the destruction in trying to combat the rebels. Some of the rebels were friends or relatives of people interviewed. There was much sympathy felt for the rebel's cause within Jolo. The same was not true in other parts of the country.

2 Thomas M. Kiefer (1972: 132-134)

3 Peter G. Gowing (1979:102) and the photograph was among the unpag ed and unnumbered figures at the end of the book.

4 Cesar Adib Majul (1973: 59)

5 Ibid., pp.61-62
An example of this was seen in Gowing (1974:18) which also quoted Majul extensively on the Islamization of Sulu and the Moro Wars.

This is a direction that needs to be emphasized due to the lack of new or recent research on Sulu cultures, and particularly on the Samal and Badjaw. Having observed that Tausug culture has undergone much change that was not described in earlier studies, one can presume that the two other Muslim Filipino cultures in Sulu may have also experienced transformations. A factor worthwhile to study is the effect of current social and political mobility which Samals may have had access to in the town via education.

Majul (1973) from the unpaged and unnumbered figures with caption.

From the text of the invitation/brochure issued in 1980 by the three sponsors, the Sulu Cultural-Historical Society, Inc., the Sulu Provincial Government and the Philippine Army 3rd Brigade, 1st Infantry (Tabak) Division.

The curator of the Sulu Historical Museum and Library was a member of the Sulu Cultural-Historical Society, Inc. The interview took place on August 20, 1982 at her home. Two other informants who lived in Jolo and worked at the Notre Dame of Jolo College asked that they remain anonymous.

This explanation for the situation was given to me by the two informants. The stories seem plausible based on Kiefer (1979: 72-73) in which violence and revenge in Tausug society were characteristics that made the cultural system operate in the way it did. Interviews with military personnel who had been stationed in Jolo were also considered.

From an interview with Oswalda Cabel, August 19, 1982.

Quoted from the unpaged text of the invitation to "Sulus: A Cultural Revival" (Jolo, Sulu: Sulu Provincial Government, 1982) which was held from July 27-29, 1982.

Gowing (1979: 56)

Ibid., and indicated by Sixto Y. Orosa (1923: 93-104) in a feature of the "representative people of Jolo. The text was accompanied by photographs.

Ibid., p.56

Gowing (1979: 55-56) described the decline of the sultanate as starting from the legislation promulgated under the American administration of Jolo. Majul (1973) goes back even further by tracing the rising and waning fortunes of the Sulu sultans through the Moro Wars.

Quoted from the text of the invitation to the event "Sulu: A Cultural Revival"(Jolo, Sulu: The Sulu Provincial Government, 1982).
II. LESSONS FROM HOUSING PROCESSES

A review of the processes which implement other types of development in Jolo would yield more information on the society and its mechanisms. There is further insight to be gained from viewing the shared socio-economic and political context from a different perspective, and extracting lessons about institutions and the society.

The analysis of other continuous processes could offer a firmer basis for making judgements to refine the program being proposed. One type of development process that had far reaching impacts on the town was housing. The two examples studied in this section were selected because they were comparable with the notion of a program that could occur with major intervention, without it and inspite of it.

Housing for people in upper and middle level income groups offer the widest range of alternatives for users because of larger household and a greater ability to pay. Imposing a second constraint on the examples, the system of supplying housing for this income group has not changed radically and the purpose for tracing an analogy between housing and preservation is to extract ideas about introducing changes and reforms. For this reason, low cost housing was focused on because of two different ways of conceiving the planner's role and predicting the outcome of a planning effort.

For people belonging to the lower level income groups there are several alternatives:

1. **Housing privately built on government land in the slum areas of Jolo**, these are shanties built on marshland or solid ground. The residents are always threatened by eviction.

2. **Housing privately built on piles in foreshore areas of Jolo**, The residents are seldom evicted. In the past, land reclamation for port expansion were the only reasons for displacing residents.

3. **Housing built by the Kasanyangan Cooperative on land bought by the Vicariate of Jolo** which is sold as packages to qualified members of affiliated credit unions. Services people with low to moderate levels of income.

Many of the residents found in these three areas may be difficult to classify with regard to their ethno-linguistic origins. The patterns observed from these cases assisted in making ethnicity an issue for Jolo.
A. Dwellings Over The Water

On our approach to the town, we found that a great portion of it was built over the water on piles, and only connected with the shore by narrow bridges of bamboo. The style of building in Sooloo does not differ materially from that of the Malays.

Wilkes, 1842

The earliest accounts of the physical images associated with Jolo described settlements that were destroyed and rebuilt consistently with houses built over tidal land. (fig.88-89) In 1977, a survey noted that of the 1,660 hectares that comprise the land area of the municipality of Jolo only 596 hectares or 35.9% was on dry land. The remaining 1,064 hectares or 63.1% was water. The survey also observed that 81.47 hectares of offshore land was used for housing.

Traditionally, the Sultan of Sulu was considered the owner of even the foreshore lands of Sulu. Through a treaty with the American colonial authorities in 1915, the coasts of the islands in the archipelago became public domain.

Busbus is an example of traditional town form before the Walled City was built. Passage becomes more difficult the farther one moves away from the...
91-93
Entrances into Busbus, Jolo from the main road and facing toward the sea. (1982)
shoreline. Bamboo paths connect houses to each other and to the street. Each house seems to have a mooring point for small boats. At the end of any passageway, one arrives at a flat platform used for drying fish or as the entrance to a Sulu house.

The shallow water areas covered by houses built over the water in Busbus and the Chinese pier area do not belong to area residents. For the most part the people of Sulu, meaning the Tausug, Samal and Badjaw build without official approval because these areas have been in the public domain since 1915 when the Sultan of Sulu relinquished traditional rights over the foreshore areas surrounding the islands of the archipelago.3

The land is not titled, because it is supposedly part of the public domain. In the last twenty years, new areas of Jolo have been defined due to the increase of a seaborne population that settled in Barrios Alat and Takut-Takut. (fig.90) Allowable densities are dictated by the physical constraints of the building materials used.

Customary rights to space in these areas are probably of greater influence than government regulations on their use. This has not been verified but...
should be the subject of research. Kiefer earlier identified and analyzed these rights as they occurred in Tausug customary law. 4

Official administrative procedures and management were not involved in planning and design. When a prospective housebuilder decides to construct a house in any of these areas, the process is simple. He chooses a place he wants to build on, informs his neighbors and comes to agreements with them regarding shared passages and builds (fig. 91-93).

Actual construction might be undertaken personally with one's relatives and neighbors, or with the services of a carpenter. The necessary techniques and building materials seem to be common knowledge among the Tausug. For non-Muslims, that information seems specialized, meaning unique enough to enough to the Tausug, to have been untapped.

When the National Housing Authority built its housing project in the Chinese Pier area, commonly known methods of construction were not used and were claimed to have resulted in the rotting of the wooden piles. (fig. 94) Another interesting aspect of the project design was in its layout being based on late 19th century lithographs of Jolo. 5 Straight paths ex-
tended from the main roads and houses radiated from them. Local residents complained that the layout was inconsistent with the pattern that is currently prevalent in Jolo. Passageways converge in dense areas and are linked in a network over the water. (fig.95)

The general perception was that the project was conceived and designed by outsiders and was therefore far removed from knowledge about the current formal pattern and social conventions in the area.

An examination of the design showed that the patterns based upon archival sources were radically different from what existed. Further study found justification for the pervading feeling regarding the NHA house form and building process which made the "new" patterns introduced less acceptable to the community.

The short ethnology Housebuilding Among the Tausug by Jainal, Rixhon and Ruppert identified many practices related to site selection, house placement, construction methods and local ceremonies. The work is an example of information that is available about the culture but is not easily used for real projects.

According to Jaime Sandangan, guide and staff with the Community Extension Service of the Notre
Width of the house

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post in Corner</th>
<th>Middle Post</th>
<th>Post in Corner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha g ha dugu</td>
<td>ha g ha girung</td>
<td>ha g ha dugu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agaba (abaga)</td>
<td>liug, neck.</td>
<td>Agaba (abaga),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left shoulder</td>
<td></td>
<td>Right shoulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha g ha girung</td>
<td>Pipul, central post</td>
<td>Ha g ha girung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gusuk, (left) rib</td>
<td>Pusud, navel</td>
<td>Gusuk, (right) rib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha g ha dugu, post in corner</td>
<td>Ha g ha girung, middle post</td>
<td>Ha g ha dugu, post in corner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigs', (left) hip</td>
<td>Hiua', groin or crotch</td>
<td>Pigs', (right) hip</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

House post placement
(Jainal, Rixhon, Ruppert: 1973, p.100)

The costs of construction for the NHA units were higher per unit than any other housing project in Jolo. This included the cooperative projects, and other low-cost housing, and was based on a per unit comparison with units of similar size. All the units were occupied and considered affordable because of loans and subsidies offered to the residents. Not as many people were accommodated as had been initially planned.

Most potential residents found the government project more expensive to live in because of the higher costs of construction involved. The older structures did not have to follow higher standards, could be built gradually using materials bought when the owners could afford them, and were closer to the immediate relatives and kinship group.
Jainal, Rixhon and Ruppert (1971) and Stone (1974) pointed out that the Badjaw or Samal people never settle in Jolo. During the brief survey of the Busbus and Chinese Pier areas, there were houses identified as typical for those built by families belonging to these groups. The houses conformed to the pattern found in the Tausug houses, but were different in their more inferior materials.

A mix of palm materials for walls and woven palm leaf roofing made the house possible to assemble or remove in a matter of hours. This structural characteristic was explained as necessary because residents of these groups had less right to settle in the areas than the Tausug. In the event of arguments with a Tausug, the Badjaw find it easiest to sail away, rather than face the prospect of reprisal from a larger number of people in the Tausug kinship group.

Within the traditional housing pattern, definite territorial and kinship loyalties were developed. The introduction of NHA housing made it possible to accommodate new settlers in need of shelter, but did not cause any changes in the preferences of people already settled. The upgrading of a house generally accomplished not by relocation but by upgrading.
B. Kasanyangan Housing Cooperative

The problem of adequate housing for the people needed an urgent solution. As many of the families affected were credit union members, they turned to their credit union for help. Individually, they realized they would never be able to secure houses for themselves. The leaders of the viable credit unions in Jolo responded to the need of the members. They banded together, planned and organized what is now the Kasanyangan Service Cooperative, Inc.12

The Kasanyangan Cooperative Housing Project was built through the efforts of union members and through the aid given by the Vicariate Apostolic of Jolo, the Redevelopment Bank of the Philippines, and Caritas, Germany. (fig.97)

The plan was to build a cooperative community. The physical design provided 650 housing units, each built on a 240 square meter lot. The houses had 42 square meter areas, and individual utilities. (fig.98) Infrastructure and community facilities were going to be provided. Among the community facilities constructed were a health clinic, multipurpose halls, mosque, cooperative offices, small shopping areas, parks and recreational facilities.

