"Tausug" derives from *tau* meaning "man" and sug meaning "current," and translates into "people of the current." It refers to the majority Islamized group in the Sulu archipelago, their language, and culture. The Tausug, numbering around 502,918 (NCCP-PACT) in 1988 are predominant in the northern part of Sulu province, i.e., Jolo Island and the neighboring islands of Pata, Marunggas, Tapul, and Lugus, and to a lesser extent in Siasi and Pangutaran (Arce 1963:3). The province of Sulu derives its name from "sulug" or "sug" which in Tausug means "ocean current," while Sulu's capital Jolo is the Spanish corruption of Sulu.

The Sulu Archipelago, measuring some 2,699 square kilometers, comprise some 2,600 islands and islets at the southernmost tip of the Philippines, which are grouped into five: the Basilian group, the Samales/Balangingi group, the Sulu group, the Pangutaran group, the Siasi group, and the Tawi-Tawi group. The climate is warm and humid throughout the year, and is conducive to various agricultural pursuits. Jolo, the capital of the Sulu group, is mountainous and of volcanic origin. Standing 870 meters above sea level, Mount Tumantangis is the highest mountain in the island group. Other mountains in Jolo are Mount Sinumaan, 830 meters; Mount Daho, 705 meters; and Mount Bagsak, 680 meters (Orosa 1970:1-3; *Haylaya* 1980:7-8).

The Tausug speak *bahasa sug*, a Malayo-Polynesian language related to the Visayan variety spoken in Surigao, and write in a Malayo-Arabic script known as *jawi* or *sulat sug*. Other ethnolinguistic groups in Sulu include the Sama, the Yakan, the Badjao, and the Jama Mapun.

History

The history of Sulu begins with Karimul Makdum, a Muslim missionary, who arrived in Sulu in 1380. He introduced the Islamic faith and settled in Sibutu until his death. The mosque at Tubig-Indangan which he built still stands, albeit in ruins. In 1390, Raja Baguinda landed at Buansa and extended the missionary work of Karimul Makdum. The Muslim Arabian scholar Sherif ul Hashim Abu Bakr arrived in 1450, married Paramisuli, Baguinda's daughter, and after Baguinda's death, became sultan, thereby introducing the sultanate as a political system. Political districts were created in Parang, Pansul, Lati, Gitung, and Lu-uk, each headed by a *panglima* or district leader. After Abu Bakr's death, the sultanate system had already become well established in Sulu. Before the coming of the Spaniards, the ethnic groups in Sulu—the Tausug, Sama, and Yakan—were in varying degrees united under the Sulu sultanate, considered the most centralized political system in the islands then (Orosa 1970:20-21).

With the arrival of the Spaniards came successive expeditions to conquer the Muslim groups in the south. Called the "Moro Wars," these battles were waged intermittently from 1578 till 1898 between the Spanish colonial government and the Muslims of Mindanao and Sulu. In 1578 an expedition sent by Governor Francisco

de Sande and headed by Captain Rodriguez de Figueroa began the 300-year warfare between the Tausug and the Spanish authorities. In 1579, the Spanish government gave de Figueroa the sole right to colonize Mindanao. He was killed in an ambush, and his troops retreated to an anchorage near Zamboanga. In retaliation, the Muslims raided Visayan towns in Panay, Negros, and Cebu. These were repulsed by Spanish and Visayan forces (Angeles 1974:27-28; Saber 1976:13; Orosa 1970:21).

In the early 17th century, the largest aIliance composed of the Ivanun, Maranao, Maguindanao, Tausug, and other Muslim groups was formed by Sultan Kudarat or Cachil Corralat of Maguindanao, whose domain extended from the Davao Gulf to Dapitan on the Zamboanga peninsula. Several expeditions sent by the Spanish authorities suffered defeat. In 1635 Captain Juan de Chaves occupied Zamboanga and erected a fort. This led to the defeat of Kudarat's feared admiral, Datu Tagal, who had raided pueblos in the Visayas. In 1637, Governor General Hurtado de Corcuera personally led an expedition against Kudarat, and triumphed over his forces at Lamitan and Ilian. On 1 January 1638, de Corcuera, with 80 vessels and 2000 soldiers, defeated the Tausug and occupied Jolo. A peace treaty was forged. The victory did not establish Spanish sovereignty over Sulu, as the Tausug abrogated the treaty as soon as the Spaniards left in 1646 (Miravite 1976:40; Angeles 1974:28; Saber 1975:23; Orosa 1970:22).

In 1737 Sultan Alimud Din I entered into a "permanent" peace treaty with Governor General F. Valdes y Tamon; and in 1746, befriended the Jesuits sent to Jolo by King Philip V. In 1748 he was forcibly removed by the forces of Bantilan, son of an earlier sultan. Alimud Din was charged as being "too friendly" with the Christians, whereupon he left for Manila in 1749. He was received well by Governor General Juan de Arechederra and was baptized on 29 April 1750. In 1753 he was humiliated, when after being reinstated as sultan, he was arrested on his way back to Sulu, under the orders of Governor General Zacarias. The Tausug retaliated by raiding the northern coasts. In 1763 he was released by the British forces which had occupied Manila. He returned to Sulu as sultan, and in 1769, ordered the raiding of Manila Bay (Orosa 1970:22-25).

The Sulu sultanate declined after 1848 when the colonial authorities began the use of steamboats. Piracy was effectively halted, and in 1851, General Antonio de Urbiztondo led an expedition that defeated the Tausug. But Sulu was only occupied and made into a protectorate in 1876 when Governor General Jose Malcampo, using naval artillery, succeeded in destroying the *kota* (fort) of Jolo, and prevented the smuggle of ammunition to the besieged forces. A garrison was set up in Jolo commanded by Captain P. Cervera during the reign of Jamalul Alam who was succeeded briefly by Bararudin in 1884, followed by Harum Narassid in 1886, the first Spanish-appointed sultan of Sulu. Tausug attempts to recover the city were not successful. In 1893, amid succession controversies, Amirul Kiram became Sultan Jamalul Kiram II, the title being officially recognized by the Spanish authorities. In 1899, after the defeat of Spain in the Spanish-American War, Colonel Luis Huerta, the last governor of Sulu, relinquished his garrison to the Americans

(Orosa 1970:25-30).

During the Philippine-American War, the Americans adopted a policy of noninterference in the Muslim areas, as spelled out in the Bates Agreement of 1899 signed by Brigadier General John Bates and Sultan Jamalul Kiram II. The agreement was a mutual nonaggression pact which obligated the Americans to recognize the authority of the sultan and other chiefs over native affairs, who, in turn, agreed to fight piracy and crimes. However, the Muslims did not know that the Treaty of Paris, which had ceded the Philippine archipelago to the Americans, included their land as well. The idea that they were part of the Philippines had never occurred to them until then. Although the Bates Agreement had "pacified," to a certain extent, the Sulu sultanate, resistance continued. In 1901, Panglima Hassan and his followers fought the Americans, believing that acceptance of American sovereignty would affect his own authority (Tan 1967:54-75; Che Man 1990:46-47).

After the Philippine-American War, the Americans established direct rule over the newly formed "Moro province," which consisted of five districts—Zamboanga, Lanao, Cotabato, Davao, and Sulu. Political, social, and economic changes were introduced. These included the creation of provincial and district institutions, as well as tribal wards for non-Christian areas; the introduction of the public school system and American-inspired judicial system; the imposition of the cedula or head tax; the migration of Christians to Muslim lands encouraged by the colonial government; and the abolition of slavery. These and other factors contributed to Muslim resistance that took 10 years "to pacify" (Gowing 1974:36-39; Che Man 1990: 23, 47-48).

