

Malay Documents from Sulu and Mindanao in the British Library

ANNABEL TEH GALLOP

ABSTRACT

The British Library is an important repository for primary source materials on the Philippines in the 18th century, a period when the southern Philippine islands of Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago were of great interest to the English East India Company as potential sites for a trading base on the route to China. British involvement in the Philippines in this period culminated in the capture and brief occupation of Manila from 1762 to 1764, until its return to Spain at the end of the Seven Years War. The archival materials, largely held in the India Office Records in British Library, are reasonably well-known and studied. But alongside the majority of papers in English and Spanish are a few documents in local languages such as Malay, Maguindanao, and Tausug, written in the modified form of the Arabic script known as Jawi. The contents of some of these documents are known from translations or parallel versions in English, and it is these versions which have been referenced in studies of this period. The original Jawi documents, however,

ANNABEL TEH GALLOP is the head of the Southeast Asia Section of the British Library in London. A scholar in Islamic studies, her works appeared in selected publications in Malaysia, Indonesia, Japan, Australia, and the United Kingdom.

have never been thoroughly examined. This paper focuses on the documents in Malay, with particular attention paid to use of language and formal diplomatic aspects such as annotations, calligraphy, and seals. Final remarks explore the richly multilingual landscape of Sulu and Mindanao, and the relative usage of Malay with respect to Tausug and Maguindanao, as well as foreign languages such as Arabic and Spanish.

KEYWORDS

Jawi; British archives; Mindanao; Sulu; Tausug manuscripts; Alexander Dalrymple; Thomas Forrest; Malay manuscripts; East India Company; Sultan Muizuddin; Sultan Azimuddin I

INTRODUCTION

The British Library is an important repository of primary source materials on the Philippines in the eighteenth century, a period when the southern Philippine islands of Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago were of great interest to the English East India Company as potential sites for a trading base on the route to China. British involvement in the Philippines in this period culminated in the capture and brief occupation of Manila from 1762 to 1764, until its return to Spain at the end of the Seven Years War. The archival materials, largely held in the India Office Records in the British Library, are reasonably well-known and studied.¹ But alongside the majority of papers in English and Spanish are a few documents in local languages, such as Malay, Maguindanao, and Tausug, written in the modified form of the Arabic script known as Jawi. These include treaty documents in Malay and Tausug signed with the sultanate of Sulu by Alexander Dalrymple acting for the East India Company in the early 1760s, and two royal Malay letters from Mindanao dated 1775 brought back to Britain by Thomas

Forrest, one addressed to King George III and the other to the directors of the East India Company. In some cases, the contents of these documents are known from translations or parallel versions in English, and it is these versions that have been referenced in studies of this period. The original Jawi documents, however, have never been examined, even though a close reading reveals numerous small differences from the English versions, and it is the documents in Malay that will be the focus of this paper.²

THE SULU TREATIES, 1761–1764

In January 1761, Alexander Dalrymple (1737–1808), a servant of the East India Company, arrived in Jolo, the seat of the sultan of Sulu, charged with the task of negotiating with the sultan to acquire a trading base in the Sulu archipelago. The then ruler of Sulu was Sultan Muhammad Muizzuddin (r.1748–1763), also known as Bantilan.³ He was the younger brother of Sultan Azimuddin I (r.1735–1748, 1764–1774), who at the time of Dalrymple's visit was in exile in Manila because of local opposition to his policy of friendship toward Spanish Jesuit missionaries.⁴ Following the death of Muizzuddin in 1763 and the brief accession of his son, Sultan Muhammad Azimuddin II (r.1763–1764, 1778–d.1791),⁵ Dalrymple was instrumental in helping Sultan Azimuddin I (usually referred to in European-language sources as "Alimuddin") to return from Manila to Sulu and re-accede to the throne in 1764.

Between 1761 and 1764, Dalrymple negotiated and signed four major treaties with successive sultans of Sulu, and most of the original treaty papers have survived in the British Library. All the treaties were bilingual: the first treaty of 1761 was in Malay and English; the second treaty of 1763 was also originally in Malay and English, but only the Spanish translation of the Malay has survived; and the third and fourth treaties of 1764

were in Tausug and English.⁶ English versions of these treaties have been published, with a succinct introduction, in *A Collection of Treaties and Other Documents Affecting the States of Malaysia 1761–1963*, edited by J. de V. Allen, A. J. Stockwell, and L. R. Wright.⁷ This article will focus on the first treaty of 1761.

The papers of the first Sulu treaty consist of two documents comprising two bifolia, totaling eight pages (pp. 455–58 and 459–62), now bound into volume 629 of the Home Miscellaneous series of the India Office Records in the British Library. The original treaty, dated 28 January 1761, is written on two facing pages, with the Malay on the left (p. 456) and the English on the right (p. 457), and bears the red ink seals of the sultan and of the East India Company (figure 1). There is an addendum in Malay with English translation on the verso of the Malay treaty (p. 455) clarifying prohibited goods (figure 2); and on the last page (p. 458) is a description of the document in the following words:

*Treaty of Friendship & Trade Between the English &
Sooloogan nan or Sooloos – Concluded at Soo-oog 28th Jany
1761*

[signed] *Dalrymple*

[diff hand] *Ratified by the Dato's & Orankays Sept 1761*
[initialed:] *D*

[diff hand] *By Sultan Allamoodin Nov. 20th 1761 –*

[diff hand] *Recd from Mr Dalrymple 26th October 1768*

The second bifolium (pp. 459–62) contains a second copy of the Malay text of the treaty on p. 460, with a different seal of the sultan, and with the names of twenty-four notables of Sulu who ratified it on p. 461 (figure 3); according to the note on p.

458, this document can be dated to September 1761. On the first page, p. 459, is a further ratification by Sultan Muhammad Azimuddin I in Manila dated 20 November 1761 (figure 4). On the last page (p. 462) is annotated: *Dato Bandahara & the Other Chief Men Their Ratification of the Treaty Nov 1761. Recd from Mr Dalrymple 26th October 1768*. All these documents are reproduced in the appendix, with transliterations of the Malay texts and English translations.

In comparing the English and Malay texts of the treaty, there are a number of differences, some negligible, others not so.⁸ For example, clause 5 in the English version, giving the English the right to cultivate plantations, is absent in the Malay, and yet it could be regarded as subsumed in clause 1; of greater import is the presence of the word “perpetual” in the English clause 1, absent in the Malay version. There is an intriguing difference in clause 12: in the English version, for goods salvaged from a shipwrecked vessel in the sultan’s dominions, the sultan’s share will be two-thirds, but in the Malay version, the sultan receives only one-third, with two-thirds accruing to the owner of the vessel. And yet this is the proportion decreed in such cases in the Malay legal code of the kingdom of Melaka, the *Undang-Undang Melaka*, which was widely adopted throughout the Muslim courts of Southeast Asia.⁹ Particularly intriguing from a linguistic angle is clause 4: the English version mentions “the Chinese,” but in the Malay version this community is referred to as *orang membuat kain* (the makers of cloth), despite the term *Cina* being a long-established Malay word for “Chinese,” which is used in the Maguindanao letters below. A possible explanation is found in Thomas Forrest’s account of Mindanao (discussed further below), in which he explains that the common currency in the Sulu and Mindanao was the *kangan*, a piece of Chinese coarse cloth, which was brought in quantity to Sulu by Chinese traders, and which thence circulated onward to Mindanao.¹⁰ This fundamental association of cloth with the Chinese may account for the unusual term used in the treaty.

Perhaps one the most poignant aspects of this treaty is the addendum found on the reverse of the Malay version. Unlike the treaty itself, which was so evidently composed in English to suit the requirements of the East India Company, and then translated or “straightjacketed” into Malay, the addendum on the back—a strong rejection of the sale of opium, and a tight control on the sale of arms—appears to have been included at the request of the Malay side, judging from the detailed exposition in four lines of Malay, compared with the laconic one-line English translation, “Opium is contraband & arms & ammunition to any but the Sultan.” This unnumbered clause is not found in the published text of the treaty.¹¹ In fact, this prohibition was strongly supported by Dalrymple himself;¹² the culprit responsible for developing the Sulu trade in opium and arms from the British base at Balambangan was the unscrupulous chief John Herbert, who also presided over the “colossal fraud” effected in Balambangan against the East India Company itself.¹³

Turning from the content of the treaty to its form, the first observation that can be made is the excellent formal standard of the Malay language used in the treaty, with no evident localisms, coupled with fine calligraphy. Of particular interest is the stylish execution of the letter *nun*, “n” of “sultan,” written with a flourish and positioned above the rest of the word.¹⁴ This same calligraphic nicety can be observed not only in the work of the professional scribe who drew up the treaty in Jolo in January 1761, but also in the signature of Sultan Azimuddin I, in his ratification of the treaty written in Manila in October of that year (figure 4).