Kasanyangan Village was inaugurated and blessed on March 6, 1976. Since then, two other projects have
been planned, designed and constructed along the same lines.\textsuperscript{13}

From a map based on a 1977 aerial photograph,\textsuperscript{14} the regular pattern of the Kasanyangan subdivision layout shows both the first project and a second phase. The physical design may deserve some criticism but the focus of this discussion will be the way the project was implemented.

A 28 hectare property at Anuling, in the Municipality of Jolo, had been purchased by Bishop Philip Smith, OMI, of the Vicariate Apostolic of Jolo for the purpose of developing a low income housing project. It was agreed that Kasanyangan would purchase the land over a reasonable period of time. The Bishop allowed the cooperative to use the land for collateral to secure a loan for construction from the Redevelopment Bank of the Philippines (DBP). A further pledge to assist in the development of the community's public utilities was made.

Two loans were granted by the DBP. The first was for 700,000 pesos and the second for 1.8 million pesos. A soft loan of 463,474 pesos came from Bishop Smith for additional housing units. Through the Vicariate and the bishop's help Caritas, Germany made
a grant of 1.093 million pesos to offset a 58% rise in construction costs over the projected three year construction period. In this time, the cost per unit went up from 7,000 pesos to 12,000 pesos. The cost to homebuyers was minimally increased through the design of the program.

The prospective residents manufactured housing materials by themselves. They used raw materials which were procured in bulk. Equipment and tools were secured with the help of the Asia Fund for Human Development and American donors. A deep well was provided with assistance from the Bureau of Public Highways, while street lights were installed by the Sulu Electric Cooperative.

Assistance also came from Bishop Gerald Mongeau, OMI of Cotobato and the 52nd Engineering Battalion in Jolo. Following the destruction of large low-income residential areas in 1974, hundreds were employed in site development by the "Food for Work" program of CRS and the Emergency Rehabilitation Funds of the government.

In 1982, six years after the housing project's first phase was inaugurated, management assistance was being offered to the cooperative by the Community Extension Services of the Notre Dame of College. The linkage between the two projects can be partially traced back to the previous, and now current, affiliations of the staff.

For example, Ms. Leonor Luna was a founding member and the president of the cooperative. She also worked with the Community Extension Service and had been behind many survey projects in the town. Needless to say, she was well known in Jolo for civic and community improvement projects. The overlap of commitments seemed helpful in administering projects that were related but had different sources of funding.

Most residents in the low and moderate income levels were civil servants and public schoolteachers. All had steady incomes and were not considered poor. The residents of cooperative housing projects tended to be people who had no other housing alternative open to them.

Supporting data was not presented, but it was claimed that there had been no defaults on loans. The terms of the cooperative agreement were thought to be very reasonable. Applications for units continued to be filed after all units were awarded by lottery.
C. SUMMARY

These observations summarize what was learned about institutions and relationships within the town. The comments pertain more to the implementation of an alternative means of preservation and restoration.

1. **Traditional or customary socio-political relationships are difficult to modify.**

   The potential of encountering conflict and resistance to a project may be greater when implementation does not accommodate the prevailing social and political hierarchies that exist in relationships between groups and within groups. While much is known about the Tausug, not much is known about the other groups.

2. **People organizing projects must come from within the community.**

   If a team or new group is formed for the purpose of administering or managing a project, some of its members need to be known within the town. At the same time, it is also difficult to empower a group or organization from outside
without consulting people from Jolo. The mandates necessary for successful implementation are given by leaders who have the wider support and loyalties of the local residents through territorial, kinship and other affiliations.

3. Planners would benefit from learning about the older and less commonly known ways of preserving and restoring.

    Changes to be introduced would have initial support, and maybe long term support, if grounded in early studies about local customs and rituals.

4. A process that is fair and not perceived as easy to manipulate would have great support.

    An effort must be made to prevent a sense of injustice within the program and its implications after implementation begins.

5. Participation by many can be expected when the need or problem is expressed in basic or elementary terms.

    Restoration that deals only with objects in the public domain will not have as much support as a program that seeks the restoration of a historical sense. Operative uses of the term within specific projects may actually be that of the first, but in the second use of the word "restoration", the notions of immediate need and broader goals are conveyed.
NOTES ON LESSONS FROM HOUSING PROCESSES

1 From Charles Wilkes in Travel Accounts of the Islands 1832-1858 (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1974) p.79.

2 Jolo Municipal Development Staff (1977: 10)

3 Saleeb (1908: 144-145) The building of dwellings on the foreshore was overlooked by American administration in Jolo in the 1903 census even if the greater density of structures in these areas hinted that most of the town's population would not be counted if this was done. Only the recent 1977 survey of the town officially considered these areas as within the town's boundaries.

4 Kiefer (1972: 19-20) identified these as first, the basic "right of usufruct" which is inherited from either parent but usually the father.

Secondly, the titular rights of ultimate ownership possessed by the social and political elite such as the traditional "ownership" of all the land by the sultan. In the present, however, the titular owner is the person whose name is on the title in the government land office.

Third, there is the right of tenancy which guarantees security in a landlord-tenant relationship. The tenant is expected to give political and military loyalty to the landlord. Conflicts over land tend to be resolved in an ad hoc manner.

5 See figure 20 on page 66 in Chapter Two for Baltazar Giraudier's view of Jolo from the bay in 1876.


7 Site visits in August, 1982 were made in the company of Jaime Sandangan who had been involved with another housing project in Jolo through the Kasanyangan Housing Cooperative.

8 Ibid., An estimate of the cost of constructing the National Housing Authority project over the water was higher than that of comparable projects in Jolo. Large government loans assisted lessees and tended to attract people who were new to the town. Based on a survey by the Community Extension Service of the Notre Dame of Jolo College, most of the residents of Busbus had lived there for more than five years and some for at least two generations.

9 During the 1982 visit, I observed that there were residential structures identified as belonging to a Badjau or Samal household. The forms and materials matched the photographs at CISCUL. The houses are usually located at the edge of the barrio that is farthest away from the shore.

10 From a discussion with Jaime Sandangan on August 19, 1982. Possible explanations for locating houses at the edge were physical and social. The already high densities of single-level buildings made it necessary for new comers to build farther out. Also, the residents tended to live near or beside their relatives in Busbus and therefore having an outsider, who could be Samal or Badjau at that, would not be an acceptable situation.

11 Jainal, Rixhon and Ruppert (1973: 90)

12 From the Kasanyangan Housing Cooperative brochure.

13 These projects were the Kasulutan Housing Project and the Kasalamatan Housing Project. (See Appendix C) Funds for the construction of the projects were donated as relief assistance after 1974. These funds were then administered by the Vicariate Apostolic of Jolo.

14 Op. cit., the numbers were read from the brochure by Leonor Luna during an August 20, 1982 interview. The same brochure was given to me.
III. RANGE OF RESTORATION ALTERNATIVES

There are lists of activities, major actors in different roles and clear themes that have been covered in the four examples. They are outlined here as a summary to the preceding discussion.

The ideas introduced by this type of development or planned activity had to acknowledge the value of local means to record, recall and transmit knowledge about the past. Preservation planning was seen as operating in conjunction with rituals and not in opposition to them.

When "restoration" and "preservation" were used in the examples of ongoing implementation processes, the words began to refer to the maintenance and protection of a memory or a set of memories. There was a deliberate attempt to cover those activities that may not conventionally be regarded as acts of preservation or restoration.

The approach moved in the direction of understanding the society in terms of its commemorative rituals and its monuments. The examples for rituals that reflected or embodied restoration attitudes seemed to possess vitality in the present and were noted as processes that would probably take place without intervention.

I. ACTIVITIES

A. RITUALS CONTINUANCE

The basic idea behind the support of rituals is the sharing of more current or recent information on the relationship between traditions of the culture and present values. Written histories and records by authors who are Muslim or non-Muslim should be made accessible for research in Jolo. In this way, people from the town will not have to go to the Metro Manila area for them to study Jolo culture. It will become possible for interested local residents to have access to historical sources.

The libraries of educational institutions like the Notre Dame of Jolo College or the collections of the new research center within the town could grant non-students or non-affiliates permission to use their materials.

There are different activities that would support ongoing rituals. In further discussions for this project the following strategies might be considered:
1. Oral records and oral histories- Efforts to record the oral sources for history and the oral accounts of living witnesses to historic events would preserve what is known about recent developments within the society.

2. Preservation of traditional crafts- Efforts to encourage processes such as housing, mat and fabric weaving, and carving should attempt to make these activities economically viable and legal.

3. Rituals associated with religious ceremonies- Scholars have noted that more conservative Islamic practices and beliefs are popular. In earlier years, one could observe the mingling of pre-Islamic traditions which are now being discouraged.

4. Education- The concern for education focuses on two areas. First, training in traditional crafts might be undertaken by schools to promote an awareness of the folkarts. Secondly, historical data might be made public through the increased access to collections and the development of Muslim history books to incorporate new formulations about the past.

5. Documentation- The Sulu cultures are in a period of cultural change. The studies on the Sulu cultures could be updated to observe what the society is going through.

2. Maintenance Of Monuments

1. Sacred tombs and cemeteries have been protected by relatives and heirs of the traditional sultanate. Some of the examples studied were the tombs of Tuhan Maqbalu, the earliest verified Muslim tomb; the tomb of Rajah Baguinda, the father-in-law of the first sultan of Sulu; and the tomb of Syed Abu Bakr, first sultan of Sulu known as Sultan Sharif ul-Haashim. It is known that there are other sacred tombs in Sulu and in the nearby province of Tawi-Tawi.

2. Signs and plaques were literary monuments that the Sulu Cultural-Historical Society, Inc. crea-
ted to identify the significance of physical artifacts which were in advanced stages of deterioration. An example mentioned was the sign at the ruins of the Spanish wall surrounding the core of the town.

3. Neighborhoods that bear architectural similarities to descriptions of Jolo during its years as a pre-Hispanic settlement are not in immediate danger. It is possible to project into the future, based on planning precedents for the town, that these areas may need special designation as historic districts. An increase in development pressure in the town would cause these areas to be displaced or to lose their distinctive qualities.

The imposition of stringent requirements for building maintenance, new construction and reconstruction may be necessary. At the same time, such a move requires that areas for new growth should be outlined and facilitated by directing public investment toward these areas. The consideration of historic areas in Jolo implies that there will be a need for a larger physical planning effort in the future.

4. Statuary or statues have been maintained by the municipality through cosmetic methods. The repair of statues and other free-standing monuments has not been undertaken, as in the case of the Rizal monument in Plaza Rizal.

Budgetary considerations have made it unlikely that statues will be replaced because of a perception of inappropriate meaning. It is possible that future philanthropic gestures may seek the substitution of certain monuments for other symbols but a public consensus for the move would be necessary to discourage vandalism.

