Conservation of the Islamic Manuscripts of Mindanao:
The Case of the Qur'an of Bayang
With Notes by Annabel The Gallop

KAWASHIMA Midori

A Note on the Qur'an of Bayan, and Illuminated Islamic
Manuscripts from the Philippines

Annabel Teh GALLOP

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—アジア・アフリカのアイデンティティ再構築の比較—』
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Conservation of the Islamic Manuscripts of Mindanao:  
The Case of the Qur’an of Bayang  
*With Notes by Annabel Teh Gallop*

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1. Introduction

Muslim areas in southern Philippines had been maintaining close contact with the neighboring areas in Southeast Asia, until the first half of the 20th century. Islamic manuscripts and books written in Arabic, Malay, Indonesian, and other vernacular languages such as Maranao, Maguindanao, Tausug and so on used to circulate in these areas, playing an important role in guiding people’s lives as a source of religious knowledge and at the same time reflecting people’s aspirations and thoughts.

However, several problems have hindered conservation and study of Islamic manuscripts in the Philippines. Most of the old manuscripts including Islamic ones have been privately conserved as family heirlooms, and rarely shown to those outside the family. Some of these manuscripts had been captured by American soldiers and taken away from where they used to belong, or destroyed in battles fought between the Muslims in Mindanao and the U.S. forces in the beginning of the 20th century. Furthermore, prolonged armed conflict in Mindanao from the early 1970s to the present had seriously affected the conservation of these manuscripts. Many of them were abandoned, destroyed, or lost in the turmoil.

Besides, since Muslims are a minority in the overwhelmingly Christian-dominated country, academics and policy makers based in Manila have largely ignored the value of Islamic manuscripts. Some efforts have been made to collect and conserve such material in universities and research institutes based in Mindanao, but lack of funds and disorder resulting from the prolonged armed conflict in the region, has seriously affected their development. As a result, there is at present a definite dearth of such manuscripts accessible to researchers and the general public.

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1 The Gowing Memorial Research Center of Duslanan College in Marawi City is a precious depository that has a collection of manuscripts and printed booklets on Islam. See [Kawashima 2011]. The library of the Mindanao State University in Marawi City used to have a wonderful collection of material on Philippine Muslims and Mindanao that included manuscripts, but the whole library was burned down in 2000, and all its material was lost. The library was reopened in the same year, and is in the process of reconstruction.
Furthermore, information on such manuscripts is also seriously lacking, impeding the development of studies in this field.

This paper is an attempt to fill in this gap, by providing information on a certain manuscript of the Qur’an of Mindanao, which was named “Maradika” (“freedom” in Maranao), and which had been bequeathed as a family heirloom in the municipality of Bayang in the Lanao del Sur province, in the central part of Mindanao island (hereafter, the Qur’an of Bayang). The paper begins with a brief review of selected works dealing with Islamic manuscripts of the Philippines, and then traces the origin of the Qur’an of Bayang and describes the events that took place in connection with it, followed by a discussion of problems concerning the conservation of Islamic manuscripts in the Philippines. It also includes a note on the significance of the Qur’an of Bayang, prepared by an expert in the study of Islamic manuscripts in the Southeast, namely Dr. Annabel Teh Gallop of the British Library.

2. Selected Works Dealing with Islamic Manuscripts of Southern Philippines

Among the most widely known works on the subject are those of Najeeb Saleeby. Saleeby was a Christian Arab who served as a surgeon in the US Army during the Filipino-American War, and he was sent to Mindanao. He subsequently served as an officer in the Ethnological Survey of the Philippines, and further as the Superintendent of Schools of the Moro Province, until he retired from public service in 1906 to work as a medical director in a hospital in Manila. Because of his familiarity with the Arabic language and Islam, he became friendly with Muslim leaders in Mindanao and Sulu, and was able to secure copies of the tarāʾil (genealogy) and other manuscripts, which were jealously guarded as family treasures [Majul 1963; 1976].

In addition to Spanish and English source material, he utilized local manuscripts and oral traditions, and conducted studies on history, customary laws, religion, and other social and cultural aspects of Muslim societies in Mindanao and Sulu. In his book entitled Studies in Moro History, Law and Religion [1905], he presents literal English translations of a total of 13 manuscripts, consisting of 8 tarāʾil, 3 law codes, and 2 khutbah (sermon). In another book of his, namely The History of Sulu [1908], Saleeby also utilizes a tarāʾil as source material, and presents the English translation of its text. These two books laid the groundwork for the study of Islam in the Philippines, and also made the contents of the manuscripts accessible to the public. The above-mentioned two books of Saleeby have been utilized as source material, and cited in a number of studies on Islam and Muslims in the Philippines. [Majul 1973] and [Hooker 1984] are among them.