An unusual aspect of the diplomatics of the document is when the various royal Sulu seals were used on documents that extended to two pages; the two sheets of paper were first folded along an inner vertical margin, with the seal applied across the folds, resulting in an impression of two halves when the paper was flattened out (figures 1, 3, and 6). On the other hand, the East India Company seals on the same documents are simply

impressed on the flattened sheet of paper. This peculiar method of sealing is not found in any other Muslim kingdom in Southeast Asia.¹⁵ Finally, attention should be called to the ratification of the treaty by a large number of Sulu *Datuk* and *Orang Kaya*, reflecting the role of the Sulu nobility in the legislature of the state.¹⁶

ROYAL LETTERS FROM MINDANAO, 1776

Thomas Forrest (1729–1802) was a British sea captain who spent half a century plying the waters of the Malay archipelago, mostly in the service of the East India Company, but for the last decade of his life as a “Free Mariner” or independent trader. While employed in the Marine division of the East India Company settlement at Bengkulu in west Sumatra, Forrest undertook a voyage in 1775 to survey the north coast of New Guinea. Forrest traveled via the island of Balambangan off the north coast of Borneo, where a British trading post led by the aforementioned John Herbert had been established in 1773, arising out of Dalrymple’s negotiations with the sultans of Sulu in the 1760s. On the return journey to Balambangan, Forrest spent eight months, from 5 May 1775 to 8 January 1776, in the sultanate of Maguindanao on the west coast of the island of Mindanao, during which time he was courteously hosted by the Rajah Moodo (Raja Muda, the viceroy or heir apparent) of Maguindanao and his father Fakymolano (Fakih Maulana), the former sultan Muhammad Khairuddin (r.1748–1755).¹⁷

In his account of the voyage (first published in London in 1779, with a second improved edition with plates issued in 1780 and republished in facsimile in 1969), Forrest gives a valuable description of the social, cultural, political, and economic life of Maguindanao in the late eighteenth century. On arrival, Forrest had to tread delicately due to the evident rift between Sultan Fakharuddin (r. 1755–c.1780), younger brother of Fakih

Maulana, and the Raja Muda. Acting on the sage advice of his Bugis guide Tuan Haji, while ensuring that he paid respects to the sultan, Forrest allied himself with the court of the Raja Muda, and lodged in his fort. While in Maguindanao, Forrest received news that Balambangan had been sacked by the Sulus, and he therefore used his time in Mindanao to explore and survey possible alternative sites for a British trading settlement. On his departure in January 1776, Forrest carried with him two letters:

I then took respectful leave of Raja Moodo. He delivered to me the two letters already mentioned; one to his Majesty, the other to the Company, with the presents. Nobody knew what they were, but himself and his father Fakymolano, who wrote the letters.¹⁸

The two letters, written in Malay, are now held in the British Library. They have never before been published, but their presence was not unknown: the letter to King George (figure 8) was exhibited (probably in the form of a color slide) in a talk on “the archives of the Honourable East India Company” by William Foster at the Royal Society of Arts in 1923, described as “a letter in Malay, from the Sultan of Mindanao (the most southerly of the Philippine Islands), to George III, offering an alliance, offensive and defensive, and promising facilities for British trade in his country.”¹⁹ The two letters are given below in the appendix in transliteration and English translation, accompanied by Forrest’s own translation of the letter addressed to the king (doubtless the source of Foster’s comments above).

The contents of the letters contain a few surprises, as they bear out Forrest’s own account of the substance of his discussions with Fakih Maulana and the Raja Muda. The letters commence by proclaiming Raja Muda as the effective ruler of the state, *raja di tana Maguindanao*, stating that “the sultan is old and has relinquished his rule over all his coasts into the hands of the Raja

Muda.” An offer is made to the British for the use of any of the islands in the realm, such as Miangis or Ipa, as a site for a fortified post, with the promise of a further grant of a piece of land on the side facing mainland. Mutual assistance is agreed in the case of hostilities, followed by a proposal relating to currency:

I am sending to you Sir a copper *kusing*, weighing two Chinese mace, if the Company wishes to send these here, of whatever quantity, I will accept them as currency in my dominions, 96 for one *peso*, 192 half-pieces for one *peso*, or 384 quarter pieces for one *peso*.

This suggestion appears to have been planted by Forrest himself, for he writes in his book:

Fakymolano and Rajah Moodo are willing to admit, as currency, a copper coin of two Chinese mace in weight, with the name of Kybad Zachariel on one side, and the Company's arms on the other; ninety-six of them were to pass for a Spanish dollar: this number was pitched upon as most divisible.²⁰

The two letters—to King George III and the directors of the East India Company—are essentially the same in content, but statemanship is at work in the difference of nuance. That to the king is more bland in tone and pays compliments to the renown of the British name, anticipating Napoleon's famous characterization of the English as “a nation of shopkeepers” by stating, “the Spanish are all for interfering in our [religion]—the Dutch are all for taking over our government—but the English just want to trade.” The epistle to the Company is rather more brisk and businesslike. While the letter to the king states “I agree to help the Company against its enemies and in return I ask the Company to assist me in Maguindanao,” that to the Company

states “I agree to help the Company against its enemies in the land of Maguindanao, but I do not agree to help beyond Maguindanao.”

Forrest’s own translation, which is only available for the letter to the king, appears to be faithful to the Malay original. The only obvious liberty taken is that in the Malay letters the gift to the king is specified as a glass stone—apparently some kind of mineral rarity²¹—while that to the Company is a consignment of cinnamon. The decision had evidently been taken by the East India Company that both gifts should go to the king, for Forrest’s translation states, “I send to your Majesty a piece of glass stone, & a little cinnamon as a sample of what my Country Produces.”

Turning from the content to the form, the letter is in many respects not a typical royal Malay letter, not least in that it was not written by a professional palace scribe, but by Fakih Maulana himself. His great learning is alluded to in the title by which he was commonly known, the Arabic *Faqīh Mawlāna* (Our Lord the Legal Expert). Fakih Maulana’s handwriting is workaday rather than stylish, but the letters are written with care, and certain words, mainly of foreign origin, are fully vocalized. There is no religious letter heading or *kepala surat* as is commonly found in formal Malay letters, but the opening words are fully in accordance with standard Malay protocol: *Surat ini dengan tanda puti hati datang dari ...* (This letter comes with sincerity from ...). Thereafter, however, the language used is colloquial rather than courtly, evoking the working vocabulary of commerce and daily communication throughout the archipelago; for example, the address to the king uses the casual preposition *sama* for “to” rather than the more formal *kepada* or *ke hadapan*. In layout, the letter is also untraditional in that many of the lines are presented in new paragraphs, and dashes are employed at the end of sentences; traditional Malay in Jawi script did not employ punctuation

or paragraphing. The letters end with the full names of Fakiḥ Maulana and the Raja Muda in both Arabic and Latin script, followed by the Raja Muda's signature in Latin script. Both letters bear the lampblack seal of the Raja Muda, impressed on the top right corner of the sheet of paper.

The biggest surprise comes at the very bottom of both letters: the date. This is written very clearly in Malay as *lima hari bulan Rabiulakhir pada hari Arba hijrat seribu seratus delapan puluh sembilan tahun dal 1189* (the 5th day of the month of Rabiulakhir, on Wednesday, the year of the *hijrah* one thousand one hundred and eighty-nine, the year *dal*, 1189), with the numerical form of the date, 1189, written in "European Arabic" numerals.²² 5 Rabiulakhir 1189 is equivalent to 5 June 1775, just one month after Forrest arrived in Maguindanao; yet he clearly states that he received the letters from the Raja Muda on the morning of his departure, 8 January 1776. The hijrah year 1189 lasted from 4 March 1775 to 20 February 1776, and the date of Forrest's departure, 8 January 1776, equates to 16 Zulkaidah 1189. It is highly unlikely that the learned Fakiḥ Maulana mistakenly wrote Rabiulakhir, the fourth month of the year, for Zulkaidah, the eleventh month, in both the letters. On the other hand, it could be seen as surprising that in both letters the islands of Miangis and Ipa are suggested as possible sites for a British base, while Forrest had in fact decided on the island of Bunwoot as the best choice, and had secured its grant in September 1775. The implication is therefore that the letters were indeed written on 5 June 1775 but were not presented to Forrest until his departure.

Another manuscript document written by Fakiḥ Maulana is held in the British Library: a map of riverine settlements in Maguindanao, annotated by Fakiḥ Maulana in Arabic script and by Forrest in Latin script (figure 11). The document is described by Forrest in his book: "the chart of these countries

and rivers, drawn by Fakymolano, is deposited in the British Museum” and was used as the basis for the map in Plate 18²³ of the second edition of 1780.²⁴

Lastly, it is interesting to note Forrest’s own analysis of the basis of the excellent relationship of mutual regard and respect that developed between him and Fakih Maulana and Raja Muda during his stay in Maguindanao, and that he was able to avoid getting embroiled in the local politics: he was not there to sell anything.

I consider myself very lucky amongst them in having no cargo to dispose of. Had I brought any thing of that kind, I much question if I could have steered so clear of party²⁵ as I did: I might have gone to Topang²⁶ to sell my merchandise. On the contrary, having nothing but what was to bear my expenses, my freedom of mind enabled me to keep a certain line of conduct, without deviation.²⁷

THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF SULU AND MINDANAO

The writing traditions of the Muslim south of the Philippine islands have a long history, which is only gradually being revealed. So far, the earliest dateable examples known of manuscript documents written in Arabic script from the southern Philippines are two royal letters in Malay, one from Maguindanao dated 1701 and one from Sulu dated 1702, held in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, Spain, recently documented by Roderick Orlina.²⁸ A small quantity of other eighteenth-century documents in Malay, Tausug, or Maguindanao written in Jawi are known (including those discussed in this paper), but it is only from the nineteenth century that larger volumes of such material survive, held

primarily in the national archives of the Philippines, the USA, and the United Kingdom.²⁹

Even more elusive are collections of manuscript books from Sulu and Mindanao. Najeeb Saleeby's seminal work *Moro History, Law and Religion*, first published in 1905, described and published extracts from over twelve manuscripts on history, law, and sermons written in Maguindanao and Tausug,³⁰ but there has never been a published catalogue of manuscripts in these languages held in any institution, whether in the Philippines or elsewhere.³¹ Undoubtedly, armed conflict has caused great losses, and such manuscripts that do survive have tended to be closely guarded and rarely made accessible, but some recent publications reflect the efforts of anthropologists and historians who have spent long periods of fieldwork gaining the trust of owners of private libraries.³² It is primarily the religious manuscripts that have been documented through these initiatives: copies of the Qur'an, prayer books in praise of the Prophet Muhammad, and works on religious obligations and law, written mainly in Arabic and Malay, Tausug and Maranao.³³ The manuscripts studied so far confirm close links between religious scholars (*ulama*) in Mindanao and Sulu and other parts of the archipelago, particularly with Java and Aceh; *Mirat al-tullab*, a Malay work on Islamic law by the famous seventeenth-century Acehnese scholar Abdul Rauf, is mentioned as one of the sources of the *Luwaran*, the Maguindanao code of laws.³⁴

Among the many details of interest in Forrest's account of Maguindanao are his scattered comments pertaining to language use and writing. Maguindanao was the language of daily use and in the court, and its use seems to have been widespread across the western part of the island of Mindanao. Most aristocrats knew Malay,³⁵ as did some of the women including the wife of the Raja Muda.³⁶ "The Sultan can speak good Malay, but chose to converse with me by an interpreter."³⁷