5. Documentation- All the preservation and restoration efforts should be recorded to keep track of changes to the artifacts. The procedures undertaken to implement a project might also benefit future efforts.

The process of approving the allocation of municipal funds for preservation or restoration would be problematic if subjected to a public vote, despite an
indication that a consensus about local sentiments is desirable. One possible alternative that would increase participation and representation would be to have a fixed percentage of the municipal budget that is targeted for public works and restoration.

The maintenance procedure could then be subject to comment by the community. A report for controversial projects could be required to record the evaluations of projects based upon the community response.

The first problem encountered with this suggestion, however, is that under-represented groups might continue to play passive roles. There is no security in making the recommendation without presuming there will be future developments in the society that will make this less the case. Future representation might improve when different individuals improve in their consciousness of history. The process is cyclical and may take one or more generations to develop.

3. Creation Of New Monuments

The main source of new monuments of art and architecture are individuals. The past has been commemorated through the work of local artists like Abdul Hari Imao and through the adaptation of architectural elements from foreign countries.

B. Major Actors

The sponsors of a variety of local restoration efforts were identified in the examples discussed. These major actors may be further studied for better predictions of their potential interests in pursuing projects separately, or in a coordinated way.

1. Educational institutions and public schools like the Notre Dame of Jolo College, and the Muslim schools.

2. Local public offices like those of the Governor of Sulu Province and the Mayor of Jolo.

3. Government agencies that can tap political and financial resources outside the province. The Ministry of Muslim Affairs and the Southern Philippines Development Authority are included with the Armed Forces of the Philippines.
4. Prominent citizens who may be members of an organization like the Sulu Cultural-Historical Society, Inc. or who may be the heads of kinship or religious groups with authority based upon traditional loyalties.

5. Interest groups within the town such as the Tableegh, a socio-religious organization of young Muslim intellectuals.

C. THEMES AND PROSPECTS

A. Preservation and restoration need not be thought of only as organized activities involving large amounts of capital and extensive management.

B. Due to the direction being taken in Muslim studies in the Philippines, a sense of the significance of Muslim history in the autonomous regions and in the country has developed.

C. There is a risk that artifacts that have lost their value to the society may be over-protected by a preservation program.

D. A criticism that may be levied against the prevailing historicist notions is that they could encourage an unquestioning attitude toward the past, and there is a danger that the fact of tension between tradition values and modern ones will be ignored to the detriment of the society.

E. Having recognized the different sources for restoration initiatives, it must be accepted that the initiatives or efforts to support a sense of history may be isolated yet operating at the same time.

F. Sponsors can or will be able to support some, but not all of the possible restoration and preservation actions.

G. Individuals should be allowed to respond to planning decisions. Irregardless of the scale and intentions of project sponsors, the chances of failure and conflict are greater when differences of sentiment are not known beforehand.

H. Planners need to acknowledge their inability to
control the outcomes of all plans. An example of a problem encountered in making plans, not really discussed in this study, is the difficulty of understanding the tacit agreements affecting implementation that already exist between major actors.

I. The style of project design that strives for complete coordination is inappropriate at the level of activity which this program discusses. Such comprehensive measures to control would be more suitable for specific large scale projects.
CHAPTER 4 - PLANNING PROCESS

I. REFLECTIONS ON THE PROGRAM

A. Discussion Of The General Process

The steps taken in the first portion of the thesis set the problem of planning a historical restoration program as dominated by two constraints, and from the preliminary understanding of the context derived a hypothetical strategy for the "best" way to proceed. The two constraints investigated were the difficulties involved in understanding historical consciousness within the society being planned for and in understanding group identities within the culturally plural context.

A program was proposed after a brief analysis of the town. It listed projected impacts in a cursory manner. The program was then followed by a closer look at the physical development of the town and an analysis of a set of objects which served commemorative purposes and their sponsors. In this way, the main planning issues were clarified and used to frame a more coherent, and hopefully, a more correct image of the physical and institutional system. The issues covered were:

1. Identification of intentional monuments, their character and what was known about the conditions during their creation in Jolo.

2. Establish the criteria, goals and objectives for creating and maintaining the existing intentional monuments from references and interviews.

3. Identify the sponsors or creators of monuments, interpretations of their intentions and roles in the restoration process.

4. List positive and negative characteristics of ongoing implementation processes and the resources found within the community.

5. Propose a refined program and identify areas where changes in policy would benefit planning efforts.

A major problem encountered in the course of the analysis arose from the content of references used. After covering most, if not all, of the written literature and interviewing a number of people from
Jolo, there was still a feeling of not knowing enough to proceed. Studies of Jolo, its cultures and its residents could not offer an analysis of cultural or ethnolinguistic groups which did not presume the continuance of Tausug dominance.

In a cyclical way, the underlying problem of knowing enough to have a basis for making judgements and deciding on how to proceed was returned to. The general strategy was not proven to be the "best" and therefore, only way to proceed. It was found capable of improving one's understanding of an unfamiliar and complex situation.

The definition of a program and process that could build upon existing documentation and permit rational or rationalized decisions would have a positive long term effect. The iterative framework left behind has the potential of being changed to reform an undesired condition and remain open to achieving higher goals. In this instance, planning for Jolo was concerned with knowing more about groups that were under-represented and individuals who were confined to conventional roles in the society.

In sympathy with the perspectives of the minorities in Jolo, Sulu and, in a broader sense, the country, future development of historical consciousness is intended to lead to a condition wherein commitment to representing more people is encouraged.

B. Discussion Of The Program Components

The program in Chapter One was prepared with the idea that it would be revised after new information from subsequent analyses was collected. A list of the changes and revisions for each area would make the learning process that occurred in the later chapters explicit and would offer clarity about some reasons for the program's idiosyncrasies.

I. DEFINITIONS

The words and terms used to outline concepts for the program provided an impressionistic overview of the underlying concerns of the author. The definitions should be made more specific and stated in terms of the Sulu cultures and non-Muslim cultures of the area.

It is possible that being over-specific would decrease the potential of acceptance outside of Jolo
and Sulu by implying that the program intends to maintain differences that have contributed to the prolonged situation of conflict. It does not. There is also no intention of supporting a historicist view that will not encourage questioning the presentation of historical "facts" by authorities.

In the light of these ideas, the definition that was given for the word valorization should mention how organized involvement is limited to restoration and preservation processes that are currently not rituals. When this is done, those acts which are isolated from planning might be acknowledged and those acts which are introduced to help resolve problems might be considered more categorical.

II. OBJECTIVES

The perspectives of historians may be acknowledged in the objectives so that the source of proscribed directions for the future will be clear. Explicit statements about the prospects for the future should be phrased in a manner that permits the reader to sense he has a choice about the direction. The selection will not be easy. The impacts of choices will probably not be felt for a long time.

The focus of the objectives is the framing of concerns. It is expected that the program's concerns will remain latent in the document or not, depending upon what the reader is already aware of. To the extent that influencing awareness of various roles is important to implementation and encouraging meaningful rituals, the articulate expression of positive values would be a contribution to provoking thought at any level of historical consciousness.

III. CRITERIA AND GOALS

The meaning of the term official acknowledgement should be qualified as a reference to larger scale projects which require organized management. It might be better to substitute the term official intervention or development instead. The use of a similar sense of these words may indicate that the term criteria for official intervention is an even better substitute.

The proscriptive allusion to possible implementation features like a documentation center belongs in another section. The section Implementation
Guidelines is the only alternative and barely describes the necessary research and documentation component. Both the administrative instrument and the research / documentation component would then be put in a clearer parallel, just as they are to operate.

IV. PHYSICAL GUIDELINES

Alternative images and devices could be introduced in the language of these guidelines so that the reader is made aware of implications on future development and growth. While preservation and restoration may result in protecting specific objects, sites and districts, development would provide needed stimulation of the Jolo and Sulu economy.

The section that refers to this is item 10. Disturbance or damage to monuments and historic sites is a valid reason for concern. Mentioning the possibility of a positive development outcome would make the guidelines sound more realistic.

Elsewhere in the country, development has been sensitive to preservation issues and economically viable. These were cases where there was no community action involved. Developers worked in neighborhoods that were familiar to them and therefore had certain convictions about protecting "essential" elements.

V. IMPLEMENTATION GUIDELINES

Based on what was learned about ongoing preservation efforts and other implementation processes in Jolo, two new ideas could be added as items. First, there is a difference between the implementation of the program and the implementation of a project that needs to be made clear. The program is a broad, open statement about the use of restoration and preservation as means to improve people's consciousness of history. A project is more specific and some options for efforts by various sponsors are noted in the program document.

The second idea to be introduced in the implementation guidelines is that traditional roles and relationships within Jolo and Sulu society need to be recognized as influential in project design. The support of the objectives of the program and an appreciation of fairness or thoughtfulness is usually interpreted for groups by their leaders or heads. The town has a system or network of loyalties which ope-
rates through classes, ethnic boundaries, kinship and possibly some combination of all three. Even if the Tausug have been the most studied, the other Muslim and non-Muslim groups deserve further study.

Organizations which are from outside Jolo and who may assist in projects still need to be identified in the text. They have access to financial resources and the authority needed to allocate funds which large scale projects in Jolo will need. These groups are: the Southern Philippines Development Authority (SPDA); the National Housing Authority (NHA); Ministry of Muslim Affairs (MMA).

If there is going to be a museum, there should be a need felt for it within the community, particularly from individuals and groups that own or may secure artifacts for the collection. The parameters for such an institution may be more explicitly stated as an addition to this document or in a new document.

Since the problems of the precedents for the museum are not yet clear to the groups and individuals who sponsored the effort, little is said about this institution in the program proposed. The lack of clarity for this case is deliberate. Future efforts to create a museum would be otherwise subjected to a repetition of the mistakes of previous failures.

VI. PROJECTED IMPACTS

The section on impacts was divided into two topics to accommodate a range of impact areas which could not be analyzed thoroughly without more data. Even without all the information necessary for a real analysis, the concept of evaluating the environmental impacts was needed to enlarge the scope of planning concerns beyond single projects.

It was found that the sections INSTITUTIONAL IMPACTS and PHYSICAL IMPACTS might be divided into sub-areas. This was partially done when smaller section headings were introduced for "Representation in Implementation", "Development Controls" and "National Perspective".

A. INSTITUTIONAL IMPACTS

1. There is a lack of comment on traditions that are still important to the society. The examples
found in the local restoration efforts were:

a. the care of graves and sacred tombs

b. the claims made by relatives of sultans or missionaries that were based on local tradition as contained the tarsilas

c. the comparison between the ritual suicide of rebel soldiers who belong to the (MNLF) and the rituals of the juramentados.

2. A note on the levels of intervention implied in the program is needed. The guidelines on implementation might include rules for interaction between major sponsors and local residents who are outside of project research and design processes.