While admitting the invaluable contribution of the pioneering works of Saleeby, one must point out that there are a few shortcomings in his works, when viewed from the point of view of the study of Islamic manuscripts. First, they do not give us the transliterations of the full texts of the manuscripts, thus making it impossible for us to read the texts in the original languages. Second, the manuscripts studied and published by Saleeby are limited to 3 types, namely tarāʾil, law codes, and khutbah. Other types of manuscripts such as the Qurʾan, tafsīr, hadith, tarawwuf, qissat etc. have not been included. On this point, Annabel Gallop considers that this is because the latter genre were mostly written in Arabic, and hence were considered not “original” products of Mindanao and Sulu, and that Saleeby concentrated on the “local products” in local languages.

Since the days of Saleeby Islamic manuscripts in Mindanao and Sulu have attracted several scholars, among whom are [Madale 2001] [Sakilii 2003]. The collection and research of Islamic manuscripts have been actively conducted by the Mindanao Studies Program at the Center for Integrative and Development Studies (CIDS) of the University of the Philippines under the leadership of the Program’s convener, Dr. Samuel Tan. As of now five titles have been published in a Jawi Documentary Series by the CIDS [Tan 1996a; 1996b] [Tan and Hairul 2002; 2007a; 2007b], while another title was published by the National Historical Institute [Tan 2005]. These publications brought to light the importance of manuscripts that had not received adequate academic attention, as source material for the study of Islam and Muslims in the Philippines.

Kawashima published several articles utilizing various Islamic manuscripts written in the Maranao language [Kawashima 2002; 2003; 2007; 2009] and compiled a couple of catalogues [Kawashima et al. 2010] [Kawashima 2011]. Gallop examined several handwritten copies of the Qurʾan said to be from the Philippines from a viewpoint of Islamic philology, focusing upon its calligraphy, illuminations and other physical characteristics, and comparing them with those of other parts of the world, but came to the conclusion that those particular manuscripts were written by scribes from Daghestan, in the northern Caucasus region of Russia [Gallop 2008a; 2008b]. Jiménez is also conducting a research on Islamic manuscripts in the depositories in Spain, Philippines and elsewhere [Jiménez 2010].

2 The word is equivalent to “Merdeka” in the Malay and Indonesian languages.
3 For a more comprehensive discussion on the development of the study of Islamic manuscripts in the Philippines, see [Jiménez 2010], which I obtained just before this paper goes to the press.

4 Gallop points out the same bias which has affected Indonesian studies, where all the philological studies were on works in Malay, Javanese etc., with almost no attention paid to Arabic, until very recently (Personal communication from Gallop to Kawashima, Feb 24, 2011).
Thus, recent studies on Islamic manuscripts of the Philippines are expected to open up a new field, which would shed new light on Muslims in the Philippines and their relationship with those beyond the state boundary.

3. The Oral Tradition Concerning the Qur’an of Bayang

The following is a summary of information concerning the Qur’an of Bayang, based on a story handed down to Alim Usman Imam Shiek al-Aman, a direct descendent of a person who is said to have copied it.1

The ancestor (several generations earlier) was called Saidna, and Saidna was born in Binidayan, a village on the southern shore of Lake Lanao. He left for Mecca when he was twelve years old in order to study Islam, and when he reached Mecca he studied there and returned home after eighteen years. On his way home from Mecca he sojourned at Palembang where he copied the Qur’an, and he brought back this copy of the Qur’an. Because he had undertaken a pilgrimage to Mecca he was called Haji sa Binidayan (Haji of Binidayan). He reformed a system of government based on Islam in Binidayan and its neighboring village, namely Bayang. He is said to have been one of the earliest Haji from Lanao who had studied in Mecca for a long time.

In earlier days there existed very few copies of the Qur’an in Lanao, and each copy was given a certain name, just as in the case of people. The manuscript of the Qur’an that he copied in Palembang was named “Maradika.” Names given to other copies of the Qur’an include Donum and Makasiran. Saidna also brought back a copy of the Qur’an printed in Mecca, which was given to his wife, namely Rai sa Ganassi (Princess of Ganassi), whom he married after he had returned to Lanao. Hence, this copy was called “Ganassi”.