Fakih Maulana and the Raja Muda knew Spanish³⁸ and could write in that language,³⁹ and the Raja Muda also knew some Latin.⁴⁰

Fakih Maulana's literacy and learnedness is evident on numerous occasions, and Forrest often records him making notes.⁴¹ He certainly owned some manuscripts:

The following short account of the history of Maguindanao, is drawn from original records, in the possession of Fakymolano ... they wrote in the Magindanao tongue, and Arabic character. I took it down from Fakymolano's own mouth, who dictated in Malay.⁴²

And yet Forrest never mentions a library or collection of books in the royal houses, though one relevant factor may be that during the civil war thirty years previously, "the great palace at the town was first plundered, and then burnt." When the sultan, Fakih Maulana and the Raja Muda signed and sealed a grant of the island of Bunwoot to the English East India Company on 12 September 1775, it was written in Spanish "by Abderagani, a native of Pampanga—once a slave, who, by turning Mussulman, had obtained his liberty."⁴³

The use of written communications in Maguindanao to record certain important decisions, and the literacy of the sultan, is illustrated by Forrest's account of his departure. When he asked the Raja Muda for leave to depart, the Raja Muda said, "Go to the Sultan; and if he approves of your departure, desire him to write me a note, which you will bring yourself." During his audience, Forrest watched as the sultan "wrote on a slip of paper" the required assent.⁴⁴

The general impression gained from Forrest's account is that Maguindanao was the main oral and written medium within the kingdom, and the British Library also holds two letters in Maguindanao dated 1746 written to the Spanish admiral Don

Pedro Zacarias Villareal, one from Fakih Maulana, bearing his seal in the name of “Sultan Muhammad Syah Amiruddin” and signed in Latin characters with his name *Jamdsa* (Hamza), and the other bearing the seal of “Sultan Muhyiuddin ibn Sultan Diauddin.”⁴⁵ Malay was used when necessary for communication with foreigners, and there was also familiarity with Spanish for important written documents, such as the land grant. What is perhaps surprising, in view of Forrest’s very close intercourse with the Maguindanao nobility—during his eight months lodging in the Raja Muda’s fort, Forrest spent nearly every evening with the Raja Muda and Fakih Maulana⁴⁶—and lack of prejudice in his account, so unusual for that age,⁴⁷ is that there is no mention of the Arabic language or of Islamic books including the Qur’an. There must have been several people with knowledge of Arabic, including probably Fakih Maulana himself, for the Raja Muda’s seal bears an Arabic inscription with a grandiose title, *āmīr al-umarāʾ* (prince of princes). One exception is therefore notable: as part of the funeral rites for the Watamama (the second in line to the throne after the Raja Muda), his distant relatives “by book sang dirges in honour of the defunct, and for the repose of his soul,”⁴⁸ indicating the use of what must have been a prayer book in Arabic.

From Mindanao, Forrest proceeded to Sulu, where he mentions that the “Sooloo tongue” (i.e., Tausug) was written in Arabic, with some variation; he also found that the “better sort speak Malay, and those who trade abroad, generally understand it.”⁴⁹ The fine calligraphic hand of Sultan Azimuddin I has already been commented on above, and indeed he was fluent in both Arabic and Malay, having spent time in his youth with the Arab community in Batavia.⁵⁰ When he wrote to the Spanish king Philip V in 1847, his letters were in Arabic and Spanish,⁵¹ and he also wrote to the sultan of Maguindanao in 1751 in Arabic.⁵² It is therefore surprising to find that while the first two Sulu treaties—signed by Dalrymple with Muizzuddin in 1761

and Azimuddin II in 1763—were written in Malay and English, the third and fourth, signed in Azimuddin I's restoration, were in Tausug and English.

By the nineteenth century, there seems to have been a decline in the use of Malay in the southern Philippine islands, certainly for documents circulating within Spanish dominions; a brief survey of Arabic-script documents from Mindanao and Sulu in the National Archives of the Philippines yielded many in Tausug and Maguindanao but hardly any in Malay, although correspondence between Sulu and the British was still conducted in Malay. This compilation of references on language use and writing simply brings into focus how much work still needs to be done to gain a better understanding of the factors underpinning the choice of language for a variety of oral and written communications, in the richly multilingual environment of Sulu and Mindanao.

FIGURES

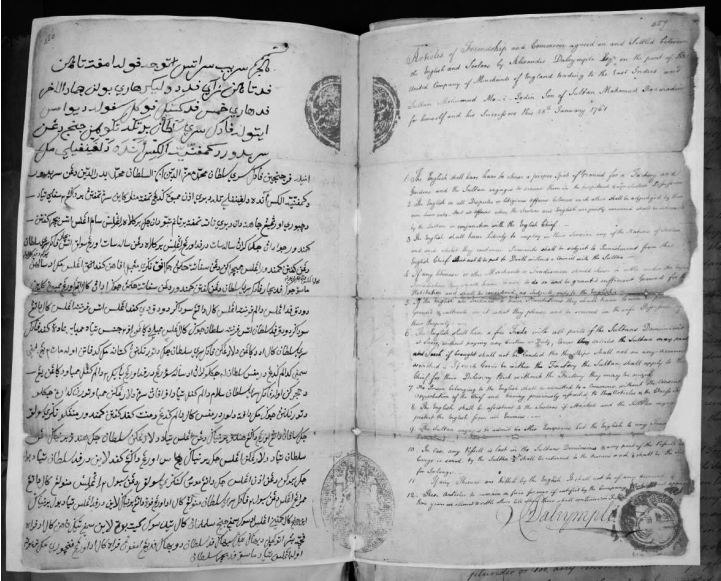


Figure 1 (A.1). First Sulu Treaty of 28 January 1761, signed between Sultan Muhammad Muizzuddin of Sulu and Alexander Dalrymple for the East India Company, with the Malay text on the left and the English on the right. British Library, IOR: H/629, pp. 456–57.

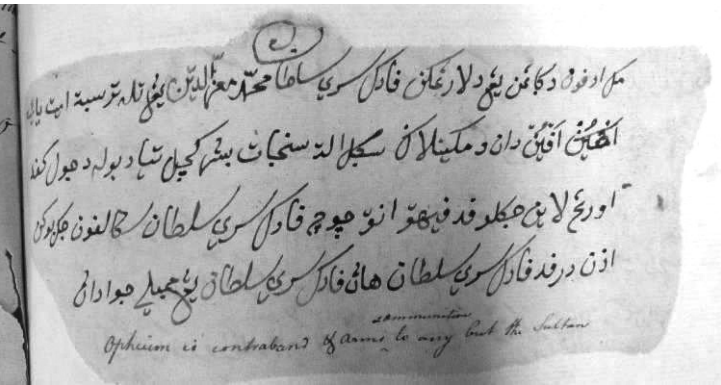


Figure 2 (A.2). Addendum to the First Sulu Treaty of 28 January 1761, banning the sale of opium and restricting the sale of arms, in Malay with brief English translation. British Library, IOR: H/629, p. 455.

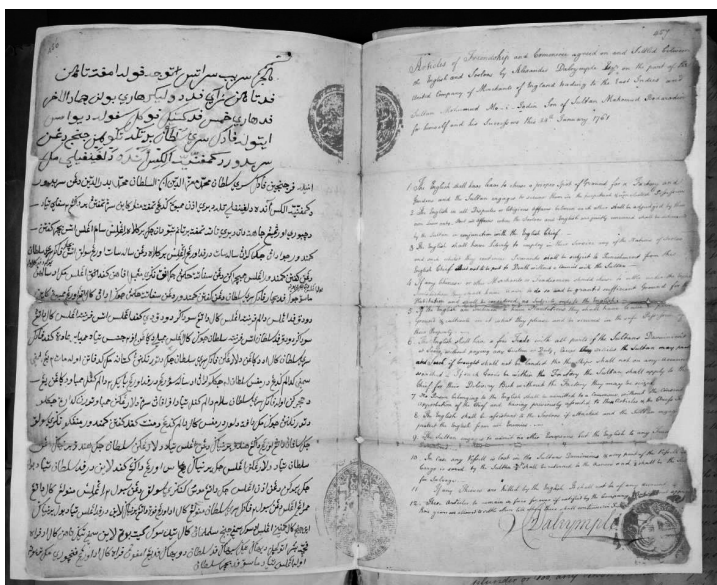


Figure 3 (A.3). Second copy of the First Sulu Treaty of 28 January 1761, ratified by the nobles of Sulu in September 1761. British Library, IOR: H/629, pp. 460–61.

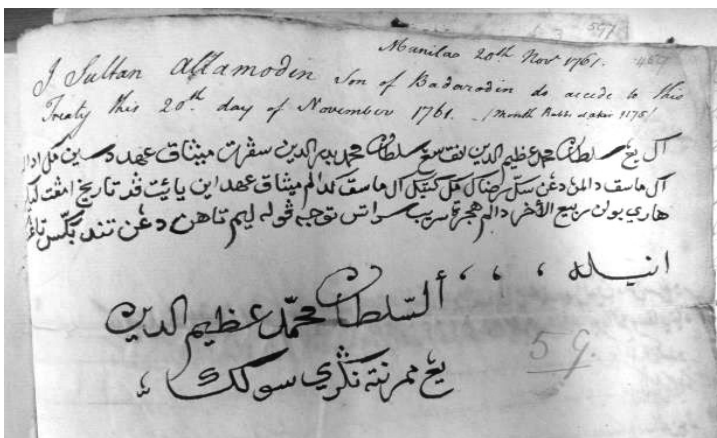


Figure 4 (A.4). Ratification by Sultan Muhammad Azimuiddin I of the First Sulu Treaty of 28 January 1761, signed in Manila, 20 November 1761. British Library, IOR: H/629, p. 459.