The Department of Mindanao and Sulu replaced the Moro province on 15 December 1913. A "policy of attraction" was introduced, ushering in reforms to encourage Muslim integration into Philippine society. In 1916, after the passage of the Jones Law, which transferred legislative power to a Philippine Senate and House of Representatives, polygyny was made illegal. Hadji Butu Wazir of the Sulu Sultanate was appointed as the first Muslim senator in 1916 and later was replaced by Sultan Jamalul Kiram II in 1933. Provisions were made, however, to allow Muslims time to comply with the new restrictions. "Proxy colonialism" was legalized by the Public Land Act of 1919, invalidating Muslim pusaka (inherited property) laws. The act also granted the state the right to confer land ownership. It was thought that the Muslims would "learn" from the "more advanced" Christianized Filipinos, and would integrate more easily into mainstream Philippine society (Che Man 1990: 23-24, 51-52; Isidro 1976:64-65).

In February 1920, the Philippine Senate and House of Representatives passed Act No. 2878, which abolished the Department of Mindanao and Sulu and transferred its responsibilities to the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes under the Department of the Interior. Muslim dissatisfaction grew as power shifted to the Christianized Filipinos. Petitions were sent by Muslim leaders between 1921 and 1924 requesting that Mindanao and Sulu be administered directly by the United States. These petitions were not granted (Che Man 1990:52-53).

Realizing the futility of armed resistance, some Muslims sought to make the best of the situation. In 1934, Arolas Tulawi of Sulu, Datu Manandang Piang and Datu Blah Sinsuat of Cotabato, and Sultan Alaoya Alonto of Lanao were elected to the 1935 Constitutional Convention. In 1935 two Muslims were elected to the National Assembly.

The Commonwealth years sought to end the privileges the Muslims had been enjoying under the earlier American administration. Muslim exemptions from some national laws, as expressed in the administrative code for Mindanao, and the Muslim right to use their traditional Islamic courts, as expressed in the Moro Board, were ended. The Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes was replaced by the Office of Commissioner for Mindanao and Sulu, whose main objective was to tap the full economic potentials of Mindanao not for the Muslims but for the Commonwealth. These "development" efforts resulted in discontent (Che Man 1990:55-56).

The Muslims are generally adverse to anything that threatens Islam and their way of life. Che Man (1990:56) believes that they were neither anti-American nor anti-Filipino, but simply against any form of foreign encroachment into their traditional way of life. During World War II, the Muslims in general supported the fight against the Japanese, who were less tolerant and harsher to them.

After independence, efforts to integrate the Muslims into the new political order met with stiff resistance. It was unlikely that the Muslims, who have had a longer cultural history as Muslims than the Filipinos as Christians, would surrender their identity. In 1951, Kamlun, a devout and wealthy native of Tandu Panuan, took up arms against the government for a number of reasons. For one, he was not on good terms with other local leaders, some of whom he killed. There were also problems with land titling which Kamlun refused to undertake since to him ownership of land is not evident by means of a piece of paper. Fearing government persecution, he went to the hills. In July 1952, the first negotiation for surrender was held between Alibon, Kamlun's brother, and Secretary of Defense Ramon Magsaysay. However, a week later, Kamlun resumed his fight, accusing the government of bad faith. "Operation Durian" was launched to capture him. He surrendered on 10 November 1952, but on 2 December, was granted parole. In 1953, he went back to the hills until his surrender on 24 September 1955. On "death row," he was finally pardoned by President Ferdinand Marcos on 11 September 1968 (Che Man 1990:56-62; Tan 1977:114-117).

The conflict between Muslims and Christian Filipinos was exacerbated in 1965 with the "Jabidah Massacre," in which Muslim soldiers were allegedly eliminated because they refused to invade Sabah. This incident contributed to the rise of various separatist movements—the Muslim Independence Movement (MIM), Ansar El-Islam, and Union of Islamic Forces and Organizations (Che Man 1990:74-75).

In 1969, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) was founded on the concept

of a Bangsa Moro Republic by a group of educated young Muslims. The leader of this group, Nur Misuari, regarded the earlier movements as feudal and oppressive, and employed a Marxist framework to analyze the Muslim condition and the general Philippine situation. Except for a brief show of unity during the pre-Martial Law years, the new movement suffered internal disunity (Tan 1977: 118-122; Che Man 1990:77-78).

In 1976, negotiations between the Philippine government and the MNLF in Tripoli resulted in the Tripoli Agreement, which provided for an autonomous region in Mindanao. Negotiations resumed in 1977, and the following points were agreed upon: the proclamation of a Presidential Decree creating autonomy in 13 provinces; the creation of a provisional government; and the holding of a referendum in the autonomous areas to determine the administration of the government. Nur Misuari was invited to chair the provisional government but he refused. The referendum was boycotted by the Muslims themselves. The talks collapsed, and fighting continued (Che Man 1990:146-147).

When Corazon C. Aquino became president, a new constitution, which provided for the creation of autonomous regions in Mindanao and the Cordilleras, was ratified. On 1 August 1989, Republic Act 673 or the Organic Act for Mindanao created the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao or ARMM which encompasses Maguindanao, Lanao del Sur, Sulu, and Tawi-Tawi.

Economy

Farming, fishing, and trading are the principal economic activities of the Tausug, who can be divided into two groups: the *parianun* (people of the landing) and the *guimbahanun* (hill people). The former are fishers residing along the seacoasts, while the latter are farmers of the interior. Among the guimbahanun, farming techniques remain primitive. Rice, fruits such as mangosteen, durian, jackfruit, lanzones, mangoes, and others, and root crops such as *ubi* (yam), cassava, and gabi are extensively cultivated. Coffee is also grown, as well as nonfood crops like tobacco and abaca. These farming produce are taken to town centers, where they are sold to *palilitu* (intermediaries) often at very low prices (Plagata and Aquino 1976:77; Bruno 1973:35-38).

More than fishers, the parianun are also traders, whose products are bartered for silk, amber, porcelain, cigarettes, perfumes, and other consumer goods. This barter trade system extends to Southeast Asian countries such as Borneo and Indonesia, and is exercised with little government supervision. As fishers, the Tausug use pressure lamps called *kulay*t at night to attract sardines, squids, and *piyatay* (a small kind of fish). During the day, they gather sharks, tuna, and ray fish. Some Tausug employ explosives and poison to maximize their catch. As with the guimbahanun, the parianun utilize merchants to sell their produce (Plagata and Aquino 1976:77-78; Bruno 1973:40-42).

Additional sources of income include mat weaving, done by both married and unmarried women; basket making, and bamboocraft, by men (Bruno 1973:43-44).