Since then the “Maradika” or the Qur’an of Bayang had been inherited by Saidna’s descendants in Bayang, as a family heirloom, and it was also an important object for the community. When villagers made rules stipulating matters concerning the governance of the community or settled disputes among themselves, they used to take a sacred oath upon the Qur’an. Thus, the Qur’an of Bayang had a certain personality and sacred power, and it was a sacred object for the whole community.

4. The Qur’an of Bayang in the U.S.

On May 2 and 3, 1902, the Maranao people of Bayang and its adjacent areas fought a heavy battle against the U.S. expeditionary forces commanded by Col. Frank D. Baldwin. The Maranao chiefs and their followers holed up and fought in a fortified


structure called kota in Bayang, but they were however subdued by the fierce attack of the American troops, resulting in the death of as many as 300 to 400 Maranao people.4 The oral tradition handed down to Alim Usman has it that the “Maradika” was taken away by the Americans on that occasion, and the whereabouts of the copy was not known to the local people for a long time.

In the meantime, an old manuscript of the Qur’an was brought to the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago by a former Surgeon U. S. Volunteers, namely Dr. Ralph S. Porter, in 1904.5 Porter had been stationed in Mindanao, and participated in the operation in Bayang as staff of Colonel Baldwin and served as chief surgeon in the field.6 Porter was also one of the pioneers in the study of the Magindanao language and folklore. He translated Magindanao stories into English and wrote a primer of the language [Porter 1902a; 1902b; 1903].

This manuscript of the Qur’an had been stored in the Departmental Archives of the museum until 1966, and was subsequently turned over to the library of the museum.7 A handwritten note on a triangular piece of paper is found on the back cover of the copy of the Qur’an.8 The note states (See Fig. 7): Handmade copy of Konna belonged to the Sultan of Bayang & captured with his fort by the 27th Inf, May 2-1902

From the above, it seems reasonable to conclude that this copy of the Qur’an that found its way into the Field Museum, was the same one named “Maradika” that was handed down by the descendents of Saidna.

5 The battle-ground is called Padang Karbala by the Maranao, who compared this incident with the place of martyrdom of Husain, the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad and the son of the fourth Caliph Ali, and his followers in Karbala, a city in present Iraq. For the battle of Bayang and Padang Karbala, see [Saber 1980; Gowing 1983; Magdalena 2002; Riwarung 2002; Twagon 2002; Teanco 2007; Kawashima 2011].
6 Papers concerning the Qur’an of Bayang in the Field Museum of Natural History.
8 Papers concerning the Qur’an of Bayang in the Field Museum of Natural History.
9 It appears on one of the photographs of the Qur’an of Bayang. The Field Museum staff took these photographs before they were sent to the Philippines.
studied and wrote about the Philippines. The post-World War II fieldwork and research in archaeology, anthropology, ethnological studies and museology was conducted through the collaboration of American scholars and their Filipino associates and students, and the latter came into positions of leadership in the National Museum of the Philippines [Solheim 2006]. The good working-relationship and mutual trust that had developed between the personnel of the two museums, contributed to the smooth negotiation of the return of the Qur’an of Bayang to the Philippines.

The talks concerning the return of the copy of the Qur’an, started approximately two years before its actual return to the National Museum of the Philippines in March 1980. At that time, the authorities of the two museums were discussing the issue of returning the golden image of the Buddha that was discovered in Butuan in 1917, and which was purchased by the Field Museum. In the course of this negotiation, the possibility of returning the Qur’an of Bayang was also discussed. In January 1979, the Field Museum officially approved the transfer of the Qur’an of Bayang to the Philippines, and in March 1980 it arrived in Manila and was brought to the National Museum of the Philippines, and subsequently exhibited at Expo 1980 held at the Philippine in Manila.

6. Controversy over the Ownership

During the negotiations for the return of the Qur’an of Bayang, it was suggested by the National Museum of the Philippines that it be turned over to the Aga Khan Museum of Mindanao State University in Marawi City of Lanao del Sur, which was the largest museum in the area inhabited by the Maranao people. The idea was enthusiastically received by the Aga Khan Museum, and arrangements were made to hand it over to them from the National Museum of the Philippines.