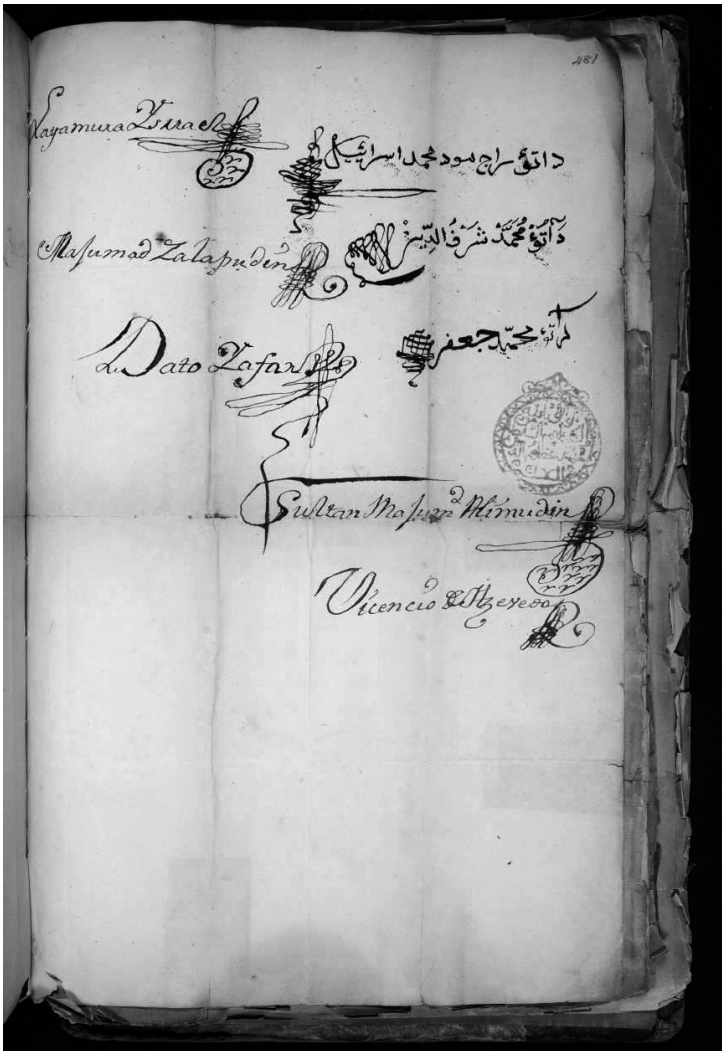


Figure 5. Dalrymple's Second Sulu Treaty; Copy in Spanish (translation of the now-lost Malay original) of the Cession of Banggui Island by Sultan Muhammad Azimuddin II of Sulu to the English East India Company, signed in Jolo, Sulu, on 19 September 1763, and sealed by the Sultan and signed in Jawi script by his three sons, Datuk Raja Muda Muhammad Isra'il, Datuk Muhammad Sharafuddin, and Datuk Muhammad Ja'far. British Library, IOR: H/629, p. 481.

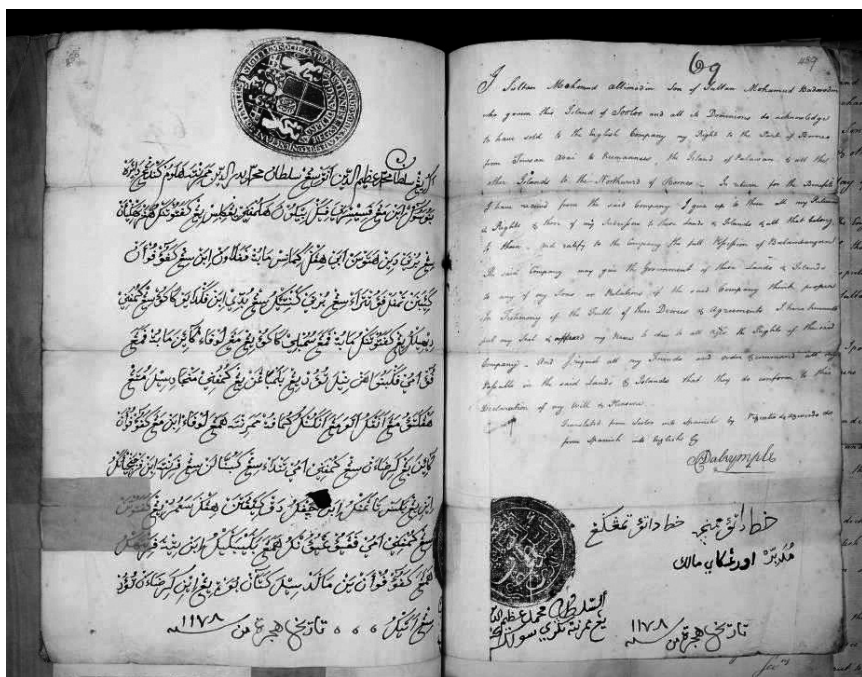


Figure 6. Dalrymple's Third Sulu Treaty, signed between Sultan Muhammad Azimuiddin I of Sulu and Alexander Dalrymple for the English East India Company, Jolo, Sulu, 2 July 1764, with Tausug text on the left and English on the right, and with the Sultan's seal stamped across two pages. British Library, IOR: H/629, p. 488–89.



Figure 7. Dalrymple's Fourth Sulu Treaty, signed between Sultan Muhammad Azimuddin I of Sulu and Alexander Dalrymple for the English East India Company, Jolo, Sulu, 28 September 1764, with Tausug text on the left and English on the right. British Library, IOR: H/629, pp. 495–502.

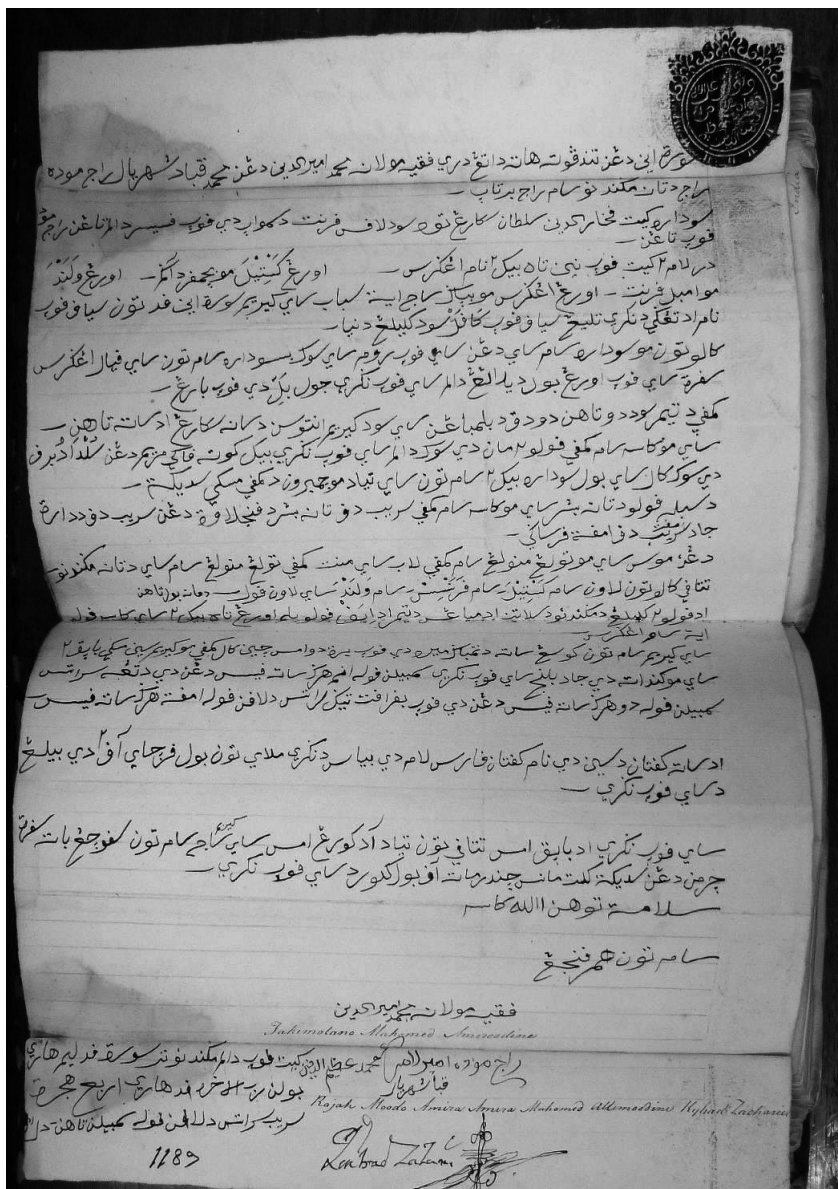


Figure 8 (B.1). Letter in Malay from Fakih Maulana and Raja Muda of Maguindanao to King George III of Great Britain, 5 Rabiulakhir 1189 (5 June 1775). British Library, IOR: H/128, pp. 496–97.



Figure 9 (from B.2). Seal of the Raja Muda of Maguindanao, inscribed in Arabic: *wa-tawakkal `alâ Allâh huwa âmir al-umarâ` Muhammad Azimuddin* (And trusting to God, he is the prince of princes, Muhammad Azimuddin). British Library, IOR: H/134, pp. 73–74.