Political System

Before the founding of the sultanate of Sulu, the Tausug were organized into various independent *banwa* (communities), similar to the Tagalog barangay. Under the sultanate, Sulu was divided into districts administered by the panglima. Each district was in turn sub-administered by leaders variously called *maharaja*, *orangkaya*, and *paruka*. The sultan represented the highest civil and religious authority. He was assisted by the *ruma bichara* (advisory state council), the members of which included the datu raja muda (crown prince), *datu maharaja adinda* (palace commander), *datu ladja laut* (admiral), *datu maharaja layla* (commissioner of customs), *datu amir bahar* (speaker of the ruma bichara), *datu tumangong* (executive secretary), *datu juhan* (secretary of information), *datu muluk bandarasa* (secretary of commerce), *datu sawajaan* (secretary of interior), *datu bandahala* (secretary of finance), *mamaneho* (inspector general), *datu sakandal* (sultan's personal envoy), *datu nay* (ordinance or weapon commander), and *wazil* (prime minister). Except for the datu raja muda, who had two votes, the other members of the ruma bichara each had one vote. The sultan exercised two votes. The traditional rights of the sultan were: to execute his legal functions; to appoint and regulate religious officials; to administer land and people; to enter into treaties; to levy taxes, tributes, and fees; and to manage the economy. In religious matters, the sultan was advised by the *qadilkadi*; at the district level, each panglima was assisted by the religious *ulama* or *pandita*. Other religious leaders were the imam, *hatib*, and *bilal*. The imam leads the prayers, the *khatib* gives the *khutbah* (sermon) and the bilal calls the people to prayer (Bruno 1973:140-142; Kiefer 1972a:110).

During the Spanish colonial period, the Tausug, sometimes in alliance with other Muslim groups of Mindanao, resisted colonization and engaged in sporadic wars with the Spanish military who sought to punish the Tausug for their attacks on Christian towns of the Visayas and Luzon, and to curb the power of the Sultanate. For centuries the Tausug eluded subjugation until after 1848 when the Spanish steamboats effectively ended Tausug naval power. By 1876, Sulu was occupied and became a protectorate of Spain.

When the Americans invaded the archipelago, there was a series of revolts against the imposition of American rule. Bowing to superior American arms, the Tausug fell under several administrative units: the Moro Province (1903-1913), the Department of Mindanao (1915-1920), the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes (1920-1935), and finally the Commonwealth of the Philippines (1935-1946).

Since 1946 and up to the present, Sulu province has been administered by a governor, a vice-govemor, and members of the Provincial Council or the Sangguniang

Panlalawigan. At the municipal level, there are the mayors, vice-mayors, and Municipal Council or Sangguniang Bayan members. Barrios elect their own leaders such as the barangay captain and the barangay councilors. The traditional political power of the sultan has been greatly reduced although he still holds great social and religious influence. The national legal system combines with their *agama* (religious) courts, the existence of which depend on various laws and rules. The *sara kuraan* (Quranic law) is based on the Quran; the *sara agama* or legal corpus is maintained by the sultan in his capacity as a religious leader. The distinction between sara kuraan and sara agama is important. The *sara adat* (custom law) is unwritten, based on customs and traditions, and is administered by the local chieftain or community head. It is indigenous and deals with offenses that include murder, theft, debt repayment, and so forth. The Tausug see their world as reflecting unity in *sara* (law), *agama* (religion), and *adat* (customs). Thus, the various types of rules and prescriptions, divine or secular, are a means of social and religious control (Arce 1963:15-16; Bruno 1973:140-146; Kiefer 1972a:88-90).**Social Organization and Customs**

Blood and kinship form the basis of Tausug social relationships. The concept of *usbawaris*, from *usba* referring to the kin of the father, and *waris*, to the mother's kin, defines the mutual roles and obligations of close relations. The concept of *kampung*, on the other hand, covers one's duties toward kin of the second and third degrees of consanguinity (Bruno 1973).

Magtalianak is the relationship between parents and their children, and is defined by respect and deference of the younger for the older generation. People of the same generation are *magtaymanghud* or in a relation based on mutual assistance and respect. A relationship between alternate generations, e.g., grandparents and grandchildren is described as *magtaliapu*, one built on love and respect. The Tausug terms to refer to their kin are the following: *ama* (father), *ina* (mother), *apu* (grandparent or grandchild), *taymanghud* (sibling), *magulang* (older sibling), *manghud* (younger sibling), *amaun* (male of father's generation), *inaun* (female of father's generation), *pagtuñgud* (cousin), *anak* (child), *anakun* (kin of child's generation), *bana* (husband), *asawa* (wife), *ugañgan* (father-, mother-, son-, or daughter-in-law), *ipag* (brother- or sister-in-law) (Bruno 1973:58).

Before the abolition of slavery, Tausug society comprised three classes: the nobility, the commoners or free people, and the slaves. Titles of nobility are inherited and confer much privilege to the ones holding them. The commoners, although not titled, can participate in important government and religious positions, such as those of the panglima and imam. They can own land and actively engage in commerce and trade. Slaves were either war captives, sold into that state, or children of slaves. Marriage with influential commoners or aristocrats released them from bondage. Today, class distinctions are still based on the nobility-commoner divide, but are more fluid and take into account economic and professional status. The wealthy and the professional class have become part of the elite (Bruno 1973:146-147).

Through symptoms, the Tausug wife allows her pregnancy to be found out; she does not normally tell anyone about it. Extra concern and understanding, especially on the part of the husband, are shown to her, and although her diet is carefully regulated, she is granted her every desire for food. During labor, a *panday* (midwife) assists in the delivery, during which everyone present is to stay awake and help remove nails and unlock trunks and other containers. After childbirth, a portion of the umbilical cord, measured by pulling it to the toes of the *bagu piyaganak* (newborn) and then to the forehead, is cut by the panday. Taking care not to wet the remaining cord, the panday cleans the baby in a warm bath scented with guava leaves. Breastfeeding is not allowed until after the child's first defecation which is induced by giving the newborn a concoction prepared from the leaves of the bitter melon called *paliya* (Bruno 1973:72-81).

Simple or elaborate, the *paggunting* (baptism) traces its origin to the prophet Muhammad, who was said to have cried for seven nights until after his hair was cut and the Arabic prayer *asarakal* sung. In the ceremony, the child is dressed in finery and taken to a group of imam, each of whom cuts off a few locks of its hair. These are then dipped into *tubig butung* (coconut water). Grains of white sugar are then placed around the child's mouth, after which a lit candle is extinguished by a young man and woman carefully chosen by the baby's parents (Bruno 1973:97-98).

Formal schooling begins when the child is five, six, or seven years old. Before the public school system, education consisted mainly of Quranic studies taught by the *guro* (Quranic teacher). Even today, some parents opt to send their children to *madrasa* (religious schools) than to the state-sponsored public schools. The studies include the phonetics and orthography of Arabic—to enable the child to read and memorize the Quran. The semantics come later. Two or three years is the normal length of schooling, after which the child is graduated in a celebration called *pagtammat*, where he/she is required to recite phrases from the holy book (Bruno 1973:102-106).

Informal schooling includes basic housekeeping skills, like *mag-anum baluy* (mat weaving), *maglukis iban bulda* (embroidery), *magtahi* (sewing), and *maglutu* (cooking), for the girls; and economic skills, like farming and fishing, for the boys (Bruno 1973:107).

Pagsunnat and *pag-Islam* are the terms for female and male circumcision respectively. Pagsunnat is usually performed when the girl is 6 or 7 years old by the panday who assisted in the childbirth. Pag-Islam occurs when the boy is 15 or 16 years old, and, in the past, was performed by the imam. Today it is done in hospitals, but the accompanying rites and prayers take place at home (Bruno 1973: 109-112).