However, a controversy arose, since several personalities of Lanao del Sur vied for credits. The personnel of the National Museum tried to bring it to the Aga Khan Museum as previously arranged, and so they headed for Cagayan de Oro, which was the airport closest to Marawi City, but the airplane was forced to return to Manila because of a typhoon. In the meantime, Mrs. Imelda Marcos, the wife of then President Ferdinand Marcos heard of the issue and expressed a desire to see the Qur’an of Bayang. It was hence taken to the Malacañang Palace, which is the official residence of the President, and it thereafter continued to remain there. In February 1986, the “People Power Revolution” took place, and as an outcome of this President and Mrs. Marcos and their family members were forced to leave the Malacañang Palace. When Marcos and his entourage left the palace, the people rushed into it. Later, a representative of the National Museum was sent to the Malacañang Palace in order to make an inventory of the museum artifacts contained therein, but the Qur’an of Bayang was not found, and it has been missing ever since.

7. Problems and Prospects concerning the Conservation of Islamic Manuscripts

These series of events that took place with regard to the Qur’an of Bayang, are indicative of the following problems regarding the conservation of Islamic manuscripts in the Philippines. A big gap exists between the perceptions of museum curators and administrators and those of the majority population of Lanao, with regard to the Qur’an of Bayang. The museum personnel viewed it first of all as a public cultural property of the Philippines, and as something representative of the culture of the Muslims in Lanao, who constitute a section of the nation’s inhabitants. Hence, they sought to preserve it in a local museum located in the place from where it came. This view however, was not widely shared by Muslims in Lanao. For them, the Qur’an of Bayang was primarily the inherited heirloom of a particular family, and was thus the personal property of its members, who had an exclusive claim to its ownership. This difference in perception regarding the Qur’an of Bayang, gave rise to the problem as to where it should be preserved. This indicates that the expertise and good intentions of researchers and curators alone are insufficient to ensure the successful conservation of manuscripts or other objects of cultural value, because the cooperation of the people of the community is also necessary. Indeed, I would argue that it is most important to devise a system of preservation that is acceptable to the greater part of the people in the area and which is actively supported and endorsed by them in order to conserve Islamic manuscripts. Furthermore, the study of Islamic manuscripts should be developed right within the Muslim area in the southern Philippines, so that those who had nurtured such a tradition may actively participate in this field of study and take the

11 Interview with Dr. Jesus Peralta, Mar. 17, 2010. The golden image of Buddha was not transferred to the Philippines, but the Field Museum donated two replicas to the National Museum of the Philippines, one of which is now in the depository of the Butuan Branch of the National Museum.


14 Personal communication with Dr. Peralta in Jan. 2010, and the interview with Dr. Peralta on Mar. 17, 2010. A brief paper dated May 2, 1980, published by the Aga Khan Museum states that the Qur’an was officially turned over to the Aga Khan Museum and that it shall be preserved and protected in the museum [Aga Khan Museum 1980: 1]. Another account on the return of the Qur’an says that it was supposed to be returned to the owners from Bayang but that it was misplaced on the way to Marawi [A. Madale 1997: 143].

15 Personal communication with Dr. Peralta in Jan. 2010, and the interview with Dr. Peralta on March 17, 2010.
initiative in its development on their own and for the benefit of the general public in the area.

Although the Qur'an of Bayang once attracted a good deal of attention from the Philippines in general and the people of Lanao in particular, yet with the passage of time they lost interest in it. Since its disappearance, it has been almost forgotten. However, even though the original is missing, it is fortunate that the Qur'an of Bayang was duplicated and conserved, by both the Field Museum and the National Museum of the Philippines. In view of the fact that only few old copies of the Qur'an have been conserved [Gallo 2008a; 2008b], these duplicates of the Qur'an serve as valuable source material in furthering our understanding of the intellectual history of the Muslims in the Philippines, as well as their interaction with Muslims in other parts of Southeast Asia, South Asia and the Middle East. Although they may have no value as artifacts or antiques, yet they constitute a rich source material for the study of Islamic philology, the history of the writing tradition, intellectual history, and other related fields, as exemplified in the following note by Gallop.