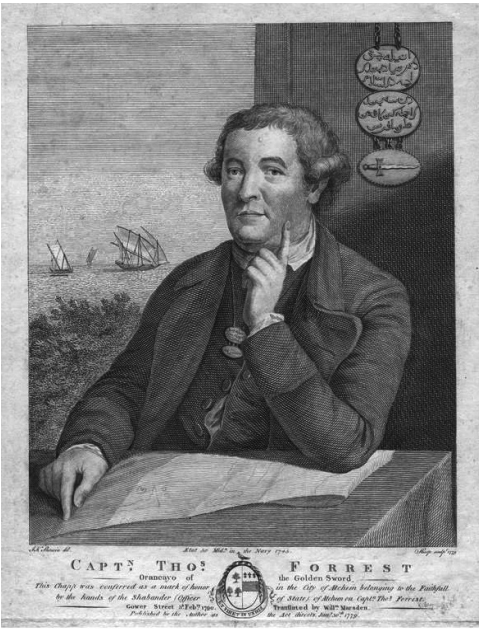


Figure 10. Thomas Forrest, frontispiece in *Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago* (London, 1792)

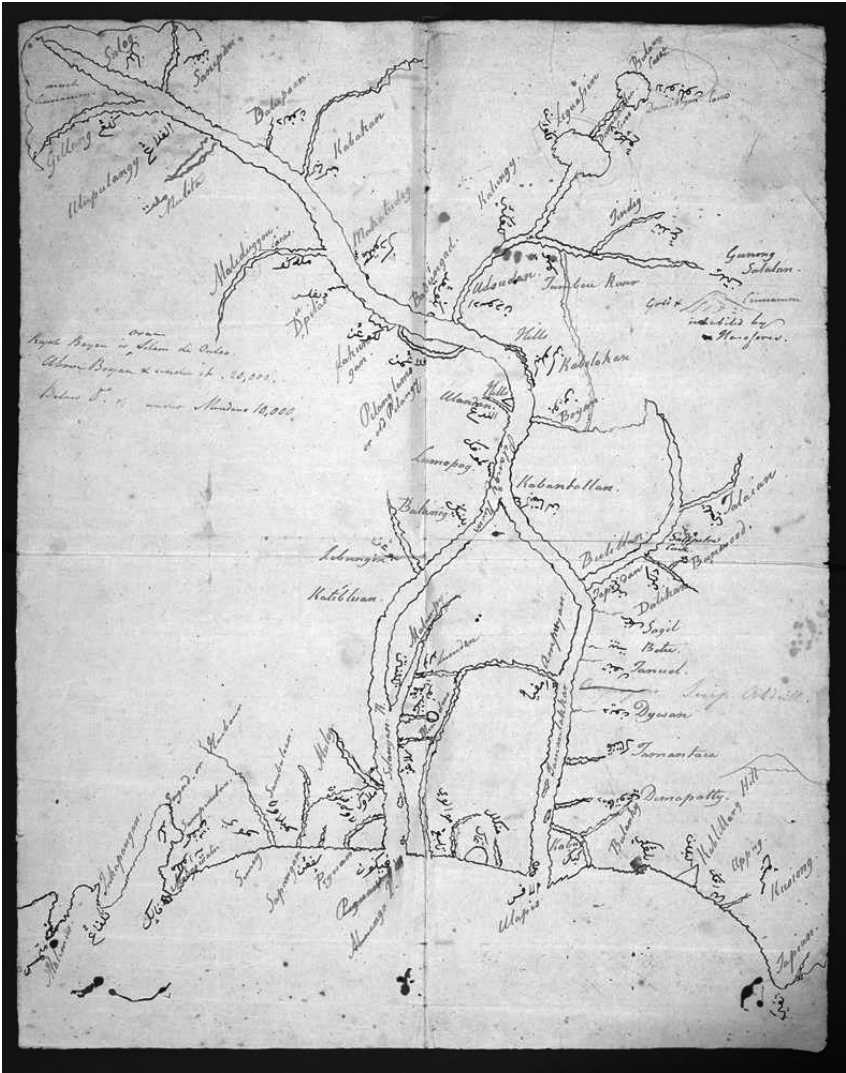


Figure 11. Map of Maguindanao, drawn by Fakih Maulana for Thomas Forrest, 1775. British Library, Add. 4924.

APPENDIX

A. FIRST SULU TREATY, 28 JANUARY 1761

A.1 (Fig.1). English text of the Sulu Treaty of 28 January 1761 British Library, IOR: H/629, p. 457⁵³

Articles of friendship and commerce agreed on and settled between the English and the Sooloos by Alexander Dalrymple Esq. on the part of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies and Sultan Mohumud Mo-i-Iodin son of Sultan Mohamud Bodarodin for himself and his successor this 28 January 1761.

1. The English shall have leave to choose a proper spot of ground for a factory and garden and the Sultan engages to secure them in the perpetual and unmolested possession.
2. The English in all disputes or litigious affairs between each other shall be adjudged by their own laws only, but all affairs where the Sooloos and English are jointly concerned shall be determined by the Sultan in conjunction with the English Chief.
3. The English shall have liberty to employ in their service any of the natives of Sooloo and such while they continue servants shall be subject to punishment from the English chief but not to be put to death without a council with the Sultan.
4. If any Chinese or other merchants or tradesmen should choose to settle under the English jurisdiction they shall have leave to do so and be granted sufficient ground for their habitation and shall be considered as subjects only to the English.

5. If the English are inclined to have plantations they shall have leave to purchase ground and cultivate on it what they please and be secured in the safe possession of their property.
6. The English shall have a free trade with all parts of the Sultan's dominions as at Sooloo, without paying any custom or duty, except any articles the Sultan may prohibit, and such if brought shall not be landed though the ships shall not on any account be searched. If such goods be within the factory the Sultan shall apply to the chief for their delivery but without the factory they may be seized.
7. No person belonging to the English shall be admitted to a commerce without the consent and approbation of the chief and having previously assented to these articles and the chief's jurisdiction.
8. The English shall be assisted to the Sooloos if attacked and the Sultan engages to protect the English from all enemies.
9. The Sultan engages to admit no other Europeans but the English to any trade in his dominions.
10. In case any vessel is lost in the Sultan's dominions and any part of the vessel and cargo is saved by the Sultan two third shall be the Sultan's for salvage.
11. If any thieves are killed by the English it shall not be of any account.
12. These articles to remain in force forever if ratified by the Company but if not approved three years are allowed to settle others till when they continue in force.

[signed] A. Dalrymple

Red ink seal of East India Company.

A.2 (Fig. 1). Malay text of the Sulu Treaty of 28 January 1761 British Library, IOR: H/629, p. 456.

A few slight differences with the later text ratified by the Datuks in September 1761 on p. 460 have been footnoted. Numbers in square brackets have been inserted to indicate the numbered clauses in the English version.

Red ink seal of the sultan, inscribed: *al-mutawakkil `alâ al-Malik al-Mubîn al-Sultan Muhammad Muizzuddin sanat 1161* (He who entrusts himself to the King, the Manifest One, the Sultan Muhammad Muizzuddin, the year 1161 [AD 1748/9]).⁵⁴

*Bi-hijrat*⁵⁵ seribu seratus tujuh puluh empat tahun pada tahun zai pada dua likur hari bulan Jumadilakhir pada hari Khamis pada ketika pukul sepuluh dewasa itulah Paduka Seri Sultan berteguh-teguhan janji⁵⁶ dengan serbadur⁵⁷ di kompani Aleksandah Dalfnfilu maka inilah perjanjian Paduka Seri Sultan Muhammad Muizzuddin ibn al-Sultan Muhammad Badruddin dengan serbadur di kompani Aleksandah Dalfnpili [1] telah diberi izin membuat gudang tempat menaru kain serta tempatnya berdagang² supaya tiada dicuri orang yang jahat, dan diberi tanah tempat bertanam tebu; [2] dan jika berkelahi Inglis sama Inglis atas bicara kapitan komandur jua adanya, jika kiranya salah satu daripada orang Inglis berkelahi dengan salah satu orang Suluk atas <bicara> Paduka Seri Sultan dengan kapitan komandur Inglis membicarakan dengan sepatut hukumnya; [3] jika anak negeri mengambil upahan kepada anak Inglis maka ada salahnya <boleh dipukul oleh {oleh} Inglis dan jika dibunuh> masuk juga pada bicara Paduka Seri Sultan dengan kapitan komandur dengan sepatut hukumnya juga adanya; [4] kalau datang orang membuat kain duduk pada Inglis dalam perintah Inglis; kalau datang saudagar duduk dia kepada Inglis, atas perintah Inglis, kalau datang saudagar duduk pada Sultan, atas perintah Sultan juga; [6] kalau Inglis membeli

dagangan apa2 jenis tiada membayar adat kepada Paduka Seri Sultan; kalau ada dagangan dilarangkan Paduka Seri Sultan jika diturunkannya ke tanah maka kedapatan oleh mata2 yang belum pi⁵⁸ sampai ke dalam gudang dirampas Sultanlah; jikalau kiranya ada salah seorang daripada orang baik2 dalam kapal membawa dagangan yang dihajikan oleh Paduka Seri Sultan, selama dalam kapal tiada apa-apanya serta dilarangkan membawa turun ke darat, jikalau diturunkannya juga maka dapat di luar dirampas, kalau dalam gudang diminta kepada kapitan komandur menunggu negeri Suluk; [7] jika seumpamanya datang orang dagang hendak berniaga dengan Inglis tiada dilarangkan Sultan, jika hendak berniaga dengan Sultan tiada dilarangkan Inglis, jika berniaga seorang dagang kepada lain daripada Sultan tiada boleh jika bukan dengan izin Inglis; [8] jika datang musu ke negeri Suluk dengan sebole2 Inglis menolong, kalau datang memerang Inglis dengan sebole2 Paduka Seri Sultan menolong, [9] kalau ada orang puti datang berniaga lain daripada Inglis tiada bole berniaga; [12] ini janji kalau kompani⁵⁹ Inglis ada suka sampai janji selama-lamanya, kalau tiada suka kita buat lain sampai tiga tahun; [10] kalau ada perahu pecah besar atau kecil dibahagi tiga, sebahagi pada Sultan dua bahagi pada yang empunya perahu; [11] kalau ada orang pencuri maka terbunuh oleh Inglis tiada masuk pada bicara Sultan.