The period of puberty for a girl is called *da-ga*, and is characterized by various physical and social changes. Among these are the growth of acne, freckles, and pimples, the development of *duru* (breasts), the structuring of sex roles, and menstruation. The last is attended by a ritual called *lumayag* from *layag* meaning

"to sail away," which is believed to lengthen her nonmenstruation period. She is asked to skip or go over a *lusung* (mortar) or *hagdan* (stairs) three times. To prevent pimples and other skin problems, the girl should wash her *tindaw* (menstrual blood) stained *siñawa* (panty) herself and use it to clean her face. Puberty leads to *sumangput* (adolescence) when the pubescents become fully grown. Social and sex roles become clearly defined among the *budjang* (young woman) and the *subul* (young man): the latter is expected to supplement the family income; the former, to assist in domestic chores. Both are expected to check their behavior, especially in public (Bruno 1973: 112-114).

The Tausug consider marriage an important social and personal event. Men usually marry at 18; women, at 16 or 18. Marriage by negotiation is basically an agreement between the parents of the groom and bride. Traditionally, it consists of six stages. During the *tingugg-taingah* (literally, "ear sound" or "listening by ear"), the young man tells his parents about the woman he wishes to marry. The parents will then seek information about the woman and her family, the dowry required, broken engagements, if any, and their causes. This is done very discreetly, and is usually undertaken by an elderly and respected woman known by both families. During the *magpahingita*, the female members of the young man's family try to see the young woman, who is usually kept in mezzaninelike private rooms called *angkap*. They try to remember her features, which are then described to the man's family. If acceptable, they proceed to the *magpasihil* or the informal asking of the *ungsud* (literally, "that which is given as payment" or dowry/bridewealth). The task is usually given to an elderly woman or a group of elders, which may include the community imam. The event is also held to resolve any differences the families may have had regarding the match. If all goes well, the *pagpangasawa* or formal marriage proposal is made. The usba and waris of both families are present. The wedding expenses are set by a representative from the young woman's family, and as a sign of sincerity, the man's family leaves behind a *tapil-dila* or token of goodwill consisting of jewelry. If there is an agreement, the tapil-dila is returned, if not, it is considered a gift to the woman's family. Mutual agreement is celebrated in the *pagturul-taymah* (literally, "to go and to accept"), where the amount of the dowry and the wedding date are announced to the public. The *pagtiyaun* (wedding) follows soon, but one day before it, the entire bridewealth must be delivered; otherwise the engagement may still be broken. Preparations are done days in advance both at the bride's and the groom's houses. By late afternoon on the wedding day the groom is taken to the bride's house. Festivities abound: the sound of *kulintang* (gong ensemble) and other musical instruments, colorful clothes, and a carnival atmosphere. The wedding is capped by the *pagkawin* (solemnizing ritual) officiated by the imam, who leads the groom to the bride and guides his thumb to her forehead. The celebration continues (Bruno 1973: 118-127).

Other forms of negotiated marriages are the *magpasumbayi*, where the young man, unable to gather the necessary bridewealth, brings a kris or *barung* (bladed weapons) to the woman's house and asks that he be killed should the woman's parents refuse him; and the *magsarahakantugul*, where personal dislike for the young man is

overcome by offerings of a bridewealth far in excess of tradition. The former used to be an acceptable practice; today refusal need not mean death (Bruno 1973:128130). Non-negotiated marriages include elopement and abduction.

Islam allows a man to have as many as four wives, if he can support them. However, this is no longer practiced by the majority. Divorce is frowned upon as the Tausug take seriously the Quranic passage that says: "Of all things permitted by law, divorce is the most hateful in the sight of God." Moreover, the relationship between father-in-law and son-in-law is very much emphasized in Tausug society (Bruno 1973:130).

Four steps attend the burial rites of the Tausug. The *sutchihun* involves the ritual cleaning or *panubigan* of the corpse with cold water. No prayers can be said before this step. In the *saputun*, the corpse, now referred to as mayat, is wrapped in three pieces of white cloth tied firmly on both ends and is laid in a *darahan*, which is similar to a coffin but without a lid. In the past, every male adult attending the funeral recites the prayer; today only the ones requested by the family do so. The mayat's head faces north, its feet, south. After the *sambahayangun*, the *hikubid* or burial proper requires that a grave, proportionate in length to the mayat and 1.8 to 2.7 meters deep, is dug. In the same north-south direction, the grave houses on its west side a *paliyangan* or 60-centimeter-wide chamber where a religious person says the *tulkin* or prayer for the dead. The mayat is then placed in the paliyangan, the white shroud covering it loosened and untied. The chamber is then sealed with *dingding hali* or 5-centimeter thick boards. The grave, now filled with soil, is marked by a *sunduk* (grave marker) at its head. Prayers end the funeral (Bruno 1973:132-134).

Class distinctions are followed even in burial rites. A Tausug noble is bathed with water brought in a *kawayan* (bamboo) tube. His funeral procession consists of a *kuddaman* (palanquin) carried by four men, and various *payung* (funeral umbrellas) to shade the sunduk, the deceased noble, and the other attending nobles (Bruno 1973: 134-137).

After the burial, a vigil by the grave is held for seven days. Another vigil, at the bereaved's family home, is done for seven or even 100 days. During this time, prayers are continuously said. The dead is remembered with feasts on the following days: the *hinang pitu* or seventh, the *hinang kawhaan* or 20th, the *hinang kapatan* or 40th, the *hinang hanggatus* or 100th, and the *hinang hangibu* or 1,000th. *Hinang patahunan* or yearly prayers are also said. The Tausug believe that on the 14th of the *Shaaban* month, the *ruh* (soul) of the departed returns to their families. Hence, the *yasin* or prayer for the journey of the soul is recited. They also believe that the ruh visits the *jassal* (dead body) the following day; hence they bless the soul by sprinkling the grave with water. Native delicacies are served in the *nispu* celebration that follows (Bruno 1973:137-139).

Religious Beliefs and Practices

The Tausug follow standard Islamic beliefs and practices. The Quran is considered by all Muslims as the words of Allah (God), revealed to the prophet Muhammad through archangel Gabriel, and as the source of all Islamic Law, principles and values. Aside from the Quran and the Sunnah and Haddith (literally, "a way, rule, or manner of acting"), other Islamic sources of law include Ijtihad (independent judgment) and Qiyas (analogy). The Five Pillars of Islam are declaration of belief in the oneness of God and the prophethood of Muhammad, and the four obligations of praying, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in one's lifetime.

Classical Muslim jurists divided the world into Dar-al-Islam (Land of Islam) or those territories where the Law of Islam prevails; Dar-al-Harb (Land of War) which includes those countries where Muslim Law is not in force; Dar-al-Ahd (Land of the Covenant) considered as a temporary and often intermediate territory between Dar-al-Islam and Dar-al-Harb; and Dar-al-Sulk (House of Truce), territories not conquered by Muslim troops, where peace is attained by the payment of tribute which guarantees a truce or armistice.

A concept often misunderstood is jihad or holy war, which later developed into "ritual suicide" or *parang sabil*. The term derives from the Malay words *perang* meaning "war" and *sabi*l, from the Arabic "fi sabil Allah" meaning "in the path of God." It refers to a holy war against those who threaten the sanctity of Islam. It is resorted to when all forms of organized resistance fail. Those who die in the struggle are pronounced *shahid* (martyrs) and automatically gain a place in *sulgah* (heaven). Failing to understand this religious dimension, the Spaniards and the Americans have reduced the concept into a psychological disorder, and have referred to the shahid as juramentados and amock, respectively.