3. There is a need to describe the procedure for monitoring conformance if there are to be regulations and controls.

4. There is a need to articulate how the program can be changed and what directions are implied by key interests and positions. Stricter controls and mediation from within the society give the program a better sense of current interest rules and regulation,

B. PHYSICAL IMPACTS

1. The development of economic pressure on the intentional monuments and designated districts should be acknowledged by making a statement about the need for further studies on financing and real estate. The author of the program does not have to be unbiased.

2. The guidelines should present urban design questions more directly. Some of these are:
   a. where to direct future growth?
   b. how to identify and use indices of growth?
   c. how to accommodate an increase in traffic volume and the use of more vehicles?
   d. what are appropriate zoning and building regulations?
   e. if greater control is desired, how to limit the sizes of land parcels in historic districts and the town core to control the scale of development projects?
3. The guidelines could present formal or physical options which are based on observations about Jolo's settlement pattern. Directions for new growth and the phases of future development over time could also be presented as a planning concept.

4. Concerns and discussions could be focused by drawing affected areas on a map. The visual presentation of formal projects would also prompt residents to accept that the planning process is real and has consequences.

5. Districts and areas should be identified in physical terms and using graphic methods. Concepts are not easy to understand without visual images.

C. Synthesis

The proposed program is an initial step in a process that should undergo continuous modification to suit the changing conditions in the town of Jolo. Its design is based on limited knowledge and expectations for unpredictability and error. No matter how much data may be used to understand the problems of the proposal, the result is a product of many personal judgements. In a real situation, the ideas should be tested through presentation to many people in the town. In this way, a more accurate assessment of the impacts of the various proposals would be possible.

In the first chapter, the proposed program incorporated a new formulation for what is valuable to preserve with the view that cultural processes, or rituals are as valuable as the artifacts produced. Something valuable is lost forever without records. It thus critical that the effort to preserve the culture must also attempt to document processes because they are the most susceptible to change.

Documentation is a priority in the proposal and must be the responsibility of an organization because
the task requires specialized knowledge and continuity. The interest in recording actions is two-fold. First, when objects and processes cease to exist the record marks a stage in the overall evolution of the culture and becomes a monument in itself. Secondly, there are areas of study which could clarify what is currently known about the culture and the place. Oral traditions, historiography, architecture and archeology are only some of the areas where there is a need for further study.

For the implementation of a program with a wider range of views expressed, the problem is not so much the structuring of a new institution, as it is one of judging the capacity of traditional or existing ones and developing opportunities that would encourage participation.

The committee originally presented in the proposal was designed with the idea that representation should be general, open to anyone and fair. Analysis has indicated that social opportunities for transcending the barriers between the hierarchy of the Muslim groups in Jolo exist in the parochial and public school system.

With much time between the present state of affairs and the future, education is not to be considered an important force in increasing participation. The recourse for the present is to admit that "openness" and "fairness" are valued and a structure that would permit increased representation could exist like a tool. In the future when groups and individuals are able to understand how to use the tool, it will be in their reach.

The realities understood in the context of Jolo showed that aside from the traditional hierarchy of the sultanate and the datu, newer social and political hierarchies had developed. The Tausug culture has a tendency to assimilate other cultures, as seen demonstrated by the prevalent use of the Tausug language by Chinese and Filipinos in Jolo.

A search for institutions in the society began to test the points at which changes and reforms are naturally facilitated. Other scholars had already noted that intermarriage and education were critical to future transformation within Jolo.

Other institutions represented by elected political leaders gained respect, as did individuals involved in civic activities. These were some of the observations made:
1. There is a group already organized for preservation and restoration efforts, which also has close ties with officials in the governments of Jolo and Sulu Province. The group would have a natural dominance over other groups in the same committee.

2. The community of Tausug, Samal, Badjaw, Chinese and Christians has had little or no previous experience in functioning as a large cohesive unit. It undertakes preservation in various ways for different reasons, as rituals and living processes as well as for the sake of creating intentional monuments alone.

3. Although the co-existence of different cultures within Jolo is possible because ethnic differences are already well-defined and commonly accepted, perceptions of the past come from within the groups and it is difficult to find agreement on what is important to preserve.

4. Organized actions always take place without accommodating members of the community who have long been considered as peripheral and not important. These people tend to have other means of engaging in their versions of organized activities which suit their own purposes.

The sentiments of those not previously involved in planning efforts seem to have been contrary to those anticipated by planners, public officials and historians. Ethnographies have tended to be more reliable in assessing groups' sentiments in general.

5. In a single organization, conflict between what a majority action seeks to preserve and what the community action seeks to preserve may result in two discouraging possibilities.

First, the actions of a majority could be ineffectual if it forces the minority to conform in undesired ways or in ways the minority cannot accept. Secondly, the undertaking of small scale actions in the community could be discouraged.

Instead of superimposing a new committee over existing institutions in the town, a second strategy considered would be to create a situation where both
can occur and complement each other. A common base of information through the research and documentation center could be used as a shared resource. Both the new group and the community could continue in an uncoordinated manner as in the present, but a better awareness of history and the general acceptance of concurrent efforts is needed. The proscriptive view seen in recent work by historians may eventually move in this direction.

If implemented as a set of ideas, the guidelines would fall into the hands of the private group because it has publicly recognized authority, and some monitoring ability. It will be necessary for the guidelines to change when conflict between the private group and the community develops. Such changes may signify a stage in the evolution of the cultures of Jolo. With an ongoing documentation process, the changes to the program need not be problematic.

The program can be used in a piecemeal way. Any combination of the items in the physical and implementation guidelines could be taken to create other programs. Anyone's acceptance of the ideals contained in the program could constitute an act of adoption.

The rate of development within Jolo affects how relevant the proposal is at any time. Controls need to be calibrated according to indications of a need to manage physical growth. Further research on indices for change and local development would be of great value because creating controls where these are not yet needed would discourage investment and economic activity. On the other hand, not imposing controls after major development plans have been put in effect could result in the loss of irreplaceable monuments and sites.
II. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Historical restoration and architectural preservation should be seen as activities that occur at different scales of involvement and which may not have to be planned or coordinated.

These activities range from the simple observance of rituals to the organized planning and execution of certain projects requiring large amounts of capital and labor. The examples discussed in Chapter Three on implementation, and those that were briefly seen in the second part of Chapter Two as a survey of monuments and ruins indicate the extent of the range of activities and possible sponsors.

2. Organized planning efforts affecting minority cultures should explore various means to solicit more involvement from local communities and to make known the actions taken to accommodate the strong preferences heard.

A basis for believing in a fair planning effort should be developed in the future. The lack of a tradition of active participation and representation in the town may require that the proposed Committee should itself advocate in the interest of important but less represented groups.

The hierarchy and social stratification established by the sultanate may or may not continue to have a great influence in the town. The data which generated the examples studied in Chapter Three for local restoration efforts did not actually define the extent of the sultanate's present influence or the roles currently played by traditional headmen.

3. There must be a recourse for mediation and/or negotiation in the event of disputes over what should be done.

It is expected that much about the culture and society of Jolo and Sulu has not been understood or is not known. Learning from planning precedents, the conflicts between the interests of certain individuals and specific proposals, and between traditional values and desired reforms should be mitigated.

No suitable forum for open discussions seems to exist in the present. Whether or not the source of
proposals or reforms comes from inside or outside of the town, the experiences of recent still-born and aborted plans such as the contemporary RAD proposal and the Commandante scheme mentioned in Chapter Two have been linked to unresolved conflicts.

4. The investigation of other problems faced in the context of Jolo, and in other planned areas should continue. New findings should be made to reflect in changes to plans that are in the process of being implemented.

The design of a plan does not have to be thought of as rigid and fixed. Revisions should be possible when new data demonstrates that changes in the plan could improve its acceptability and the chances of successful implementation.

Within this study, refinements to the program in this chapter showed minimal changes to what was first proposed. Further criticism from others unfamiliar with the work and more in touch with the town would probably identify valid reasons for other changes. It is anticipated that the program may actually be unimplementable without revision.

5. Attempts to plan for a larger project might establish the relevance of proposals by making public note of how religious and cultural values are being preserved and sympathetically treated.

The observance of religion and local culture were both found to have been the reasons for the support given by different local residents to restoration and preservation activities. Prominent individuals were observed to have provided the leadership which generated common support for some projects and common rejection for others.

Chapter Three of this thesis explored how local, ongoing restoration efforts revealed nuances in the relationship between religion, local culture and the preservation of certain memories of the past.

6. An understanding of the history and culture of the Muslim Filipinos and that of other minority groups is important to the cultural heritage of the nation.

Two specific problems of knowledge examined in the thesis were local historical consciousness and group
identities. The review of literature on Philippine culture revealed a change in the appreciation of regional developments which stimulated interest in these problems.

There were other problems cited in the references which planning efforts might take into account. Among them are the variations in reforms needed in the legislation for other provinces in the autonomous regions. These would affect other Muslim and non-Muslim groups and would be required due to the differences in the nature of local conflicts experienced.

7. The process of deciding what is to be restored should involve the participation of many. Effective representation, meaning better access to voice a wider and disparate set of views, will encourage the development of a just process.

This planning effort was conceived of in the short-term as a framework that would help make existing institutions in Jolo more comprehensible. In the long-term, the building of newer institutions within the town is suggested to improve the relationships between various groups of people engaged in similar and coordinated activities. And this is to be without discouraging more isolated and spontaneous restoration efforts.

Implementation guidelines and objectives in this chapter and in Chapter One presented reasons for doing so more explicitly than what is found in similar planning documents.

Of course, there are subtle and significant reasons for the deliberate vagueness read in planning documents. The subject covered may be controversial or sensitive and the language used might have been thought necessary in order to secure the approval of government officials. It is almost needless to say that such an attitude would not encourage widespread knowledge about all the nuances in a plan, despite the need to develop more trust in future planned activities.

8. It is essential that a research and documentation center be supported and used in conjunction with the organized activities sponsored by the Committee or other groups in the locality.

There is an unquestionable value in bringing
scholars into the area to study the local cultures. Assistance in research and in publicizing findings would increase the accessibility of information.

By requiring that the center is to be located in the area, instead of in Manila or Zamboanga, the studies and records would have a greater influence in improving local consciousness. Another possibility is that the specific geographic center could enhance the extent to which the local cultures will be viewed from outside and considered distinct and special.

9. Programs for preservation and restoration should be developed for specific regions and cultures.

Ethnic differences are the primary means by which groups of people can be identified, and therefore, the objectives, criteria and guidelines for programs are expected to differ in each setting and from culture to culture.

The program outlined in Chapter One contains these elements in reaction to a preliminary review of the literature on Sulu cultures and a brief visit to the town. What was perceived about the town and reflected in the plan is only an initial step in the planning process. No matter how well-informed visits to the site of a planning effort might be, local perceptions of a place may be different and could pose special problems.