Translation of the Malay text

In the year of the hijrah 1174, in the year Zai, on 24 Jumadilakhir, on Thursday, at 10 o'clock, at that time His Highness the Sultan confirmed an agreement with the servant of the Company Alexander Dalrymple; the terms of the agreement of His Highness Sultan Muhammad Muizzuddin ibn al-Sultan Muhammad Badruddin with the servant of the Company Alexander Dalrymple are as follows: [1] he has been given permission to construct a warehouse to store cloth and to

conduct trade, in order that [the goods] are not stolen, and has been given land to cultivate sugarcane; [2] any dispute between the English will be settled by the English chief; in any dispute between an Englishman and a Suluk the appropriate punishment will be decided by both His Highness the Sultan and the English chief; [3] if a local person finds employment with the English, and if he commits wrong he may be thrashed by the English but if he is killed the matter will come before His Highness the Sultan and the English chief for the appropriate settlement; [4] if any makers of cloth [i.e. Chinese] come and settle with the English they will be under English jurisdiction, likewise any traders who settle with the English will be under English jurisdiction, but any traders who settle with the Sultan will be under the Sultan's jurisdiction; [6] the English need not pay duty to the Sultan on any trade goods; if any trade goods prohibited by the Sultan are landed, and come to the attention of the authorities before entering the factory then they will be seized by the Sultan; if anyone on board the ship carries goods prohibited by the sultan, as long as they are on board they will be left alone but they are not allowed to be landed, if they are landed and apprehended they will be seized, if they have been carried into the factory then the chief will be demanded to answer to the state of Suluk; [7] the Sultan will not prohibit anyone who comes to trade with the English, while the English will not obstruct anyone who wishes to trade with the Sultan, if a trader comes to trade with anyone other than the sultan this is only allowed with the permission of the English; [8] the English promise to the best of their ability to assist Suluk against enemies, and His Highness the Sultan likewise promises to the best of his ability to help the English against any attack; [9] no Europeans apart from the English will be allowed to trade; [12] these are the terms of our agreement, if the English Company agrees it will be permanent, if not then the agreement will last for three years whilst renegotiating; [10] any shipwreck large or small will fall a third to the Sultan and two-

thirds to the owner of the ship; [11] if the English should kill any thieves the Sultan will not interfere.

A.3 (Fig. 2). Addendum to the Malay text of the Treaty

British Library, IOR: H/629, p. 455.

Maka adapun dagangan yang dilarangkan Paduka Seri Sultan Muhammad Muizzuddin yang telah tersebut itu iaitu apiun apiun, dan demikian lagi segala alat senjata besar kecil tiada boleh dijual kepada orang lain, jikalau pada pihak anak cucu Paduka Seri Sultan sekalipun jika bukan izin daripada Paduka Seri Sultan, hanya Paduka Seri Sultan yang membeli jua adanya.

Opium is contraband & arms & ammunition to any but the Sultan.

Translation of the Malay text

The aforementioned trade goods prohibited by His Highness Sultan Muhammad Muizzuddin are opium, while no kinds of arms, big or small, may be sold to to anyone, even to the children and grandchildren of His Highness the Sultan, without the express permission of His Highness the Sultan; only His Highness the Sultan may buy these goods.

A.4 (Fig. 3). List of Sulu notables who ratified the second copy of the Treaty in September 1761

British Library, IOR: H/629, p. 461.

Lampblack seal of the sultan, inscribed: *al-wāthiq ‘alā ... h n ... Muhammad h. ...* (He who trusts in ... Muhammad h ...).⁶⁰

The names of the 24 Datuk and Orang Kaya who ratified the treaty are given on p. 461, all preceded by the phrase *tanda bekas tangan*, 'sign manual', together with annotations in Latin script (preceded by dashes below). As the names are written in a uniform hand they were probably written by a scribe rather than being written by the officials themselves.

[Top right diagonal]

Tanda bekas tangan Datuk Ilam – D. Ilam

Tanda bekas tangan Sah Waz'an – Sawa Yaan

*Tanda bekas tangan Datuk Muluk Bandar Syah – D.
Mooloork Mandarasa*

[Right column]

Tanda bekas tangan Datuk Bendahara – Dato Bandahara

Tanda bekas tangan Datuk Maharaja Laila – Maraja Lila

*Tanda bekas tangan Datuk Johan Pahlawan – D. Juhan
Pallawan*

*Tanda bekas tangan Datuk Panglima Miriluddin – Panglima
Milahain*

*Tanda bekas tangan Orang Kaya Babuddin – Oran Ky
Baboobbee*

Tanda bekas tangan Orang Kaya Tajib – Oran Ky Tajib

Tanda bekas Orang Kaya Malik – Oran Ky Mallick

Tanda bekas Seri Lama – Saree Lama

Tanda bekas tangan Seri Lama – D. Saree Lama

*Tanda bekas tangan Hamalulalam Miang – Hamal Allam
Oodick*

*Tanda bekas tangan Hamalulalam Udik – Hamal Allam
Myang*

Tanda bekas Jamalulalam Sitin – Hamal Allam Sutin

Tanda bekas tangan Tuan Manbah – Manabu

Tanda bekas tangan Orang Kaya Atuk – Oran Ky Odoo

Tanda bekas tangan Bentara – Bantara

Tanda bekas tangan Orang Kaya Haladiman – O.K Hadduman

Tanda bekas Orang Kaya Galu – O.K Agaloo

[Left column]

Tanda bekas tangan Datuk Maharaja Laila – Maraja Lela

Tanda bekas tangan Seri Bangsawan – Sire Bangsawan

Tanda bekas Orang Kaya Abdul – O. Ky Abdool

Tanda bekas tangan Orang Kaya Mahadi – O. Ky Amohaddie

Tanda bekas tangan Orang Kaya Seri Raja – Sire Raja

A.5 (Fig. 4). Ratification by Sultan Muhammad Azimuddin I, Manila, 20 November 1761

British Library, IOR: H/629, p. 459. [This document was probably obtained personally by Dalrymple, who appears to have been in Manila from 9 November–1 December 1761 (pers. comm., Andrew Cook).]

Manila 20th Nov 1761

I Sultan Allamodin son of Badarodin do accede to this Treaty this 20th day of November 1761 - (month Rabbi al-akhir 1175)

Aku yang Sultan Muhammad Azimuddin anak sang Sultan Muhammad Badruddin seperti mithaq 'ahad⁶¹ di sini maka adalah aku masuk dalamnya dengan suka rela maka ketika aku masuk ke dalam mithaq 'ahad ini iaitu pada tarikh empat likur hari bulan Rabiulakhir dalam hijrat seribu seratus tujuh puluh lima tahun dengan tanda bekas tanganku inilah:

al-Sultan Muhammad Azimuddin yang memerintah negeri Suluk.

Translation of the Malay text

I, Sultan Azimuddin, son of the Sultan Muhammad Badruddin, assert that I have entered into this solemn covenant willingly, and that the date on which I entered into this solemn covenant is the 24th Rabiulakhir 1175 AH,⁶² and that this is my signature: the Sultan Muhammad Azimuddin who governs the state of Suluk

B. TWO ROYAL MALAY LETTERS FROM MAGUINDANAO

B.1 (Fig. 8). Letter in Malay from Fakih Maulana Muhammad Amiruddin and Raja Mudah Kibad Syahrial of Maguindanao to King George III, 5 Rabiulakhir 1189 (5 June 1775)

British Library, IOR: H/128, pp. 496–97.

Lampblack seal of the Raja Muda: *wa-tawakkal ‘alā Allāh huwa al-Fakih Maulana Muhammad Syah Amiruddin* (And trusting to God, he is the learned one, our lord Muhammad Syah Amiruddin).⁶³

Surat ini dengan tanda puti hati datang dari Fakih Maulana Muhammad Amiruddin dengan Muhammad Kibad Syahrial Raja Mudah raja di tana Maguindanao sama Raja Britania –

Saudarah kita Fakharuddin sultan sekarang tuah suda lapas perinta di semuanya dia punya pesisir dalam tangan Raja Muda punya tangan –

*Dari lama2 kita punya nenek tahu baik2 nama Inggeris – orang Kastil*⁶⁴ mau becampur dalam⁶⁵ – orang Walanda* mau ambil perinta – orang Inggeris mau beniaga saja, itu sebab saya kirim surat ini pada tuan siapa punya nama ada tinggi di negeri Telinga siapa punya kappal* suda keliling dunia –*

Kalau tuan mau saudarah sama saya dengan saya punya ruma saya suka besaudarah sama tuan saya piara Inggeris seperti saya punya orang bole dia datang dalam saya punya negeri jual beli dia punya barang –

Kompanyi di timur suda dua tahun duduk di Balambangan saya suda kirim antusan di sana sekarang ada satu tahun –

Saya mau kasih sama kompanyi pulau2 mana dia suka dalam saya punya negeri baik kota pakai meriam dengan soldadu berapa dia suka kalau saya bole saudarah baik2 sama tuan saya tiada mau cemburuan di kompanyi meski sedikit –*

Di sebelah pulau di tanah besar saya mau kasih sama kompanyi seribu depa tanah besar di p.n.j.l laut dengan seribu depa di darat jadi seribu <empat> depa empat persagi –

Dengan musu saya mau tolong menolong sama kompanyi labi⁶⁶ saya minta kompanyi tolong menolong sama saya di tanah Maguindanao tetapi kalau tuan lawan sama Kastil sama Peransis sama Walanda saya lawan pula – di mana bole tahan

Ada pulau² keliling di Maguindanao di selatan ada Miangis di timur ada Ipa pulau belum orang tahu baik² saya kasih pulauh itu sama Inggris –

Saya kirim sama tuan kusing satu di tembaga merah, dia punya berat dua emas Cina, kalau kompanyi mau kirim sini meski banyak² saya mau kendati dia jadi belanja saya punya negeri, sembilan puluh enam harga satu peso⁶⁷, dengan dia di tengah seratus sembilan puluh dua harga

satu peso, dengan dia punya beperapat tiga ratus delapan puluh empat harga satu peso –

Ada satu kapitan di sini dia nama kapitan Fares lama dia biasa di negeri Melayu tuan bole percaya apa² dia bilang di saya punya negeri –

Saya punya negeri ada banyak emas tetapi tuan tiada ada kurang emas saya <kirim> saja sama tuan sepucung batu seperti selamat tuhan Allah kasih sama tuan umur panjang

Fakih Maulana Muhammad Amiruddin

Fakimolano Mahomed Amiroodin

Raja Mudah Amir al-Umara Muhammad Azimuuddin Kibad Syahrial

Rajah Moodo Amiro Amira Mahomed Allimoodinu Kybad Zachariel

[sig: Kibad Zaharil]

Kita punya dalam Maguindanao tersurat pada lima hari bulan Rabiulakhir pada hari Arba' hijrat seribu seratus delapan puluh sembilan tahun – dal akhir

1189

Translation of the Malay text

This letter comes with purity from Fakih Maulana Muhammad Amiruddin and Muhammad Kibad Syahrial, Raja Muda, ruler of the land of Maguindanao, to the King of Britain –