Indigenous beliefs persist. Aside from Allah or Tuhan, the Tausug are also concerned with spirits who inhabit nature, especially rocks and trees, and who are believed to be the cause of human suffering. Among these are the *saytan* (evil spirits) and *jinn* (unseen creatures). Some saytan have names, like the *balbalan* (manananggal), a flying creature which enjoys the liver of corpses. The Christian devil finds its counterpart in iblis, who tempts people into evil. The Tausug also believe in the four composites of the human soul: the transcendental soul, the life-soul associated with the blood, the breath or life essence, and the spirit-soul who travels during dreams and who causes the human shadow. The Tausug concept of religious merit also differs from that of the orthodox Muslims. Unjustified killing transfers the merits of the offender to the victim, and the demerits of the victim to the offender. The terms sulgah and *narkah* (hell) do not denote places but states-of-being, and are interchangeable with the concepts of *karayawan* (state of goodness) and *katiksaan* (state of suffering), respectively (Kiefer 1972a:112-114, 128-130).

Indigenous healing practices are assumed by the *mangugubat* (curer) who have direct access to the spirit world. They are not considered religious officials, as in the case of the agama priests, although their services are utilized when certain spirits need to be appeased. However, an illness that has been successfully diagnosed is not

attributed to supernatural causes. Native medicines include raw squash mixed with coconut milk for meningitis, egg white applied topically on and for burns, *lagundi* leaves for malaria, and others. Traditional practices which were "medical" in intent included the sacrifice of a hen near a balete tree. Incantations were said and a rooster was set free near the same tree. The object was to soothe the anger of the saytan believed to be the cause of the illness (Kiefer 1972a:114-115; Orosa 1970:106-107).**Architecture and Community Planning**

The Tausug do not, in general, live in tiny communities. An example is barangay Luas in the municipality of Parang, Sulu. In 1972 the barangay's population was 290, grouped into 28 houses, of which 17 were dispersed. The remaining 11 were concentrated near the beach. Most residents of the settlement were related by consanguinity or affinity. Household composition ranged from 3 to 30 (Jainal et al. 1972:81-84).

The *bay sug* or house of the Tausug is usually a one-room partitionless structure. The nine posts of the Tausug home correspond to various parts of the human anatomy: the center post, the *pipul* (navel); the southeast and southwest corners, the *pigi* (hip); the northeast and northwest corners, the *agaba* (shoulder); the eastern and western sides of the center post, the *gusuk* (ribs); the north post, the *liug* (neck); and the south post, the *hita* (groin) (*Folk Architecture* 1989:239). All the eight noncenter posts support the roof, which is given form by the ridge beam and is made from *sari*, nipa, *sago* palm, or *niug* (coconut palms). Other roofing styles are the *sungan*, which is well ventilated by a hole formed by having only two (out of four) slopes meeting at the apex; and the *libut*, which is square. Crowning the rooftop of Tausug houses is the *tadjuk pasung* or carved wood design which may represent either a *manuk-manuk* (bird) or *naga* (dragon). Instead of ceilings, the Tausug decorate the *bilik* (room) with a large *luhul* or rectangular cloth to catch leaves, dust, and pests. Depending on their finances, the Tausug use plywood, split bamboo, or woven coconut palm for walling. Except for woven coconut palm, the walling usually has a window of various styles attached to it. Ventilation is provided by holed *jalajala* panels situated between the walls and the roof. In the past, the Tausug only had wall slits as windows to conceal their unmarried women inside. The flooring is usually of bamboo (*Folk Architecture* 1989:240-242).

Usually on flatland or on a westward slope, the Tausug house is entered through the *sala* (porch), a roofless platform attached to the side or sides of the structure. The kitchen, which may be accessed through the porch, is small. Lower than the main bilik by around 31.5 centimeters, the kitchen houses the bamboo and wooden stove, the cooking utensils, and other kitchenware. In the past, a *lungag* or hole in one of the house corners served as toilet (*Folk Architecture* 1989:234, 242-243).

Various practices attend to the building of a Tausug house. A site must first be pronounced "lucky" by the local imam, who calculates the "flow of strength" of the land and determines an auspicious date for beginning the construction. A *panday bay* or carpenter builds the house helped by two assistants. They bring with them eight

commonly used tools: *katam* (ordinary plane), *utak pira* (round-ended bolo), *utak janap* (sharp-ended bolo), *kat-kat* (saw), *tukul* (hammer), *kukumung* (posthole digger), *barina* (drill), and *patuk* (chisel with adjustable blade). After construction and before the family moves in, good luck is ensured by hanging *gantung* or two glass jars, one containing palay, the other *tubig*, at the center. An imam recites a *duaa salamat* (thanksgiving prayer) on the day the family moves in (Jainal et al. 1972:88-89, 92-94, 118).

Religious architecture is represented in two types of buildings. The masjid or community mosque is a permanent structure made of bamboo and stone. It must be large enough to fit a congregation and far enough from other mosques. Generally, Tausug mosques are similar to those in Mindanao. An exception is the middle-eastern-inspired "old" mosque in Maimbung, Jolo, which has Arabian style minarets. Semipermanent, the *langgal* or hamlet chapel is built for convenience, to attract people to afternoon prayers, who otherwise may have to walk long distances (Kiefer 1972a:117; Szanton 1973:56).

Visual Arts and Crafts

Tausug visual arts are represented by carvings, metalworks, woodworks, tapestry and embroidery, mat making and basketry, textile, pottery, and other arts (Szanton 1973). In general, Tausug visual arts follow the Islamic prohibition of representing human or animal forms. Consequently, Mindanao and Sulu have developed ukil or abstract motifs which are carved, printed, or painted into various media. These motifs are merely suggestive of leaves, vines, flowers, fruits, and various geometric shapes.

Tausug carving is best exemplified by the sunduk or grave marker. Although not as stylized as those of the Sama, the Tausug sunduk are wood or stone carvings of geometric or floral forms. Women's grave markers are flatter with carved geometric designs, those of the men are more floral. *Sakayan* or outriggers present yet another media for Tausug carving. Adornments are usually made on the prow and sometimes on the *sambili* or strips across the hull. The carvings are done either on the boat itself, or on a separate piece of wood which is then attached to the vessel. Abstract manuk-manuk motifs are the most common. *Ajung-ajung/sula-sula* are carved tips supporting the wrapped sail; the *hidjuk* (dark cord) on the *sangpad* (prow plate) also serve as decoration. Carved *saam* or crosspieces supporting the outriggers are called the *mata* (eyes) of the boat. Colors used on the finished carvings are yellow, red, green, white, and blue (Szanton 1973:33-47).

Tausug *mananasal* or blacksmiths produce utak, kalis, and barong. Fishing implements are also made, such as the *sangkil* (Single-pointed spear) and the *sapang* (three-pronged spear). The more expensively fashioned blades have floral and geometric incisions; the *ganja* or metal strips which lock the handle and the blade are a decorative as well as a functional device. Bronze casting is not as well developed as

it is in Lanao. Among the several functional pieces produced were the *batunjang* (standing trays) and the *talam* (flat trays). Cold and silversmithing for jewelry remain lucrative. Items produced by the local goldsmith include the *singsing* (ring), *gallang* (bracelet), *gantung liug* (necklace), *bang* (stud earring), *aritis* (dangling earring), *pin* (brooch), and gold teeth. In the past, *tambuku* (buttons) made of gold or silver decorated the traditional male and female costumes and were made with exquisite designs, often inlaid with *palmata* (semiprecious stones or gems). Among the favorite palmata are *mussah* (pearl), *intan* (diamond), and *kumalah* (ruby) (Szanton 1973: 47-51; Amilbangsa 1983:142-157).