10. Priorities for restoration and preservation programs should be established and subjected to feedback from local residents.

The study of how appropriate various plans and programs does not begin until certain decisions can be made and the first actions are taken. All other efforts would be as academic as this thesis.

Changes done in consideration of subsequent responses to a proposal could become more relevant and closer to general sentiments. For this reason, the ability to introduce modifications to planned and ongoing projects should be maintained.

A suggestion for how to make plans more flexible was introduced in Chapter One as part of the program Implementation Guidelines. It was again mentioned in the first section of this chapter in the discussion of the program components. A list of revisions for the components was mentioned.
APPENDIX A: ANNOTATED REFERENCES

Historical and anthropological sources were used in several ways. They contained data on the physical environment at different points in time, offered a chronological organization of events, and provided perspectives which lead toward the discovery of some possibilities and constraints for preservation.

Other references have not been elaborated upon because their content was not as generic to the thesis as those discussed here. These auxiliary materials were, nevertheless, factors used when deciding upon personal preservation issues and further definition of identities relating to the interpretation of monuments. Among these were the publications by agencies such as the Southern Philippines Development Authority and the Ministry of Muslim Affairs.

HISTORY, BUILT FORM, AND THE SOCIETY

The work of the Syrian-born American historian Najeeb M. Saleeby, The History of Sulu by the Bureau of Printing (1908) was valuable because of a chapter which described Jolo in 1908 and which talked about its ancient monuments.

Cesar Adib Majul, The Muslims in the Philippines published by the University of the Philippines Press (1973) identified six stages in the Spanish wars against the Muslims from 1571 to 1896. His text offered physical images regarding the extent of the sultanate's influence from the earliest times. Travel accounts of Jolo under attack and during years of peace. Illustrations taken from an unpaged, annotated folio by Baltasar Giraudier in 1876 hinted at the quality of available lithographs and descriptions. Access to the original publication of Girauder's work Expedicion a Jolo: Bocetos del cronista del Diario de Manila published in Madrid by J.M. Mateu supported the notion that there is a need to locate and list the sources for visual materials that may be found in assorted collections.

Spanish accounts shared consistent images of Jolo and were basically brief descriptions of the geography and topography of the islands in the Sulu Archipelago. From correspondence with Majul, other Spanish sources are known to have richer and more detailed descriptions of the settlements in pre-Hispanic Jolo, but these were not found. A greater
amount of documentation about the architecture of the traditional sultanates would be contained in those sources, if found.

Work by Spanish priests and geographers had highly prejudiced attitudes towards Muslim Filipinos. Combes and Pastells (1667) and Espina (1888) featured the accounts of people such as Bramantes, Bernaldez, Escosina and others. Montero and Vidal (1886) listed trade information and statistics for Jolo after about ten years of Spanish occupation in Jolo. There was little description of the settlement in that time.

Earlier travel accounts in the Sulu and Mindanao area were collected and translated into English by the Filipiniana Book Guild in Travel Accounts of the Philippine Islands 1513-1787 (1971) and Travel Accounts of the Philippine Islands 1832-1858 (1974). A description of housing and the sultans' houses in Jolo and Mindanao by the explorer Alexander Dalrymple was contained in the second book. Its original version contained maps and illustrations that were interesting but not reproduced in the recent edition.

Jolo was described physically and culturally during the American military occupation and the early years of civil government by a Christian physician Sixto Y. Orosa in The Sulu Archipelago and its People (1923). His book is prized for its many photographs of sultans' residences, institutional buildings and streets, which were taken in the early 1920s and earlier. An understanding of the American government of the Muslim Filipinos as presented by Orosa was compared to the findings of Peter G. Gowing, Mandate in Moroland: The American Government of Muslim Filipinos 1899-1920 by the Philippine Center for Advanced Studies (1983) and Peter W. Stanley A Nation in the Making: the Philippines and the United States 1899-1921 by the Harvard University Press (1974).

Between the 1920s and the 1970s, there was a gap in the body of literature which described architecture in Jolo. Images of the town were subsequently found in the photographic collections of the Coordinated Investigatation of Sulu Culture (CISCUL) at the Notre Dame of Jolo College library. In the same library, issues of The Sulu Star had some photographs and, in review, offered enlightening sketches on the kind of social and political activities in the town. This weekly newspaper, founded by Fr. Cathbert Billwan, OMI, began publishing on February 14, 1959. It observed its twelfth anniversary in 1971, and
closed shortly thereafter. Aside from photographs, the newspaper offered insight into the life of the town during the term of its publication. News relevant to Jolo and remembered from nationally circulated papers was summarized from the local perspective. Major developments in the Muslim-Christian conflict and the Mindanao problem were revived and brought to life once more.

PLANNING FOR A PLACE WITH A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY

By the 1970s, significant areas of knowledge became accessible through anthropological studies on different Muslim groups in Sulu. Thomas M. Kiefer, The Tausug: Violence and Law in a Philippine Moslem Society, published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston (1972) analyzed the major characteristics of the Tausug cultural system using data gathered during his residence in Tubig Nangka, an inland municipality of Jolo island. The book featured photographs and illustrations, and identified basic concepts regarding group definition, identity, rights to land and perceptions of the environment.

Richard L. Stone, "Intergroup relations among the Tausug, Samal and Badjau of Sulu", in The Muslim Filipinos by the Solidaridad Publishing House (1974) and Harry A. Nimmo, The Sea People of Sulu: A Study of Social Change in the Philippines published by Chandler (1972) provided information on relations between the Sulu groups and a basis for understanding how each group viewed itself and other groups. Hints about the sources for change within the Sulu environment were found in the latter.

Even with the information found in the studies, there was much that had to be speculated about the other groups within the town. The Chinese and non-Muslim residents of Jolo have only been covered in a cursory way. In effect, missing data was accommodated by taking note of the areas where future studies will influence the understanding of hierarchies between all the groups involved.

Two factors affected how the status of Chinese and non-Muslim Filipinos in Jolo was considered. The affluence and length of residency mentioned by some of those interviewed made it possible to suspect that there were significant roles played in the shaping of Jolo society. An example of the need for studying them arose from interviews in Jolo and an interview
with a Tausug doctor who had left the town.

Prominent non-Muslim residents proudly traced their residency to as far back as three generations and referred to themselves as Tausug on the basis of speaking the language and of living in the culture for so long. There was no intermarriage or religious conversion in the cases of the people interviewed. On the other hand, military personnel who were mostly non-Muslim were not considered Tausug even if they married Tausug women. The information seemed to indicate that the basis for identifying or being identified as Tausug may be undergoing some changes. This direction of cultural transformation would be worthwhile to pursue in other studies because it would shed more light on the dynamics of the conflict within Jolo.

Recent work on the art and architecture of the Tausug peoples of Sulu was found in David L. Szanton, "Art in Sulu: A Survey", in Sulu Studies 2 published by the Coordinated Investigation of Sulu Cultures, CISCUL (1973:3-69). Tuwan Iklali Jainal, Gerard Rixhon and David Ruppert, "Housebuilding among the Tausug", in Sulu Studies 1 (1973) was an important ethnography on traditional architectural practices.

The study was based on research in Luas, a town on Jolo Island, and it presented Tausug site selection considerations, construction methods, and the ritualistic aspects of Tausug houses. A note made regarding the relevance of the observations for both the inland dwellers and the coastal dwellers made it possible to raise questions regarding the houses built in the Busbus, Chinese Pier (or Tinda Laud), Takut-Takut and Alat areas of Jolo.


For general overviews of art in the Philippines, Eric Casino, Ethnographic Art of the Philippines: An Anthropological Approach (1973) and Roberto de los Reyes, Traditional Handicraft Art of the Philippines (1979) were enlightening. Both were published by Casa Linda and made possible a visual comparison of the motifs, decorative patterns and mediums developed by various ethnic groups in the country. Distinct dif-
ferences between the artistic symbols of the Muslim cultural groups and non-Muslim groups were illustrated and described.

**ACTUAL PLANS**

There were two planning proposals for Jolo which outlined the planning precedents in the town. Both had physical implications which would have altered housing patterns and other aspects of town form. The earlier plan by Armand S. Commandante, A Planning Concept for the Integration of Communities in Sulu was a Master of Architecture thesis dissertation for the University of the Philippines (1974). Research on the Sulu cultures had been undertaken in communities in what was then Sulu Province and what has been made into two provinces by creating second province in the archipelago called Tawi-Tawi. Recommendations for the planning framework contained a list of priorities for development. Among the first was to develop cores for interaction by providing the elements of a core community in various areas of the islands.

The later plan for Jolo was prepared by the Presidential Task Force for the Reconstruction and Development of Mindanao (1974) as part of a larger report on the achievements of government programs. It was known as The RAD Report. There were a few sketches which indicated how development for Jolo would be concentrated around the port. It was also planned that about 97 hectares of land was to be acquired for industrial development, the relocation of housing to agricultural land and public projects.

In evaluation, both planning documents offered information regarding the values and priorities of their planners. Prepared by non-Muslim Filipinos during the height of the armed conflict in the South, each expressed the same hope for resolution. Each method and strategy revealed disparate levels of knowing what the place and the cultures were about.

At the same time, the data on Jolo in the documents was helpful to compare and contrast with each other. Clearly, Commandante's proposal relied upon anthropological studies while the government proposal used previous experience and input from local elected officials. While Commandante cited many of the references already discussed in this review, The RAD Report had an account by the mayor of Jolo and various official documents to support its claims. Both were only
partially implemented and little is known about their influence on current and future development.

The Jolo Municipal Development Staff prepared a Socio-Economic Profile of the Municipality of Jolo in 1977. The profile was a source of data regarding the population of the ethnic groups in the town and main features of the economy, geography and climate. The information on the population raised questions on the nature of the population at the present or post-1974. Saleeby (1908) was a source which provided estimates of the numbers of groups based upon the author's personal observations as he was Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes and Agent for Moro Affairs with the American government of Jolo. He pointed out problems with the 1903 Census and proposed his own estimates for what was the distribution and size of the Muslim population of Jolo.

The profile with Saleeby's notes provided the basis for citing the understanding of the population as a major problem because of problems with statistical methods. Other studies had also cited cultural reasons for the problem as previously mentioned in the section on ethnology in this review.

PERSPECTIVES AND GROUP IDENTITIES

There were sources which were sympathetic to the problems of Muslim identity in the Philippines which identified various approaches to understanding cultural differences. These sources also made suggestions for the directions that government policy might take to achieve a positive resolution of the conflict. In this field, the major contributors were Peter G. Gowing, Cesar Adib Majul and Samuel K. Tan.