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This research would not have been possible without the cooperation and assistance of a number of individuals and institutions. Alim Usman Imam Shiek Al-Aman imparted to me the local oral tradition concerning the Qur'an of Bayang. Dr. Jesus Peralta (Consultant of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts, the Philippines, and former director of the National Museum of the Philippines), and Mr. Artemio Barbosa (Anthropology Division of the National Museum of the Philippines), made a photocopy of the Qur'an of Bayang available to me. Dr. Bennet Bronson (Curator Emeritus, Field Museum of Natural History) kindly responded to my inquiry and referred me to the Field Museum. The staff of the Field Museum, namely Mr. John Kelly (Collection Manager, Dept. of Anthropology), Ms. Nina Cummings (Photo Archivist, Photo Archives Dept.), and Ms. Patricia Lord (Registration Assistant, Dept. of Anthropology), assisted my research in an efficient manner by making photographs of the Qur'an of Bayang and other related material available to me. Dr. Annabel Teh Gallop (Head, Southeast Asia Section, The British Library) contributed a valuable note on the Qur'an of Bayang. My field trip to the Philippines in March 2010 was made possible by the Science Research Promotion Fund of the Promotion and Mutual Aid Corporation for Private Schools of Japan (Project “Cultural Heritage in the Resurgence of Nationalism”).

I would like to express my heart-felt gratitude to these individuals and institutions, and to the many others whose names I have not mentioned, for their cooperation and assistance.

Before the Qur'an of Bayang was moved from the National Museum, then curator Dr. Jesus Peralta had made a photocopy of the whole volume. The photocopy is at present in the depository of the main library of the National Museum (Interview with Dr. Peralta, Mar. 17, 2010).
Figures 1 and 2:
Initial illuminated frames of the Bayang Qur'an, with Surat al-Fatihah on the right-hand page and the beginning of Surat al-Baqarah on the left-hand page.

Figures 3 and 4:
Final pair of illuminated frames with Surat al-Lahab and Surat al-Bihlas on the right-hand page, and Surat al-Filayn and Surat al-Nas on the left-hand page.

Figure 5: A typical text page of the manuscript, with a marginal ornament labelled thum, indicating an eighth part of a thirtieth portion (juz') of the Qur'an.

Figure 6: A page showing at the top right the illuminated marginal ornament containing 'qun, and at bottom right the inscription (probably in red ink) al-juz', with a correction to the Qur'anic text inserted in the margin, marked with a small v-shaped caret. The heading for Surah Hud is written in red ink, and in the opening besmalah the scribe has forgotten to rule in the straight black line joining up the letters sin and mim of the word bism.
A Note on the Qur’an of Bayang, and Illuminated Islamic Manuscripts from the Philippines

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The Bayang Qur’an is important as a rare example of a complete illuminated Philippine Qur’an manuscript. Even though the original can no longer be traced at present, enough reproductions have survived to enable a tentative codicological reconstruction of the manuscript. In this brief note I will first describe the manuscript, and then attempt to contextualise it alongside other illuminated Islamic manuscripts from the Philippines. The following comments are based on digital copies of 4 colour photographs and a selection of 37 black-and-white photocopies obtained from the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago by M. Kawashima17; the images are all of single pages and there is no numbering or other indication of position within the manuscript. I was also assisted by some notes made on 7 January 1980 by M. Jamil Hanifi, who inspected the 37 photocopies, which may have been numbered for his benefit18.

1. The Bayang Qur’an

The manuscript comprises bound quires of creamy laid paper, seemingly of European manufacture, without an outer binding. On the first page is an illuminated roundel in the middle of the page, with a triangular label (an envelope flap?) stuck on the top, as read by Kawashima: Hand-made copy of Koran belonged to the Sultan of Bayang & captured with his fort by the 27th Inf. May 2 – 1902.

There are two pairs of illuminated frames in this manuscript, at the beginning (Figs. 1 and 2) and at the end (Figs. 3 and 4), which are quite different in style. The initial pair enclose, on the right hand page, Surat al-Fatiha, and on the left-hand page, the beginning of Surat al-Baqarah. On each page the text is enclosed in a series of rectangular frames (described from the inside outwards): a thin frame of yellow

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17 A photocopy of the complete manuscript is held in the main library of the National Museum of the Philippines.

outlined in black, followed by a wider red frame enclosing a leafy scroll in reserved white (whereby the white background of the paper is manipulated as part of the artist’s palette) with black elements. On each of the four sides of this frame is a triangular arch with a red ground containing a scrolled pattern in reserved white with yellow and black details; the arch is smallest on the inner margin. At top and bottom the triangular arch is flanked by two undulating half-arches, which each adjoin a pair of extended double vertical borders, one left in reserved white and one coloured yellow. From the extreme tip of the vertical borders, and from their sides, sprout delicate floral finials. Likewise, from the junctures between the arches and semi-arches at top and bottom sprout thin finials with multiple cross-sections. The palette is predominantly red, with yellow, black and reserved white.