An example of Tausug woodwork is the *puhan* (wooden handle) of bladed weapons which may be simple or decorated with gold or silver wires, strings, and rings. For the barung, the handle is wrapped in cord and metal at the far end, and carved and polished at the upper part. At the end of the grip is a protrusion carved with ukil designs. The handle of the kalis, which the Tausug term as *daganan kalis*, can also be profusely decorated, sometimes with mother-of-pearl. *Taguban* (scabbards) are beautifully carved and are covered with *budbud* (fine rattan). Other woodworks include kitchen utensils and furniture items like beds, chests, and wardrobes (Szanton 1973:51-54).

There are two types of tapestries that the Tausug hang as house decoration: the *luhul* or canopy that hangs from the ceiling, and the *kikitil/buras* or wall tapestry. The ukil design used for both is first traced on a starched white cloth which is then cut and sewn over a red, green, yellow, or blue background material. The ukil design of the luhul, for example, is in the form of a tree with spreading leaves, vines, flowers, and branches. About 1 meter wide, the kikitil is a smaller version of the luhul and is hung on the wall. The size of the room determines the length of the kikitil which is divided into various units corresponding to individualized panels. The ukil design may be similar in all units.

Embroidery, another Tausug visual art form, is used to ornament tablecloth, pillowcases, bedspreads, and the *habul tiyahian* (embroidered tube). The brightest silk thread is often used for the habul to underscore the design, which follows the ukil pattern.

Used as bedding or underbedding, *baluy* or mats are usually made from pandanus. Double layering provides decoration and color; a simple base mat is sewn under a colored panel which has been dyed with one or more colors. The designs the Tausug usually adopt are the geometric patterns found on the *pis siyabit* (male headgear) or the plaid known as *baluy palang*. Mat designs are memorized and passed on to the next generation.

The Tausug male hat is made by weaving nito with bamboo strips over nipa leaves. Thus it is three-layered and woven in a sawali pattern. Structure and form are provided by the nipa leaves and the light bamboo frame, while texture and feel are supplied by the nito strips. The open-weave layer assures ventilation inside.

Another example of Tausug basketry is the small nito container, 18-20 centimeters in diameter, used either as a coin or as a personal basket. If used as a personal basket, it comes with cover and handle. As a coin basket, it is supplied with a loop to allow it to be carried on a finger. A slit serves as the coin slot. Aniline dyes—magenta, blue, violet, and green—color the nito strips (Lane 1986:193-194).

Hablun or textile weaving is another well-known art form among the Tausug. The most popular woven material is the pis siyabit or male headgear, which is about 1 square meter in size and distinct for its geometric designs. Because of its intricacy, one pis takes about three to four weeks of work. Only women weave the pis and other materials such as the *kambut* (sash) and *kandit* (loincloth and sash), which unfortunately have completely disappeared (Szanton 1973:64-65).

The female *batawi or biyatawi* is a blouse made of plain material like satin and is ornamented with *tambuku* (gold or silver buttons) on the breast, shoulders, and cuffs. It is usually worn with *sawwal* (loose trousers) of silk or brocade. A habul tiyahian is either slung across the shoulder or allowed to hang on one arm (Amilbangsa 1983:76-113).

The *patadjung* is an all-purpose skirt worn by both men and women. It has various other uses: as a *turung* or headcover, sash or waistband, blanket, hammock, and others. Resembling a big pillow case, the cloth for a patadjung has designs which are variously inspired: batik prints from Indonesia and Malaysia, checks and stripes from India, *dunggala* or stylized geometrical and floral patterns from Sarawak, Indonesia, or Malaysia, calligraphic motifs from the Middle East (Amilbangsa 1983:82).

Tausug men wear the *sawwal kuput* or *sawwal kantiyu* (tight and loose trousers, respectively), and match this with the *badju lapi*, a collarless short-tailored jacket similar to the batawi or biyatawi. The sleeves of the badju lapi are either long or "three-fourths" with slits at the wrists. The badju lapi is likewise ornamented with tambuku on the breast, shoulders, and cuffs. The legs of the sawwal kuput are skin-tight down to the ankles, and have 22.5-centimeter slits on each side, which are also decorated with buttons. A kandit (handwoven or embroidered sash) tied around the waist serves to keep the sawwal kuput in place. A pis siyabit is either tied around the head or left to hang on the shoulder (Amilbangsa 1983:114-130).

Function and simplicity define Tausug pottery. Decorations are limited to simple geometric lines as the emphasis has always been on the quantity not quality of the product. Examples include pots, vases, jugs, and various pieces of kitchenware (Szanton 1973: 61-63).

Tutup or plate covers are made by Tausug men and women; smaller pieces are called *turung dulang riki-riki*, and are used as wall adornment. A tutup measures about 75 centimeters in diameter and is made of coconut leaves inside, and *silal* or buri leaves outside. Colored pandan leaves are sewn on the exterior and serve as decoration

(Szanton 1973:64).

Calligraphy is found printed or carved on doors and gates, as well as on tapestries. Musical instruments, especially the *gabbang* (native xylophone), are also decorated by the Tausug (Szanton 1973:65).**Literary Arts**

Tausug literature includes poetry and prose, and narrative and non-narrative forms. The content of these forms belongs to either of two traditions: folk, which is more closely related with indigenous culture; or Islamic, which is based on the Quran and the Hadith (sayings) and Sunna (traditions and practices) of the prophet Muhammad.

Folk non-narrative poetry includes *tigum-tigum* or *tukud-tukud* (riddles), *masaalaa* (proverbs), *daman* (poetic dialogue or advice), *pituwa* (maxims), *malikata* (word inversions), *tilik* (love spells), and *tarasul* (poems) (Tuban 1977:101).

Tausug tigum-tigum are either asked in casual conversation or sung during celebrations; but in both cases, the answer is volunteered as soon as the audience has given up guessing. In form, they may be in quatrains (when sung), in rhymed couplets, or in prose. Common subjects include flora and fauna, household items, climate, topography, celestial bodies, human anatomy, food, games, and religious practices (Tuban 1977:101, 108, 111-112).

Riddling in Tausug society functions mainly as a form of entertainment, especially during weddings, wakes, and the month of Ramadan, when it becomes a duel of wit and wisdom. It also serves a pedagogical value by training children to think and be aware of nature and the objects around them. Here are some examples (Tuban 1977: 121-122):

> *Piyasud piyasling*
> *Piyasausugaring*
> *Pasura paslinga*
> *Pasa usugaringa. (Makina pagtatahi)*
>
> It was entered inside and taken outside
> It was zigzagged
> Let it enter, take it out
> Let it zigzag. (Sewing machine)
>
> *Pay ku hangka uhayuhay*
> *Nalatag in laum bay. (Palitaan)*
>
> My grain of palay is like a little leaf
> But it was able to fill the whole house. (Lamplight)
>
> *Dag kapa bud datag in labayan. (Laud)*
>
> You climb a mountain but its path is plain. (Sea)

As with other ethnolinguistic groups, Tausug masaalaa or proverbs represent a world

view and a perspective on life, and are often quoted at various times during celebrations, in moments of joy, sadness, or disappointments. Proverbs also serve an educational purpose, teaching the young the mores of Tausug society (Tuban 1977:140).