"Of Different Minds: Muslim and Christian Perceptions of the Mindanao Problem" by Gowing in the Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society, Vol.V (1977:243-252) focused on the importance of group cultural and religious identification in relation to the conflict. His 1980 essay identified three main protagonists in the conflict in the region: these were the Philippine Government which, according to Gowing, claims to represent national interest and the view of the people of the Philippines; the Marxists, embodied in groups like the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, and the National Democratic Front, all of which claim to represent the interests and views of the "oppressed masses", whet-
her Christian, Muslim or Tribal Filipinos; and the Muslim rebels, of which the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) claims to represent the interests and views of the Muslim Filipino population.


Both of these resources introduced nuances for the group differences in attitudes toward the past and the future. They contributed for sense of the strategy needed to make judgements about how to conflicting views might be accommodated in one community in the future.

In this thesis, the identification of groups in Jolo and their perspectives was seen as not based on cultural or ethnolinguistic criteria alone, but included groupings defined in ethnologies as those determined by political loyalty and territory. Research on group perspectives was found as the second problem in understanding the meaning of monuments was identifying the group perspectives associated with them. The diversity and impossibility of accounting for all meanings became clear.

In presenting the monuments, the goal shifted from suggesting interpretations in a categorical way to giving a sense of the infinite number and variety of interpretations that exist. Observations, speculations and subjective evaluations may not have had the adequate quantitative and qualitative data which local efforts have had or will have. It was felt, however, that there was enough information to begin the planning task.
APPENDIX B:
DATA ON JOLO AND SULU PROVINCE

I. EXCERPTS FROM SULU
1980 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING

The province of Sulu lies approximately midway between Basilan and Tawi-Tawi, surrounded by the Sulu and Mindanao Seas on the west and north, and the Celebes Sea on the east.

Over 157 islands and islets compose the province. These are divided into four groups: Jolo group, Pangutaran group, Tongkil-Banguingi group (Samales) and the Siasi-Tapul group.

The islands have a varied terrain. Jolo, the main island, is mountainous while Siasi has a hilly interior. Both are of volcanic origin. Sulu has few protected harbors, all located in Jolo and Siasi. The other islands such as Pangutaran are of coral formation, resulting in low, swampy, flat and forested areas. However, numerous places around the reef-surrounded islands afford anchorages.

Sulu occupies a land area of about 1,600 square kilometers, representing 0.53 percent of the total land area of the country.

Sixteen municipalities constitute the province with Jolo as the capital.

POPULATION

As of May 1, 1980, Sulu had 360,588 residents of which 179,729 were males and 180,859 were females. In terms of population size, the province ranked number 47 among the 73 provinces of the country.

The population density of the province moved upward from 150.0 persons per square kilometer in 1975 to 225.3 in 1980, a considerable increase of 75.3 persons per square kilometer. The population figure also put the annual geometric growth rate of the population at 8.48 percent.

Sulu is still predominantly rural. More than 4/5 (81.82%) of its population dwell in the rural areas and only 18.18%, in the urban areas. Compared to the 1975 data, the urban population slightly increased by 0.12 percentage points.

HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED

More than half (58.52%) of the private household population seven years old and over in Sulu did not complete any grade, 11.30 percentage points higher than the 1975 proportion. Persons who finished at least a year of elementary schooling went up by 2.43 percentage points to 28.91%.

The rest incurred losses in their respective proportions. Those who reached secondary and college levels decreased respectively by 4.13 and 1.08 percentage points. Academic degree holders dropped from 1.41% to 1.26% and those who did not reveal their educational attainment, from 8.62% to 0.25%.

LITERACY

Sulu registered a very low literacy rate with only 32.37% of the total private household population aged 10 and over, able to read and write. Urban literates (60.13%) were higher in proportion than the rural literates (26.06%).

The males outstripped the females in literacy, 35.60% against 29.27%. In both urban and rural areas, males registered higher rates than females, 66.04% and 28.99% respectively, for the males compared to 54.86% and 23.21% respectively, for the females.
LANGUAGE OR DIALECT

Sulu-Moro (Tausug) is generally spoken in the province. Of the 58,756 private households (interviewed) 50,905 or 86.64% speak the dialect. Urban and rural areas are both predominated by Tausug-speaking households, 92.69% and 85.28% respectively. Samal is spoken by 12.05%; Tagalog 0.42%; Badjaw 0.15% and Cebuano 0.14%. The remaining 0.60% speak one of several other languages and dialects reported for the province.

GAINFUL OCCUPATION

For private household persons 15 years old and over, 51.83% are gainful workers while 48.17% are engaged in non-gainful activities. There was no distinction made between urban and rural figures.

From the explanatory text, "gainful workers" are people who work for at least 10 hours a week for 26 weeks either for pay in cash or kind, for a fee or profit in own farm, business establishment or practice of a profession and without pay on a family farm or enterprise.

For persons who do not work most of the year, the usual occupation relates to the non-gainful activities they do most of the year. Among such persons are housekeepers, students, pensioners, retired and disabled.

INDUSTRY

Agriculture, fishery and forestry, the predominating industry in the province, provides work to more than three-fourths (77.04%) of the total gainful workers 15 years old and over. The majority of the agricultural workers derive their income from agricultural crop production (69.33%) and nearly a third from fishing (29.82%).

Community, social and personal services, combining for 7.26% rank second. The three leading sources in this group are education services (38.10%) public administration and defense (29.40%) and personal and household services (25.73%).

Manufacturing, ranking third, employs 6.22% of the gainful workers whose chief concentration is in the manufacture of textile, wearing apparel and leather (93.25%).

Wholesale and retail trade contribute 4.45%; transportation, storage and communication, 2.33%; construction 1.44%; financing, insurance, real estate and business services (0.54%).

MIGRATION

Out of 304,005 persons 5 years old and over in private households, 96.71% were residents of the same municipality where they lived on May 1, 1975.

Of the 10,005 or 3.29% who had a different place of residence on May 1, 1975, 2.74% moved to another municipality within their home province while only 0.50% moved across provincial boundaries. Only a very small proportion of the population resided in foreign countries (0.05%).

TYPE OF BUILDING

A great majority (98.10%) of 58,756 households occupy single houses. The rest live either in duplex (0.51%), apartment/accesoria/condominium/row houses, etc. (0.05%), improvised structures or barong-barong (0.94%), commercial/industrial/agricultural buildings (0.36%), other housing unit such as natural shelter, boat, etc. (0.02%), and institutional buildings such as hospital, convent, school dormitory, etc. (0.01%).
**TYPE OF OCCUPANCY**

Out of 58,756 households in Sulu, 89.80% are owners of their own dwelling units. The rest are either tenants/lessees (5.13%), subtenants/sublessees (0.38%) or rent-free occupants (4.69%).

In the urban areas, 78.16% are owners of their dwelling units. The remaining 21.84% are distributed as follows: 9.36% tenants / lessees; 0.60% subtenants or sublessees; and 11.88% rent-free occupants. In the rural areas, the respective proportions are 92.40%, 4.19%, 0.33% and 3.08% respectively.

**CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS OF ROOF AND OUTER WALLS**

Most of the households (89.69%) in the province occupy dwelling units constructed with roofs of light materials such as cogon or nipa, makeshift / salvaged materials and others such as anahaw. 1/10 (10.31%) dwell in units with roofs of strong materials such as galvanized iron, aluminum, tile, concrete, brick, stone and asbestos.

Households occupying dwelling units with roofs of light materials are common in both the urban (78.61%) and rural (92.17%) areas. Those residing in units with roofs of strong materials make up 21.39% in the urban and 7.93% in the rural areas.

By type of construction materials of outer walls, 87.27% of the households occupy units built with walls of light materials such as bamboo/sawali, cogon/nipa, makeshift/salvaged materials and others. Only 12.73% reside in units with walls of strong materials.

Most of the households in both the urban (77.89%) and the rural (89.37%) areas reside in dwelling units with outer walls of strong materials. Households living in dwelling units with walls of strong materials like galvanized iron/aluminum, tile/brick/concrete/stone, wood/plywood and mixed materials comprise 22.11% in the urban and 10.63% in rural areas.

**YEAR BUILT**

Nearly two-thirds or 63.73% of total households interviewed are occupants of structures built from 1976-1980; 19.79% in those built 1971-1975; 9.86% in dwellings built 1961-1970; and 4.33% in 1951-1960. Very few (0.77%) live in buildings constructed during 1942-1950 and only 0.52%, before World War II.

**FLOOR AREA OF DWELLING UNIT**

Of the 58,756 households in Sulu, 55.78% occupy dwelling units with floor areas less than 30 square meters. About 31.80% live in 30-49 square meter dwelling units; 6.00% dwell in 50-69 square meter units and 3.13% in 70-99 square meter units. Only 3.29% of the households had spacious dwelling units from 100 square meters and over.

**TENURE OF OCCUPANT WITH RESPECT TO THE LAND**

Over three-fifths (62.48%) of the households that own the dwelling units occupied also own the land where the structures are erected. The rest are distributed as follows: 4.92% lessee or sublessee; 5.23% farm lessee or agricultural tenant of landowner; 4.24% other legal tenure; and 23.13% have no tenure, such as squatters.

**KIND OF LIGHTING FACILITIES**

Kerosene is the most predominant type of lighting with 92.76% of the total households using it. Others depend on electricity (4.07%), liquefied petroleum gas (2.15%), oil (0.20%), or other kinds (0.82%). A greater proportion of the rural households (95.95%) use kerosene compared to the urban households (78.52%). More urban households (18.80%) use...
electricity for lighting, compared to rural dwellers with only 0.77%.

COOKING FUEL

Wood or charcoal is still the most commonly used kind of cooking fuel in Sulu. An aggregate of 83.51% use wood or charcoal for cooking. The remaining 16.49% use either kerosene (14.04%), liquefied petroleum gas (0.91%), electricity (0.21%) or other kinds (1.33%).

TOILET FACILITIES

The most common type of toilet facility in the province is the open pit, with 51.38% of the total households using it. Over one-tenth (11.49%) use the closed pit antipolo, etc.; 4.79% water-sealed with other depository; 3.85% water-sealed with sewer or septic tank; and 7.86% other (pail system, etc.). Households without toilet facilities comprise 20.63%.

Among the urban households, 35.45% use the open pit; 16% closed pit; 9.87% water-sealed with septic tank; 9.90% water-sealed with other depository; and 6.98% other types. 21.81% of the households have no toilet facilities.

II. EXCERPTS FROM THE 1977 SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF JOLO

A. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

1. GEOGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHY

The Municipality of Jolo, the capital town of the Province of Jolo and the Regional Center for Region IX-A, bears the same name as the island in which it is located. It is situated on the northwest portion of the island, facing the island municipal district of Marunka. It is bounded by the Municipality of Patikul on the east and southeast, and by the Municipality of Indanan on the west and southwest.