Our brother Fakhruddin, the sultan, is old and has relinquished his rule over all his coasts into the hands of the Raja Muda –

Our forefathers have long known of the renown of the English – the Spanish are all for interfering in our [religion] – the Dutch are all for taking over our government – but the English just want to trade, and this is why I am sending this letter, to you Sir whose name is famed in Telinga [i.e. India] and whose ships have encircled the world –

If you wish an alliance with our house we would be happy to do so; I would safeguard the English as my own people, and they would be welcome to come and trade in my dominions –

The Company has now been established in Balambangan for two years and one year ago I sent an envoy there –

I offer to the Company any islands they wish in my dominions, for use for fortifications with guns and soldiers, as many as they wish; if I have an alliance of friendship with you Sir I will entertain no jealousy at all of the Company –

On an island off the mainland I can offer the Company a thousand fathoms along the shoreline by a thousand fathoms inland, forming a square four thousand fathoms in perimeter –

I agree to help the Company against its enemies and in return I ask the Company to assist me in Maguindanao, and if you Sir fight against the Spanish or the French or the Dutch I will join in, as I am able to

There are islands off Maguindanao, to the south is Miangis, to the east Ipa, these islands are barely known, I present these islands to the English –

I am sending to you Sir a copper *kusing*, weighing two Chinese mace, if the Company wishes to send these here,

of whatever quantity, I will accept them as currency in my dominions, 96 for one *peso*, 192 half-pieces for one *peso*, or 384 quarter pieces for one *peso* –

There is a captain here named Forrest; he has spent long in Malay lands, and you Sir may accept whatever he might say about my country –

There is much gold in my country but I know you Sir have no shortage of gold; I am sending to you Sir a piece of stone with my blessings, may God grant you Sir long life.

Fakih Maulana Muhammad Amiruddin

Raja Mudah Amir al-Umara Muhammad Azimuddin Kibad Syahrial

Our palace of Maguindanao, written on 5 Rabiulakhir on Wednesday 1189 AH, the year *dal akhir*

B.2 ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE MALAY LETTER TO THE KING BY THOMAS FORREST

British Library, IOR: H/134, pp. 73–74. Unfortunately the sheet of paper was folded in order to fit into the volume, with the result that the folded part has now been lost. Lacunae are indicated by dots (...).

Translation of Fakymolano & Raja Moodo's Let... Brittanick Majesty

This Letter comes with Purity ... Fakymolano & Mahomed Amoroodine & Mahomed ... Zachariel Raja Moodo Sovereign of Mindano t[o] ... ick Majesty

My brother Faharoodin Sulta[n] ... stricken in years, has given up all command & a ... the hands of my son Raja Moodo

Time out of mind my Ancest... known the English name, the Castilians inter ...

Our Holy Religion, the Hollanders are for usurp ... on & Sovereignty, the English are for trading or ... reason I send

this letter to your Majesty whose ... famous in the country of Telinga [Indostan] & whose ship ... round the World.

If your Majesty will be all ... to my house, I will be glad of the alliance, I will ...

your Majesty's subjects as my own, they may ... my country to trade with all freedom & safety ...

The East India Company ... settled 2 years ago at Balambangan: I sen[t]...[ambas]sadore there one year ago.

I will give to the Company a... wherever they may chuse to settle in my Coun[try]... they may build a Fort & entertain soldiers as many as...

If I am an Ally of your Majesty's I shall not in the ... jealous of the Company. /p. 74/Opposite to any Island on which the Company may chuse to settle, I will give them 1000 Fathoms in length upon the sea coast & 1000 Fathoms inland, the same making a square of 1000 Fathoms each way.

With regard to war, I will enter into Treaties offensive & defensive with the Company on the island of Magindano, but if your Majesty Wars with the Castilians, the Hollanders or the French I will War with them also.

There are many Islands around Mindanao to the S.ward there is Mianges to the East there is Yapi; Islands not yet properly discovered & known, I will give any of the islands to the Company.

I transmit to your Majesty a Coin* of red coppber its weight two China Mace, if the Company would send even quantities of them here I will admit them to be a currency in my dominions, ninety six (96) to pass for a Spanish Dollar, and (192) of their halves to pass for a Spanish Dollar.

There is an English Captain here, his Name is Captain* Forrest, he has resided long in Malay Countrys, your Majesty may depend upon what he says of my Dominions.

My Dominions abound in Gold, but, your Majesty does not want Gold; I send to your Majesty a piece of Glass Stone, & a little Cinnamon as a sample of what my Country Produces.

May God protect & grant long life to your Majesty.
[dal]am (Palace) of ... 5th day of ... il Achir ... Hajira 1189

(signed) Fakymolano Mahomed Amiroodin
Raja Moodo Amiro Amira Mahomed Allamoodin Kybad
Zachariel
A True Translation
Thos. Forrest

B.3 LETTER IN MALAY FROM FAKIH MAULANA MUHAMMAD AMIRUDDIN AND RAJA MUDAH KIBAD SYAHRIAL OF MAGUINDANAO TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 5 RABIULAKHIR 1189 (5 JUNE 1775)

British Library, IOR: H/134, p. 77.

Lampblack seal of the Raja Muda: *wa-tawakkal 'alā Allāh huwa al-Fakih Maulana Muhammad Syah Amiruddin* (And trusting to God, he is the learned one, our lord Muhammad Syah Amiruddin).⁶⁸

Surat ini dengan tandak hati puti datang dari Faqih Maulana Muhammad Amiruddin dengan Kibad Syahrial Raja Mudah raja tana Maguindanao sama kompanyi Inggeris – Saudarah kita Fakharuddin sultan sekarang tuah suda lepas perinta di semuanya pesisir dalam tangan Raja Mudah saya punya anak –

*Sekarang ada dua tahun kompanyi suda duduk di Balambangan saya suda kirim <utusan> sekarang ada satu tahun gubernadur mas Habat*⁶⁹ suda janji sama saya kirim kappal* sini dengan dagangan tetapi belum saya lihat –*

Saya dengar orang jahat di pulau Suluk suda rusa Balambangan labi sahabat suda pegi di Berunai tetapi saya bole percaya Inggeris mau kembali di Balambangan pukul baik2 sama itu orang luaran –

Kalau kompanyi mau ambil saya mau kasih sama dia pulau2 di mana dia suka di saya punya negeri baik kota pakai soldadu dengan*

meriam berapa dia suka laba saya mau kasih sama dia seribu depa tanah besar di panjar laut dengan seribu depa di darat jadi empat seribu depa keliling empat pesegi –

Labi saya tiada mau beniaga sama lain orang putih sama kompanyi saja –

Labi saya tiada mau sembuni kompanyi punya orang –

Labi jangan dia kasih b.y.w. dapa2 dia jual dapa2 dia bali –

Labi saya musu saya mau tolong menolong sama kompanyi di tanah Maguindanao tetapi di luar tanah Maguindanao saya tiada mau tolong menolong sama kompanyi kalau dia musu Kastil sama Peransis sama Walanda saya mau tolong kawal –*

Ada pulau2 keliling di Maguindanao di selatan ada Mayangis di timur ada Iba^f* dengan lain pulau2 belum orang tahu saya mau kasih pulau ini sama kompanyi –*

Ada satu kapitan Faris di sini lama dia tahu biasa di negeri Malayu* kompanyi bole percaya apa dia bilang di saya punya negeri –*

Saya kirim sama kompanyi kusing satu dia pu<nya> berat dua emas di cina* kalau kompanyi mau bawa di sini maka banyak2 saya mau kepada itu dia jadi belanja di saya punya negeri sembilan puluh enam kusing raga satu pesoul/pesois dengan dia punya di tengah seratus sembilan puluh dua satu peso dengan peperapat tiga ratus delapan puluh empat satu peso –*

Saya kirim sama kompanyi sedikit kulit manis seperti cenderamata dapa ada banyak di sini punya negeri –*

Saya punya antusan suda bejanji sama mas Habat itu janji saya mau tahan di mana bole tahan*.*

Fakih Maulana Muhammad Amiruddin

Fakimolano Mahomed Amiroodin

Raja Mudah Amir al-Umara Muhammad Azimuddin
Kibad Syahrial

Rajah Moodo Amiro Amira Mahomed Allimoodinu Kybad
Zachariel

[sig: Kibad Zaharil]

*Kita punya dalam di Maguindanao tersurat pada lima hari
bulan Rabiulakhir pada hari Arba' hijrat seribu seratus dualapan
puluh sembilan tahun – dal akhir
1189*

Note on the reverse:

*Surat di bela[k]ang
sahabat suda bilang kompanyi suda balas saya punya surat dahulu
– belum saya dapat –*

Translation of the Malay text

This letter comes with purity from Fakih Maulana Muhammad Amiruddin and Muhammad Kibad Syahrial, Raja Muda, ruler of the land of Maguindanao, to the English Company –

Our brother Fakhruddin, the sultan, is old and has relinquished his rule over all his coasts into the hands of the Raja Muda, my son –

The Company has now been established in Balambangan for two years, I sent an envoy there one year ago, the governor Mister Herbert promised me to send a ship full of trade goods but I have seen no sign of it yet –

I hear that villains from Suluk have sacked Balambangan, and furthermore my friend has left for Brunei, but I do believe the English will return to Balambangan and drive out the invaders –

If the Company wishes, I will present to the Company any islands they wish in my dominions, for use for fortifications with guns and soldiers, as many as they wish; furthermore I can offer the Company a thousand yards along the shoreline by a thousand yards inland, forming a square four thousand yards in perimeter – Moreover, I will trade with no other white men other than the Company –

Moreover, I do not wish to hide[?] the Company's men –
Moreover, no selling⁷⁰

Moreover, I agree to help the Company against its enemies in the land of Maguindanao, but I do not agree to help beyond Maguindanao; I agree to help the Company fight against the Spanish or the French or the Dutch, I will help to defend –

There are islands off Maguindanao, to the south is Miangis, to the east Ipa, together with other islands that are barely known, I would like to offer these islands to the English –

There is a Captain Forrest here; he has spent long in Malay lands, the Company may believe whatever he might say about my country –

I am sending to the Company a copper *kusing*, weighing two Chinese mace, if the Company wishes to send these here in quantity, I will accept them as currency in my dominions, 96 *kusing* for one *peso*, 192 half-pieces for one *peso*, or 384 quarter pieces for one *peso* –

I am also sending the Company a little cinnamon as a keepsake, this is widely available in this country –

My envoy concluded an agreement with Mister Herbert, I would like to ratify that agreement to the greatest extent.