Many Tausug proverbs often reveal dominant ethnic characteristics. For instance,

Gam muti in bukug,
ayaw in tikud-tikud.

It is better to die
rather than run away from trouble.

On the other hand, another proverb warns against intemperate and hasty acts, thus:

In isug ha way akkal' way guna'.

Courage without discretion is useless.

Tausug proverbs also present a world view, an attitude towards life (Hassan et al. 1974a):

In tau nagbubuluk bihasa mahumu marayaw
in parasahan niya.

A person who works hard often has a
comfortable life.

In halli' subay wajib
mangadjang ha di'
patumu' in ulan.

One must always be prepared
to have a roof ready
before the rain falls.

Belief and faith in God is also enduring among the Tausug as in this proverb:

Tuhan in paunahun,
ha unu-unu hinangun,
minsan kaw malaung,
maluhay kaw maapun.

God must be first
before you do anything else,
even if you make a mistake,
you will be easily forgiven.

Sometimes Tausug proverbs have universal appeal (Tuban 1977:144):

In manussiya magparuparu,
sagawa in Tuhan in magbaya.

Man plans but God decides.

Kibita in pais mu;
bang masakit kaymu,
masakit da isab ha kaibanan mu.

Pinch your own skin;
if it is painful to you,
it is also painful when done to your fellows.

Daman are poetic dialogues or advice used in courtship as well as in rites accompanying marriage. The language used is archaic, and hence, difficult to understand. Through a daman, a suitor can present his feelings in a polite and metaphorical way (Rixhon 1974a:41-44).

The following is a daman used in courtship when the father of the young woman discovers a young man loitering around the vicinity of the house. He says (Rixhon 1974a:41-44):

Unu bagun gikus,
unu lubid us'usan?

What [kind of] rope are [you] twining,
what [kind of] rope are [you] coiling?

The young man answers:

Mana'ta lupu
Kimita' pagtanuman
Bang awn na katanaman
duun na magjambangan.

[I'm] surveying the field
In search of a place to plant
If [I] can find a pleasant place
There [I'll] make my garden.

When the subject of discussion is delicate—one which carries a sexual connotation—the daman is usually preferred to avoid giving offense. For example (Rixhon 1974a: 45-46):

In bawgan' pana' mu
Yan da ka kaymu?
Bang kaw biya' siyumu
Bihun ta kaymu.

Your arrow container
Is it still with you?

If you are tired of using it
I'll buy it from you.

The response may be:

Mayta' mu subay andagan?
Bihun paandigan
Bang kaw biya' sukuran
Kalu mu mabawgan.

Why do you have to ask for the price?
And buy it insinuatingly?
If you re lucky
You might have the bow for free.

Less symbolic but as archaic as the daman, Tausug pituwa (maxims or advice) are similar to proverbs (Rixhon 1974a:45):

Suppak bata malangug, mahumu' kasakitan.

The retribution for a naughty child is pain.

Dunya ini piniaman
Hapitan panayaman
Ayaw maghamanhaman
Mahuli kananaman.

The world goes on and on
a stop-over for games
do not waste time
for at the end comes repentance.

Malikata (word inversions) are coded devices by which one conceals jokes or one's feelings for another. Specifically, they are sentences with word inversions and mixtures which are decipherable according to a code:

Kaina bang in anu matinab init makatina' kay manubu'
bahal panadu?

Deciphered: Mayta' bang tau mabuta di' makakita'?

Why can't blind men see?

…Ha' yangad maka-iyul-iyul sinanniyu' binhi' bang
aniya' sinaha' aniyu ni pagkawakawalan, aniyu' higan,
aniyu janni.

Deciphered: Makaluuyluuy biya' kattu' ini bang way
usahd ta, way gadgi, way angadji'.

It is a pity for people like us not to have a job
nor to earn a salary, nor to have an education.

Tilik (love spells) are employed by Tausug men principally to win a woman's heart, but other uses abound: to make oneself appear attractive, to soothe angry feelings, to weaken an enemy, to attract customers, and others. Tilik are considered sacred and should not be revealed. The example below is recited so that the angels and the prophet will appear in the beloved woman's dream. The incantation is accompanied by three taps on the corner of a pillow, which is then inverted (Tuban 1977:105-106):

Kaddim alua hi dua
Magsailu kita alua
Alua munwri kaku'!
Alua ku mattun kaymu,
Bang adlaw aku in ha atay mu
Bang dum aku in ha mata mu
Iya Mikail, iya Sarapil, iya Gibrail, iya Muhammad
Pasabisabilra niyu aku
Katua niyu kaku' hi (ngan sin babae). Pukawa!
Barakat Laillahailqulla
Barakat duwa Muhammad Razurulla.

Our two souls are chained
Let's exchange our souls
Your soul will come to me;
My soul will go to you.
At daytime I'm in your heart,
At nighttime I'm in your eyes.
O Michael, O Raphael, O Gabriel, O Muhammad
I am inviting you
To go to [name of woman]. Wake her up?
God's blessings!
Blessings of Muhammad!

Tarasul (poems) are both entertaining and pedagogical. Although part of oral tradition, they are also written down. Topics of the tarasul are various—nature, cooking, love, among others (Hassan et al. 1974a:116, 118, 123, 126):

In ulan iban suga
Kagunahan ha dunya
U! Apu' Banuwa
In jambangan tulunga.

The rain and sun
Are essential on earth,

Oh, Apu' Banuwa ["grandfather chief'
or angel Michael]
Help the garden.

Manggis iban buwahan
Kasusuban sin katan;
In marang iban duyan

Bungang kahuy manaman.

The rnangosteen and the lanzones
Are the delight of everybody;
The marang and the durian
Fruits are tasty.

Tarasul ini iban daman
Ganti' pamintangan
Ha pasal ina' subay kalasahan
Di ha dunya ganti' patuhanan.

This tarasul and daman
Serves as a lesson
Concerning the obligation to love one's mother
Since she is God's representative on earth.

Mabugtang agun in baran ku
Pasal sin raybal ku.
Hangkan na aku di' na magkadtu
Sabab landu' susa in atay ku.

My whole being seems paralyzed
[Thinking] of my rival.
The reason I no longer pay [her] a visit
Is that my heart is grieving much.

Tausug folk narratives include the *salsila* (ethnohistorical narratives), the *kaawn kissa* (creation stories), the *usulan kissa* (origin stories), and the *katakata* (marchen). The salsila are basically genealogical accounts which trace noble descent. They tell of great ancestors, valiant feats, and important happenings; some salsila even invest their protagonists with superhuman capabilities. A portion of a salsila narrated by Datu Salip Raja Bassal Pulalun, who traces his ancestry to Sultan Salahuddin Karamat, 1648-1666, is typical:

Sultan Karamat's son Sultan Bararuddin I has four children—the twins Datu Alimuddin Han, who is handsome; Datu Salikala, who is ugly, abnormal, and looks like a monkey; Datu Nasaruddin; and Dayangdayang Putli'Agtah Lana. Bararuddin gives away Salikala to Datu Maharaja Dindah Bantilan. Salikala grows up strong and rescues Bararuddin from the invading Spaniards. Bantilan reveals the truth and the family is united. Salikala and his twin brother Alimuddin receive word from Sultan Muhuddin of Brunei, requesting for military assistance. The brothers oblige, but in battle, Salikala is seriously wounded. He and his men later burn themselves. A monument is built for them, and north Borneo is given as a price to the Tausug (Tuban 1977:44-46).