The relative distances between the municipality of Jolo and other mainland municipalities are as follows. From Jolo to:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Distance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indanan</td>
<td>10.5 km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parang</td>
<td>22.6 km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maibung</td>
<td>15.4 km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patikul</td>
<td>13.5 km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panamao</td>
<td>34.3 km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luuk</td>
<td>55.2 km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talipao</td>
<td>22.8 km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalinggan Caluang</td>
<td>41.8 km</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relative distances between Jolo and the other island municipalities of Sulu are as follows. From Jolo to:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island</th>
<th>Distance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marungas</td>
<td>4.35 nautical miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapul</td>
<td>24.32 nautical miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongkil</td>
<td>56.18 nautical miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pangutaran</td>
<td>32.31 nautical miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pata</td>
<td>48.02 nautical miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siasi</td>
<td>36.66 nautical miles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jolo is situated on a more or less plain ground. It has a topographical slope distribution of 0 - 3
degrees. Approximately 190 hectares or 31.88% of its land area is on generally level ground. About 406 hectares or 68.12% have a slope distribution from 0 – 5 degrees.

The total area of Jolo is 1,660 hectares, which constitutes only 1.01% of the total area of the Province of Sulu (163,400 hectares) and only 0.413% of the whole area of Region IX-A.

Of the 1,660 hectares, only 596 hectares or 35.90% are dry land areas, while the remaining 1,064 hectares or 64.1% are water areas.

Jolo's poblacion occupies 15 hectares or 2.5% of the total land area of the municipality. The Municipal Development Staff of Jolo conducted a land use survey in July 1977. Based on the total area surveyed, the following table shows the area of each barangay.

It should be noted that while Jolo has a dry land area of only 596 hectares, the survey showed a total of 677.47 hectares. The excess of 81.47 hectares comprise the off shore areas actually used for housing and were also included in the survey.

2. SOIL TYPES

The type of soil in the town of Jolo is scientifically referred to as Jassan clay loam. This type of soil is suitable for an extensive cultivation of permanent crops.

C. DRAINAGE

The Municipality of Jolo has three creeks which serve as a natural drainage system. These are Legian Creek; Hassan Creek and Lahi Creek, all of which merge into a main drainage canal that flows through Moore Avenue or Barrio Alat to the sea.

Legian Creek is 800 meters long and 5 meters wide. It originates at Camp Asturias behind the Philippine Constabulary reservation, crosses Loai Street and joins the main cemetery along the Jolo-Taglibi Road and Scott Road.

Lahi Creek is only 200 meters long and 80 meters wide. It starts at the Hadji Buto School of Arts and Trade crosses General Arolas Street and Moore Avenue, then joins the sea northwest of Alat. Legian Creek joins Lahi Creek at the Hadji Buto School of Arts and Trade compound.

B. CLIMATE AND RAINFALL

Jolo is outside the typhoon belt. Its climate is warm; humidity is generally moist, but precipitation is constant throughout the year.

February is considered the coldest month, while May and August are the hottest months with a mean relative humidity of 86%, one of the hottest in the country. January to April is considered the dry period with a monthly average of 4.5 inches of rainfall. The remaining months have an average of 7 to 9 inches of rainfall. The mean annual temperature is 26 degrees Centigrade and the maximum is 27 degrees.

Jolo falls under the 4th type of climate with 162 days of rainfall more or less equally distributed. Climatic conditions in Jolo from May to September in 1977 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number Of Rainy Days</th>
<th>Average Temperature</th>
<th>Relative Humidity</th>
<th>Prevailing Wind Cond.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26.0 C</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26.5 C</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26.5 C</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27.2 C</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28.8 C</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C. POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

The latest population count in Jolo was conducted by the National Census and Statistics Office (NCSO) on May 1, 1975. It was the seventh population census taken since 1900. The population over the years as determined by the NCSO is shown on the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Population Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>March 2</td>
<td>44,718*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>December 31</td>
<td>20,230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>January 1</td>
<td>12,571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>October 1</td>
<td>18,282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>February 15</td>
<td>33,259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>May 6</td>
<td>46,586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>May 1</td>
<td>37,623</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Total for island of Jolo, the rest are totals for Jolo municipality.

The population of Jolo decreased in 1975. In 1970 it had a population of 46,586; by 1975 it had only 37,623. This was due to the fact that at that time the peace and order conditions in Jolo worsened.

D. ECONOMIC SECTOR

1. AGRICULTURE AND NATURAL RESOURCES

The main agricultural product of the island and municipality of Jolo is copra made from coconuts grown in groves that are located east and southeast of the town. Dried, semi-processed copra is taken into Jolo to be weighed and sold to merchants who then ship the produce for further processing to other provinces.

There are no forest resources being used due to much deforestation that occurred in previous decades. There are current restrictions imposed on the lumber industry in effect. Water resources, however, have the potential of compensating for the loss of income from forestry. The pearl industry of Jolo has seen little development, but fishing in the abundant waters of the archipelago has been a source of income for many of Jolo's population.

There is no specific fishing season in the area. Both Sulu and Japanese fishing boats find different species of fish all year round in the waters of Sulu.

2. COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

Trading has always been the main economic base of Jolo. The revival of trade with Sabah, Malaysia has contributed to increasing the pace of the economy.

Trade relations are conducted with Zamboanga, Manila, Sabah and other neighboring islands. Goods can be brought to and from Jolo via Zamboanga by air and sea. Zamboanga is at present the main trading port and partner of Jolo.

Goods like soft drinks, canned goods, dry goods, garments, sugar, cement, lumber and other construction materials come in through Zamboanga. Commercial activities are concentrated in two barangays: Tulay
and Walled City or Intramuros.

Trade is the leading economic activity probably due to the proximity of the area to sources of goods which are ordinarily banned in the market. Services mark second in volume of activity, although half developed compared to trade. Manufacturing and processing is in the first stages of development for items like coffee processing, ice drop plant, concrete hollow block making, tan-bark processing, fruit processing, furniture making and pop rice processing plants.

Construction is low. Due to the unstable peace and order situation, few people venture to construct new houses for fear that these might be destroyed again.

The local National Cottage Industry Development Agency (NACIDA) and the Notre Dame of Jolo College through its Community Extension Service Program, organized groups of women to propagate the mat weaving industry. Because of the unfavorable peace and order situation, pandan, the type of grass leaves used for the mats are not readily available. Progress has thus been hampered by the inability to procure the grass from other areas of the island where these leaves grow.

The machine shop services in Jolo are limited to welding, painting, body repair, machine servicing and vulcanizing. All other shop services which are needed must be bought in Zamboanga or Manila.

Commercial activities take place in Intramuros and Tulay for the most part. The banking and retail areas have larger and more permanent structure using reinforced concrete and concrete hollow blocks. There are five market areas within the town. These are:

a. Busbus Makeshift Market
b. Barter Trade Market in Intramuros
c. Dry Goods and Fish Market
d. Vegetable Market in Tulay
e. Meat Market in Tulay

A large portion of the capital generated from economic activity does get invested in Jolo. The estimate for the percentage of profit diverted to other areas like Zamboanga, the Visayas and Manila ranges from 85 to 40 percent.

3. TOURISM POTENTIALS

Jolo is a natural tourist attraction. It has long stretches of white sand beaches, scenic attractions, historical and cultural sites. These, however, have never been developed. At present, there are no adequate facilities to support tourism. Moreover, the unfavorable peace and order condition in the province caused by the Muslim secessionist movement discourages foreign as well as local tourists from coming to Jolo.

There are only two facilities that accommodate tourists in town. These are the Ricni Hotel located at Asturias and the Sulu Country Inn located near the airport. The Ricni has 20 rooms, two of which are air conditioned and for double occupancy. No meals are served. The Sulu Country Inn has 10 rooms, 4 of which are air conditioned and designed for double occupancy.

4. GARBAGE DISPOSAL

Swampy portions of the Badji Buto School of Arts and Trade site has been identified and used as a temporary ground for dumping and reclamation. An alternate dumping site identified is a swampy portion of Barrio Alat near Moore Avenue.
APPENDIX C: MAPS OF JOLO

I. VICINITY MAP OF THE MUNICIPALITY

Scale 1: 50,000

MAIN FEATURES:

1. Gives location of topographical features like Mount Tunatangis, Bud Datu, and Mount Awak near the town of Jolo and permits assessment of distances from the center of town to other towns and the surrounding hills.

2. Main streets and linkages to other parts of Jolo Island are shown in the darkest lines. There are three classes of roads indicated.

3. Shows surrounding vegetation and the outline of the foreshore areas in the town and its vicinity.

4. Indicates ground contour lines and the dominant drainage patterns in the direction of Jolo.

5. Depth readings for tidal area can be used to delineate the limits of housing areas built over water. It can be inferred that the distance houses may project from the shore is constrained by the deeper water beyond shelf of a coral reef.

6. Generally, all the areas occupied by houses built over the water are uncovered at low-tide.

7. Former sultanate capital of Buansa is located on the northern slope of Mount Tunatangis.
II. MAP OF JOLO PROPER

LEGEND:

1. JOLO MUNICIPAL HALL
2. SULU PROVINCIAL CAPITOL
3. AIRPORT
4. BARTER TRADE MARKET
5. BUREAU OF CUSTOMS
6. JOLO ELECTRIC CORPORATION
7. FISH MARKET
8. MEAT, VEGETABLE AND DRY GOODS MARKETS
9. TULAY MOSQUE
10. ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH
11. PHILIPPINE CONSTABULARY HEADQUARTERS
12. KASANYANGAN COOPERATIVE HOUSING
13. NATIONALHOUSING ADMINISTRATION PROJECT
14. CHINESE PIER OR TINDA LAUD HOUSING
15. BUSBUS HOUSING
16. KASULUTAN HOUSING PROJECT
17. NOTRE DAME OF JOLO COLLEGE
18. MADRASAH
19. JOLO ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
20. JOLO HIGH SCHOOL
III. MAP OF JOLO
(U.S. ARMY MAP SERVICE)

From Philippine Islands City Plans of the United States Army Map Service, Washington D.C. Published by the United States Army in 1944.

Accompanying note claims it is copied from a map prepared by the Manila Fire Insurance Association in 1925. No scale indicated. Contains streets, street names, location of town wall and gates, and districts of Jolo.

Districts of Jolo are identified through geometric shapes around numbers centered in blocks.

- **Walled Town or Intramuros** (circles)
  Institutional blocks have solid lines while others have broken lines.

- **Busbus** (solid triangles)
  Street grid shown on map no longer exists.

- **San Raymundo** (no indication)
  Boundaries near town are delineated by streets. Eastern boundaries were not noted.

- **Asturias** (no indication)
  Southern and eastern boundaries not noted. The streets to the north and west define edges.

- **Tulay** (solid squares)
  Plaza Tulay unmarked and located in front of the Sulu Hospital. Market outside the town wall is also part of Tulay but is not noted as such.