Fakih Maulana Muhammad Amiruddin

Raja Mudah Amir al-Umara Muhammad Azimuddin
Kibad Syahrial

Our palace of Maguindanao, written on 5 Rabiulakhir on Wednesday 1189 AH, the year *dal akhir*

Note on the reverse:

My friend informed me that the Company had replied to my earlier letter – I have never received it –

NOTES

- 1 Cf. H. de la Costa, "Muhammad Alimuddin I, Sultan of Sulu, 1735–1773," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 38, no. 1 (1965): 43–76; Serafin D. Quiason, *English 'Country Trade' with the Philippines, 1644–1765* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1966); J. de V. Allen, A. J. Stockwell, and L. R. Wright, eds., *A Collection of Treaties and Other Documents Affecting the States of Malaysia 1761–1963* (London: Oceana, 1980); James Francis Warren, *The Sulu Zone 1768–1898*. (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1981).
- 2 After I completed writing this paper, Prof. Kawashima Midori kindly brought to my attention the important article in Japanese by San-ō Masayo (2011), which does indeed compare in great detail the English and Malay texts of the 1761 treaty.
- 3 Cesar Adib Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1999), 19.
- 4 On Sultan Azimuddin I, see de la Costa, "Muhammad Alimuddin I."
- 5 Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 20.
- 6 A catalogue description of these treaties can be found in M. C. Ricklefs, P. Voorhoeve, and Annabel Teh Gallop, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain*, new edition with addenda et corrigenda (Jakarta: Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2014), 323–24.
- 7 Allen, Stockwell, and Wright, *A Collection of Treaties and Other Documents*, 371–88. See also de la Costa, "Muhammad Alimuddin I," 72–76.
- 8 For a clause-by-clause comparison, see San-ō Masayo, "Suru okoku surutan to higashi-indo-gaisha daihyo darurinpuru no kawashita bunsho: 1761nen, jawi bunsho to eigo bunsho no hikaku kara" (Agreements between the Sulu Sultanate and Alexander D.

Darlymple of the British India Company in 1761: A Comparison of Jawi and English Documents). *Ajia Chiiki Bunka Kenkyu*, no. 7 (2011): 19–44 (in Japanese).

- 9 If a small boat has drifted out to sea with goods inside, and is recovered by someone, then the recoverer can claim one-third of the value of the goods, while the owner receives two-thirds. Yock Fang Liaw, *Undang-undang Melaka: The Laws of Melaka* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976), 121.
- 10 Thomas Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas 1774–1776*, with an introduction by David Bassett, facsimile reprint of the 2nd ed. of 1780 (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1969), 279.
- 11 Allen, Stockwell, and Wright, *A Collection of Treaties and Other Documents*, 375–76.
- 12 Warren, *The Sulu Zone 1768–1898*, 21.
- 13 Warren, *The Sulu Zone 1768–1898*, 19; David Bassett, Introduction to Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas 1774–1776*, 7.
- 14 See top line of figure 2.
- 15 Interestingly, the only other Islamic seal impression known displaying the same characteristic of having been stamped across the folds of a document, resulting in a two-part impression once the paper has been flattened, is the iconic seal impression of the Mughal emperor Babur, found on what is possibly the oldest surviving original Mughal document, a land grant dated 1527 now held in the British Library, IO Islamic 4720/1. Ursula Sims-Williams, “The Earliest Surviving Mughal Document? Blog post, 20 December 2012. <http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/asian-and-african/2012/12/earliest-surviving-mughal-document.html>.
- 16 Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas 1774–1776*, 326
- 17 Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 28.
- 18 Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas 1774–1776*, 290.

- 19 William Foster, "The Archives of the Honourable East India Company," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 4 January 1924, 111.
- 20 Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas 1774–1776*, 281.
- 21 These appear to have been typical gifts from Malay royalty to European counterparts. For a discussion of the lump of "rock gold" sent to Prince Fredrik Hendrik of Orange by Sultan Iskandar Thani of Aceh in 1639, see Annabel Teh Gallop, "Gold, Silver and Lapeso Lazuli: Royal Letters from Aceh in the Seventeenth Century," in *Mapping the Acehnese Past*, edited by R. Michael Feener, Patrick Daly, and Anthony Reid (Leiden: KITLV, 2011), 114–15.
- 22 Forrest had commented of the Raja Muda that he "prefers, in calculation, the Roman figures to the Arabic" (Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas 1774–1776*, 296).
- 23 Forrest refers to "Plate XVII," but the plate in question is the second of two plates both (erroneously) numbered "Plate 18."
- 24 Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas 1774–1776*, 186.
- 25 Partisanship.
- 26 Brother-in-law of the sultan and rival to the Raja Muda.
- 27 Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas 1774–1776*, 301.
- 28 R. Orlina, pers. comm., 10 July 2013.
- 29 Samuel K. Tan and Samier M. Bakuludan, *Surat Maguindanaoan*, compiled, edited, and annotated by Samuel K. Tan; transliterated and translated by Samier M. Bakuludan (Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1996); Samuel K. Tan, *Surat Sug: Letters of the Sultanate of Sulu. Vol.1, Kasultanan. Vol.2, Kadatuan Kabadjian Kabanuwahan Kaginisan* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 2005).
- 30 Najeeb M. Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law and Religion* [Facsimile reprint of the 1905 ed.] (Beirut: United Publishers, 1973).

- 31 For the small number of manuscripts in Philippine languages in the United Kingdom, see Ricklefs, Voorhoeve, and Gallop, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain*.
- 32 Notably Samuel Tan of the University of the Philippines in the Sulu islands and Kawashima Midori of Sophia University, Tokyo, in the Lanao region of Mindanao.
- 33 Cf. Samuel K. Tan and Munap H. Hairulla, *An Annotation of the Marsada Kitabs*, compiled, edited, and annotated by Samuel K. Tan; transliterated and translated by Munap H. Hairulla (Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines, Center for Integrative and Development Studies, 2002); Samuel K. Tan and Munap H. Hairulla, *Basilan Kitabs*, collected by Majid N. Ahajin (Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines, Center for Integrative and Development Studies, 2007); Samuel K. Tan and Munap H. Hairulla, *Tawi-Tawi Kitabs*, collected by Abubakar Asaad (Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines, Center for Integrative and Development Studies, 2007); Kawashima Midori, ed., *The Qur'an and Islamic Manuscripts of Mindanao* (Tokyo: Institute of Asian Cultures, Sophia University, 2012); Kawashima Midori and Oman Fathurahman, ed., *The Library of an Islamic Scholar of Mindanao: The Shaykh Muhammad Said Collection at the Al-Imam As-Sadiq (AS) Library, Marawi City, Philippines: An Annotated Catalogue with Essays* (Tokyo: Institute of Asian Cultures, Sophia University, 2014). See also Annabel Teh Gallop, "Islamic Manuscripts from the Philippines in U.S. Collections: A Preliminary Listing, Including Two Printed Qur'ans," *Our Own Voice*, April 2011, <http://www.oovrag.com/bibliography/bibliography13.shtml>; Annabel Teh Gallop, "Qur'an Manuscripts from Mindanao in U.S. Collections," *Our Own Voice*, April 2011. <http://www.oovrag.com/essays/essay2011a-1.shtml>.
- 34 Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law and Religion*, 66.
- 35 Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas 1774–1776*, 210.
- 36 Ibid., 297.
- 37 Ibid., 209.

- 38 Ibid., 247.
- 39 Ibid., 296.
- 40 Ibid., 292.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Ibid., 201.
- 43 Ibid., 251.
- 44 Ibid., 289.
- 45 British Library, Or. 15510 A & B.
- 46 Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas 1774–1776*, 291.
- 47 Bassett, Introduction to Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas 1774–1776*, 11.
- 48 Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas 1774–1776*, 227.
- 49 Ibid., 329.
- 50 de la Costa, “Muhammad Alimuddin I, 43.
- 51 Ibid., 47.
- 52 Ibid., 55.
- 53 Allen, Stockwell, and Wright, *A Collection of Treaties and Other Documents*, 375–76).
- 54 Annabel Teh Gallop, “Malay Seal Inscriptions: A Study in Islamic Epigraphy from Southeast Asia” (PhD diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2002: 3.565, #409). Although the seal is illegible on this document, the inscription has been read from another example of the same seal reproduced in Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 210.

- 55 Datuks: Hijrat.
- 56 Datuks: *berteguh-teguhan dengan*.
- 57 s.r.b.d.w.r
- 58 That is, short form for *pergi*?
- 59 Datuks: *jikalau kapitan Inglis ada suka*.
- 60 Gallop, "Malay Seal Inscriptions," 3.566, #410.
- 61 The use of this technical Arabic term, not found in Malay, is evidence of Azimuddin's fluency in Arabic.
- 62 By standard reckonings, 24 Rabiulakhir 1175 is equivalent to Sunday 22 November 1761; the discrepancy of two days is of the order that can be accounted for by variant sightings of the moon.
- 63 Gallop, "Malay Seal Inscriptions," 3.561, #399.
- 64 This and all other asterisked words are fully vocalized in the Jawi text.
- 65 On the basis of Forrest's translation, the word *agama* (religion) appears to be missing from here.
- 66 l.a.b., *labi*—that is, Malay *lebih* (with thanks to Jim Collins for this suggestion), or possibly Maguindanao *labi*, 'especially', see Maguindanao online dictionary: <http://www.sealang.net/maguindanao/dictionary.htm>, (accessed 19 May 2014).
- 67 p.y.s, *peso*? Forrest translates this as "Spanish dollar."
- 68 Gallop, "Malay Seal Inscriptions," 3.561, #399.
- 69 m.s.h.a.b.t, "Mister Herbert"—that is, John Herbert, chief of the Balambangan factory.
- 70 The meaning of this sentence is not clear.

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