The final pair of illuminated frames enclose, on the right-hand page, Surat al-Lahab and Surat al-B qintas, and on the left-hand page, Surat al-Falag and Surat al-Nax. The text blocks are flanked by two vertical borders extended upwards and downwards, which enclose horizontal borders above and below the text. Both the horizontal and vertical borders are decorated with a pattern of chevrons in black and red, with thinner bands of reserved white. The outer vertical border has an adjoining parallel border of the same height and width, which has been left uncleared. Along the vertical sides, both inner and outer frames are adorned with three sets of pyramidal clumps of semi-circles, and similar clusters of demi-circles sit above and below the horizontal borders. From the peaks of these clumps extend finials with multiple arms, leaves or buds.

In addition to these two pairs of illuminated frames, there are two further pairs of pages containing exactly the same texts, in the same hand, and in the same layout, but without any decorative borders. Such an arrangement, though puzzling, is not uncommon in Southeast Asian Qurʾan manuscripts.

Apart from these initial and final pages, each page has 15 lines of text, in black ink, set within text frames of triple-ruled lines of black ink (Fig. 5). The text is written in a hand which is small, rounded, sturdy and consistent, without actually qualifying as elegant. Verse markers are black circles coloured in red. Surah headings are written in red ink and set within rectangular double-ruled black ink frames; on some pages the final words of the preceding surah flank or are flanked by the surah heading. For those surah which start with the basmalah, the first word, bism, is written with an elongated ruled sin-min ligature. On some pages (for example at the beginning of Surat Hud), the scribe has forgotten to return to rule in the sin-min ligature, with the result that there is a long gap between the sin and mim of the basmalah (Fig. 6).

In the margin are indicated standard regular divisions of the Qurʾanic text into thirty equal parts known in Arabic as jaw ’ (plural ajza’), and parts of a jaw ’: nisf (half), rub’ (quarter) and ihmm (eighth), and also the Arabic letter ‘ayn, indicating a place in the text where the reader should bow (ruku’). Jaw ’ are simply indicated in the margin with the inscription al-jaw ’, but the names of the portions of the jaw ’ and the ‘ayn are usually inscribed within illuminated petalled rounds coloured in red, yellow, reserved white and black ink. The margins also contain other annotations, including corrections and additions to the text, and reading marks; on one page, Hanifi noted what could be a date: ba’d Safar 1271, ‘after Safar 1271’, possibly 1241 (1825/26 AD); certainly there is nothing in the manuscript which would contradict the suggestion of a dating to the early-nid 19th century.

There is also supplementary textual material in this volume. At the beginning is a page which may be partially in Malay on the properties of certain letters (starts: ini baca ... sepuluh dan lima [followed by a string of Arabic letters], ini baca ... empul kali [letters], ini baca bilangan dua kali separit ..., etc.), followed by a page with just two lines of Arabic at the bottom. After the Qurʾanic text are four pages in Arabic with prayers. At the very end of the manuscript, on the final page, mirroring the illuminated medallion on the first page, is a simpler 4-ruled roundel inscribed tammat la illaha illalah, ‘finished, there is no God [but] Allah’.

It should be stressed that in almost every single aspect, the Bayang Qurʾan conforms to the general graphic profile of Southeast Asian Qurʾans. Thus all the key features of this manuscript highlighted above – the ruled text frames; round verse markers; red ink surah headings, sometimes intermingled with the final words of the previous surah; illuminated frames highlighting the beginning and end of the book; illuminated marginal ornaments to mark divisions of a jaw ’; a palette of red, yellow, reserved white, within black ink outlines – are all commonly encountered in Southeast Asia [Gallop 2007]. The only unusual element is the illuminated medallion placed deliberately on the front page, mirrored by a simpler roundel at the end. This feature – recalling the beautiful shamsa or sunburst medallions often found at the beginning of Persian manuscripts, or illuminated calligraphic roundels seen at the start of some Chinese Qurʾans – is rarely encountered in Southeast Asia.