- **Tinda Laud** or **Chinese Pier** (inverted triangles)
  The single extension noted as Tinda Laud implies that the areas over the water used for housing are to be counted as belonging to the barrio.
APPENDIX D: LAND USE MAP

Scale 1: 20,000 meters (approx.)

LEGEND:

RESIDENTIAL

COMMERCIAL

INSTITUTIONAL

AGRICULTURAL AND OPEN SPACE

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

NOTES:

1. The core of the town has been a commercial area since the period of the earliest settlement.

2. The most recent large scale development projects, like the Kasanyangan Housing Cooperative development and the Sulu Provincial Capitol, were planned outside of the town on the open space or agricultural land outside of center.

3. There are currently no zoning codes and building regulations in effect in Jolo.
GLOSSARY

Adobe - clayish soil which is molded into blocks and used for building masonry walls in Spanish influenced architecture.

Aduana - customs house.

Alcaiceria - combined market and living quarters of Chinese merchants; literally a silk market

Alcazar - castle, fortress

Aldea - Hamlet (Spanish), also lungan in Tausug

Antillean - two-story residential structure. The first floor is enclosed with thick adobe masonry walls and used for storage. The second floor is walled and partitioned with wood, usually extends over the first story.

Azotea - uncovered space of a Spanish colonial residence which in towns or dense residential areas takes the place of a yard or balcony.

Badjaw - also Badjao, Bajaw or Bajao. Third largest Muslim group inhabiting Sulu Province and Jolo. Considered nomadic sea dwellers; most of the population live on house boats and have been called "sea gypsies"

Bansa - country, land

Barandilla - small balustrade or railing on the second storeys of Spanish influenced structures. The word also refers to the decorative wooden balustrade in large Tausug houses with two stories.

Barangay - kinship group following of a Muslim ruler, datu, sultan. Also the basic political unit and of pre-Hispanic Philippines.

Bay bay - small replica of a Tausug house (usually one foot by two feet) traditionally hung from a rafter upon the birth of a child. It is believed to become inhabited by a spirit-twin or kambal.

Bay sinug - Tausug term for house, from bay "house" and sinug from sug meaning "sea" or "current" (see Tausug).

Bilik - sleeping quarters in a Tausug house which may be a separate room or fabric enclosed section.

Bud-bud - small hill, uneven or rough-hewn land on the rise of a hill.

Bud Datu - a hill which is considered sacred by the Sulu peoples located a few kilometers outside of Jolo. It is the site where venerated graves may be found, and has been considered the traditional coronation site of most of the sultans of Sulu.

Busbus - district within the town of Jolo which has been mostly by the Tausug and Samal peoples since the beginning of the Spanish occupation in 1876.

Cabecera - settlement where ancient barangays were gathered together; actual sense is "capital".

Cabildo - city hall

Camino real - main road.

Cotta - also Kotta or Kuta, Muslim fort or stronghold. Constructed of earth and supported by wooden
stakes, these structures had small openings for can-
nons and firearms.

Datag - very flat and dry piece of land valued by
the Tausug for housebuilding.

Datu - the title of a Filipino Muslim chieftain next
in rank to the Sultan, also Dato.

Ding-ding - walls (Tausug)

Extramuros - literally, outside the walls of a
fortified town or garrison; surrounding outside of a
fortified town.

Gimba - communities or settlements located on the
mountains of Sulu or Jolo Island.

arafoza - a non-Muslim, non-Christian native; an
outsider; person from a non-Muslim ethnic minority
group.

Imam - recognized religious leader in a Muslim vil-
lage or settlement; prayer leader.

Intramuros - literally, within the town walls as in
the case of Jolo proper; also used to refer specific-
ally to the Walled City of Manila.

Istana - palace of the Sultan of Jolo or Sulu.

Jalajala - symmetrical, carved wooden panels used for
decoration and ventilation, attributed to Spanish
influence. It is generally located beneath the
ceiling of a building and along the tops of interior
partition walls.

Kampung - relatives or kinship group

Kauman - community; territorial organization one
level above the lungan or hamlet.

Khutbah - (Arabic) Friday sermon delivered by a
Muslim religious leader or imam

Kissa - a short Tausug or Samal historical narrative
usually religious in nature.

Kraton - In Java, the palace of a Muslim ruler or
ratu. Ratu is similar to dato in the Philippines.

Kris - long, wavy or double-edged sword used by the
Muslims for combat; varies in design for different
ethnolinguistic groups.

Kubul - horizontal rectangular framed structure
marking the location of Muslim Filipino graves. It
is sometimes substituted with mounds of earth as much
as three feet high for Tausug graves, and one foot
high for Badjaw or Samal graves. Materials used are
mostly in long-lasting hardwoods, coral and concrete.
Each grave has a decorated vertical marker sunduk.

Kura-kura - carved horse form found in the carved,
wooden ukkil patterns of Sulu gravemarkers.

Kusina - kitchen.

Langgal - smaller building used for prayer and
worship in Tausug and Samal societies; less elaborate
or formal than the masjid or Friday mosque.

Lantaka - cannon used by the Muslim Filipinos, often
captured and discovered to be of European make during
the Moro Wars and in the American period.
Lungan - (Tausug) hamlet, also aldea in Spanish.

Lupa Sug - (Tausug) land of the sea current, refers to the island of Sulu or Jolo. Saleeby used Sug.

Madrasah - an Islamic school, in Jolo teachers may be local scholars or visiting missionaries from other Islamic countries.

Maharlika - highest social class in pre-Hispanic society; the nobility.

Nag-lain - also napa bay bago, ceremony celebrating the completion of a new house.

Manukmanuk - carved bird forms in okil or ukkil.

Masjid - mosque, larger building used for Friday prayers.

Moro - Spanish term referring to a Muslim Filipino. It comes from "moor" taken from the term used to refer to the Muslims who occupied Spain during the 8th century.

Mount Tumatangis - tallest mountain on Jolo Island. The name is derived from the Tausug word magtantang which means "to cry". It is said that residents would shed tears of sadness when losing sight of the mountains as they left Jolo. Upon returning, they would shed tears of joy.

Municipio - municipality or district in Spanish, composed of smaller units of territorial organization.

Naga - abstract and curvilinear dragon, serpent or crocodile (buaya in Tausug) form found in ukkil.

Pandita - learned Muslim leader known for his knowledge of Islam, not the same as religious leader. Role in Tausug society is to verify consistency between sultanate or traditional laws and Muslim law.

Parangenasil - lengthy narrated Tausug or Samal epic usually with religious themes; the term comes from parang meaning "war" or "sword" and sabil meaning "in the path of God".

Picota - a gibbet of stone at entrances to towns and villages in which the severed heads of executed criminals were displayed.

Plaza - open space at the center of a Spanish town plan surrounded by a church, markets the homes of local elite and government buildings.

Poblacion - town center; complex of open space or plaza surrounded by institutional buildings and residences which defines the center of activity.

Presidio - garrisoned fort built in a strategic place, created to extend the powers of the colonial state.

Principales - people of social prominence and means in local community.

Principalia - upper class category of Filipinos usually of the traditional datu and maharlika classes; people of wealth and authority in towns and urban areas; the indigenous elite.

Raha Moda - (also Rajah Muda) successor to the sultan; a male heir in the Muslim royal line.

Rajah - title of nobility in the maharlika class or highest level of authority in the pre-Hispanic
period.

Retablo - wooden screen elaborately carved into framed sections, usually found in churches.

Sadlupan - west, land sloping gently to the west. Preferred secondly to dry, flat land for Tausug housebuilding. Preference related to the orientation toward Mecca in the West.

Sala - porch or covered sitting area.

Samal - second largest Muslim Filipino group living in the Sulu Archipelago. More Samal people are found in Tawi-Tawi Province. Their housing settlements are usually built over the sea on coral reefs.

Sangley - early Chinese traders in the Philippines.

Sarimanok - bird form found in abstract, curvilinear decorative art. Most popularly used in Maranao art. Sari comes from Hari or "king". It is often mistaken for a naga motif when highly abstracted.

Simbahang - church in Christian areas; in non-Christian areas, the term refers to buildings set up for specific ceremonies (such as the spirithouse or baybay in Tausug rituals).

Satan - south; land which slopes toward the south; it is hard least desired for house building in Tausug tradition because southern orientation makes the structure vulnerable to strong wind and rain.

Subangan - east; land which slopes toward the east. Preferred next to land which slopes toward Mecca in the west.

Sug - former name of the main island of the Tausug and the location of the capital of the Sultanate of Sulu. Also "Lupa Sug" or land of the sea current.

Sultan - title of the supreme head of the Muslim peoples; in Muslim history there were two such positions in the south. One was "Sultan of Sulu" and the other was "Sultan of Maguindanao".

Sunduk - (Sundek in Badjaw) upright portion of gravemarkers in Tawi-Tawi and such provinces. It is placed over the location of the head (to the north) often surrounded by or resting upon a rectangular frame or kubbul, and a mound.

Tadjuk pasung - finely carved crossboards at the end of the ridgepole in front of a Tausug house and sometimes behind it. Found in Jolo Island, Siasi Island and Zamboanga. Similar to roof carvings found in various communities of Borneo and eastern Indonesia.

Tandawan - large windows in Tausug houses with plywood walls which are usually covered with a wooden grating.

Tarsila - traditional genealogical records of Muslim Filipino rulers and royalty.

Taugimba - Tausug for "people of the interior"; referring to people who live in the interior of Jolo Island and not near its beaches.

Tau higad - Tausug, literally "people of the beach" referring to people who live near the beach.

Tau maas - Tausug for elder man who settles and arbitrates social disagreements according to local customs and norms.
Tausug - Tausug for "people of the current" from tau "people" and sug "current". The term also refers to the language spoken by the Tausug people. The Tausug are the largest group of Muslim Filipinos in the Sulu Archipelago. They live mostly on Jolo Island, and in the Province of Sulu.

Tiangue - Village fair or market place. The town of Jolo is known in Tausug as Tiangue Sug.

Tibao - a native Sulu death ritual usually involving a visit to burial grounds and wrapping a piece of cloth around the gravemarker, or sunduk.

Tiyadtad - split bamboo walls which might have small square windows in a Tausug house.

Tulay - district of the town of Jolo; also the name of a type of fish that can be caught in the shallow waters of Jolo's bay.

Ukkil - Muslim Filipino ornamental carving with great artistic value when of high quality materials and craftsmanship. Term refers to the art of carving curvilinear design which combines stylized scroll, leaf and vine elements with many abstract varieties and levels of craftsmanship.

Ulama - a Muslim scholar; person educated at a madrasa or religious school and who has attained higher levels of education locally or in other Islamic countries; groups of learned Muslim scholars.

Uttara - northy land sloping slightly northward. The Tausug believe the spirits of the newly dead pass out of the house and travel northward. Close association to death makes this type of land least desirable for house building.
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