2. Islamic Manuscript Illumination from the Philippines

A few years ago I worked on an unusual group of illuminated Qurʾan manuscripts, with colophons that gave as their place of copying various locations in Borneo and the Philippines26, but which in all respects bore little relation to other

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19 Hanifi read the final digit as '3', but it is clearly '1', adjacent to which is a tashhid.
20 One manuscript mentioned in the colophon masjid al-Jokki al-Hakari bi-Filiibbin [Gallop
Southeast Asian Qur’ans. After careful study, all these Qur’an manuscripts turned out to be Daghistani in terms of artistic style and codicological practice [Gallop 2008]. While it is possible that the manuscripts were written in the Philippines by Daghistani scribes, it is important to distinguish between this group of Qur’ans, and ‘indigenous’ Philippine Qur’an manuscripts.

At the time of my research, I was hampered by the almost complete absence of any published reproductions of illuminated Islamic manuscripts from the Philippines. But within the past few years, a few new sources have emerged that made it possible, at last, to make a few tentative comments about a local ‘Philippine style’ of Islamic manuscript illumination.

Listed here are all known examples of illuminated Philippine Islamic manuscripts:

- Qur’an, Bristol University Library, DM 32, presented by Canon Welchman in 1936. Lacking beginning and final page, but contains one illuminated frame, surrounding Surat al-Falaq (i.e. the right-hand page of what would originally have been a double-page illuminated spread with Surat al-Nas on the left-hand page).
- Four Qur’an manuscripts were photographed by Elsa Clavé in Mindanao, April 2007. Of these four, one is probably Ottoman and may have been brought back from the haji; one has completely disintegrated due to the use of iron-gall ink and nothing can be said about it; and the third is only known from the a photograph of the first page, with no information on the form of the Qur’anic text inside. The fourth, however, is extremely interesting, and is an example of the ‘Sulawesi diaspora style’ of Qur’an manuscript, associated with the Bugis/Makassar communities from south Sulawesi who have spread all over the archipelago.
- Prayer book, University of Michigan Library, Isl. Ms. 839, donated by Captain A.R. Alfred in 1932. Watermarks described as ‘initials A.R.T. with crown and shield; cursive monogram AG or GA’, and thus probably written on Italian paper manufactured by Andrea Galvani. Double illuminated frames, another two single illuminated headpieces, and many other illuminated foliate elements throughout the work. Fully digitised and now available online: http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/002631722
- Prayer book, from Dansalan, apparently taken to the United States; black-and-white photographs retained in Marawi, and made available courtesy of Elsa Clavé, March 2009. With many double illuminated frames and also

illustrations of mystical relics.

- Sulu Friday oration (khatbah), double illuminated frame published in black-and-white by Salceby (1905: Pl. XIV-XV).
- Sulu Ramadan oration (khatbah), double illuminated frame published in black-and-white by Salceby (1905: Pl. XI-XII).

Despite the small size of this group, it is possible to tease out some common threads. The Philippine style of illumination is linked to other styles of Southeast Asian Islamic illumination through a shared predilection for certain shapes, forms and colour schemes. It has generally been found in other regional studies – such as of the Acehnese and East Coast styles – but it is possible to define a regional artistic school by an analysis of the architecture of the double illuminated frames that are the main focus of attention in an illuminated manuscript. Characteristic features of Philippine illuminated frames appear to include the following:

- sharply angled triangular arches on the three outer sides of the text-block frame (and also sometimes on the fourth, inner, side of the page).
- relatively thick vertical borders, made up of a series of parallel layers, sloping downwards and inwards from their peak at the outer edge.
- finials that emerge from the peaks of these vertical borders and other parts of the structure; this last feature seems to be one of the most distinctive Philippine specialities.

All three elements can be seen in the initial illuminated frames in the Bayang Qur’an. In the final illuminated frames, although the triangular arches are not present, the pyramidal clusters of semi- and demi-circles suggest the influence of the Sulawesi diaspora style of Qur’anic illumination (cf. [Gallop 2010]). This detection of Sulawesi influence is not surprising, as its impact has been felt all over Southeast Asia, from Aceh to Brunei, and from Ternate and Sumbawa, and was confirmed by Cleve’s documentation of a Sulawesi-style Qur’an manuscript still held in Mindanao.

According to family tradition, the Bayang Qur’an was copied in Palembang, in Sumatra. The fact that it is illuminated in a Philippine style is not inconsistent with this pedigree, for manuscripts illuminated in the Acehnese or East Coast styles are known to have been copied in Mecca, far from their homelands.

Although the Bayang Qur’an manuscript itself has not been seen since the revolution of 1986, it lives on through its reproductions, to play an important part in reconstructing the story of the art of the Islamic book in the Philippines.
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