The theme of creation is told in various stories known as kaawn kissa. An example is "Apu' Adam Iban Apu' Hawa" (Grandfather Adam and Grandmother Eve) which tells of the first parents and their forced exile from paradise.

God decides to create man and sends his angels to collect dust from the earth's four corners. After overcoming the devils, the angels put the soil together into a lifeless form. Water, fire, and air are added to give life. Adam is lonely and God gives him a woman, who is formed from his rib. Four children are born to them—a white man, a white woman, a black man, and a black woman. Intermarriages in later generations result in the various races of the world. Eve eats the forbidden fruit and pours its juice into Adam's mouth. After defecating in paradise, they are sent out by God (Tuban 1977:50-51).

The origins of Tausug customs and institutions are told in the usulan kissa. "In Usulan sin Katantan Bungang Kahuy iban Binatang Halal" (The Origin of Edible Fruits and Animals) narrates how Adam's circumcised skin becomes a tree, from which the edible animals—carabao, cow, goat, chicken, pigeon, horse, and so forth—have their origin. The tree, which has become an obstruction to heaven's gate, is ordered cut, but it continues to grow and bears 99 fruit varieties (Tuban 1977:59).

Another usulan kissa is "In Tau Nakauna" (The First People of Sulu). A war near the Sulu archipelago leaves five male survivors, who settle in one of the islands. They meet five women survivors of another war, whom they marry. Children are born to them. One day, two men—a tall and a short one—set out to search for other populated areas. They meet a woman named Putli' Indal Suga who comes from heaven. She marries the tall man and gives birth to seven boys. Sulu becomes popular in time and later begins to attract Arab missionaries (Tuban 1977:59-60).

While kissa are instructive, katakata are stories which are not historical and recited basically for entertainment. There are generally three types of katakata, one which resembles the legend, the marchen, and the trickster tale.

An example of the first type is "In Duwa bud" (The Two Mountains). A man and a woman who have died become two mountains, which today are believed to be enchanted. Resting between the sea of Sulu and Zamboanga, the two mountains must not be referred to by travelers.

An example of the second type is the Tausug version of "Tom Thumb" folktales and is called "Hangdangaw" (literally, "a span high"). Despite his size, Hangdangaw is a voracious eater and grows up with exceptional strength. He leaves his parents and meets four powerful men who become his friends: Mamuk Bunga, Tumibik Batu, Sumagpih Ipil, and Rumatag Bud. One day, Hangdangaw catches a big fish but discovers that he needs fire to cook it. He sends the four to get fire, but they are captured and imprisoned by a human-eating giant. Hangdangaw rescues them, and they finally get to eat the fish. After the meal, Hangdangaw throws away the fish bone, which, unfortunately lands on the maharajah's well. Hangdangaw helps the maharajah by throwing the fish bone a second time; it lands on the water hole of a panglima. This is repeated two more times in the wells of the imam and the crown prince. As a reward, the daughters of the maharajah, panglima, imam, and crown

prince are married off to Hangdangaw's four friends. From the crown prince's well, the fish bone lands on the sultan's. Hangdangaw intervenes again and ends up marrying the sultan's sister (Tuban 1977:63-68).

Other katakata deal with *agassi* (giants) like the "Baguinda Iban Hinda Apu" (Baguinda and Grandfather Agassi). There are also stories where handsome *anak datu* (royal princes) or beautiful *putli* (royal princesses) are turned into ugly creatures only to be returned to their true selves after undergoing various trials. "Putli Pugut" and "Manik Buwangsi" are good examples of this type of katakata.

More popular among the Tausug are the trickster tales which involve Pusung and Abunnawas and which belong to the "clever lad" genre. In these tales, Pusung and Abunnawas always get away with the tricks they play on the sultan. The popularity of these tales and the irreverence they show towards the sultan betray the egalitarian attitude of the Tausug (Rixhon 1974a:34,73).

Animal tales such as that of *pilanduk*, a kind of mouse deer, are also types of the katakata. Pilanduk has evolved into a human trickster as wily as Pusung and Abunnawas (Tuban 1977:93-94). Other examples of animal tales include the stories of "The Rabbit and the Lion," "The Tukling and the Crow," and "There was a King" (Eugenio 1989:5-6, 38-39, 229-232).

Islamic literature finds expression in the inspired Arabic texts, the *hadis* (commentaries on Islamic law), and khutba.

The *azhan* is the call marking the *waktu* (time) for the *salat* (prayers), which begin at *subuh* (early dawn), then at *luhu*l (noon), asar at around three in the afternoon, at *magalib* or after sunset, and at aysa or early evening. In rural areas, the waktu for prayers is signaled by the beating of drums or gongs while the azhan is called (Rixhon 1974a:6-14).

There are also *duwaa* or devotional prayers made in addition to the daily salat, especially when an individual, family, or community experiences extraordinary difficulties or joy. Prayers known as *duwaa salamat* or thanksgiving prayers are performed whenever these crises are successfully resolved. Another duwaa called *magtaubat* is offered as a prayer of repentance; it asks Allah for the forgiveness of *dusa* (sins). Other types of prayers are *duwaa aruwa* or those intended to commemorate death anniversaries, and *duwaa ulan*, for the alleviation of drought. These prayers are often accompanied by a *jamu* (feast).

Another prayer is the *jhiker* or the recitation of the 99 names of Allah guided by the *tasbih* (prayer beads). This is done in private or as part of the daily salat.

Pangadji or the reading/recitation of the Quran is practiced by the Muslims as a manifestation of their faith and love for Allah. The recitation is either done in the masjid as part of duwaa, as an opening in a public program, or as a personal

expression of abiding devotion to Allah.

Pangadji is also done when there is death in the family. For seven nights, starting from the first night of death, the Quran is recited by young men and women taking turns until the whole book is read. The practice is meant to insure the deceased a safe journey to the next world.

The Hadith or *hadis* are the sayings and practices of the Prophet Muhammad, collected, compiled, and authenticated by Islamic scholars. Hadis constitute one of the sources for Islamic law and jurisprudence. They are also used to explain and clarify certain points in the Quran. The language used is Arabic.

Tausug hadis are expressed in the form of tarasul or kissa, and are commentaries on some points of Islamic law. The *hadis tarasul* are sung in the *lugu* (unaccompanied) tradition and introduce the faithful to a chapter in the Quran. They are also performed to inspire the people to fulfill their religious obligations (Rixhon 1974a:16-18).

Hadis kissa are also sung and are usually accompanied by musical instruments such as the gabbang and *biyula* (native violin). One example, the "Kissa sin Hadis sin Duwa Magtiyaun" (The Story of the Tradition of Marriage), narrates the duties and responsibilities of husbands and wives (Rixhon 1974a:16).

The khutba is the Friday sermon given during congregational prayers, and is delivered by the khatib from the *mimbar* (platform). Generally, the khutba deals with religious topics and their applications to contemporary life. Usually supplemented with readings from the Quran, the khutba must contain at least the five *rukun* (essentials) to be considered valid. These are: reciting a prayer or praise to Allah; extolling the virtues of Prophet Muhammad; advising those present to remain God-conscious; reciting verses from the Quran; and praying for the faithful. The local language is usually used for the khutba, although the Quranic verses and the prayers of praise for Allah and the Prophet are read in Arabic.

One Tausug oral tradition whose category has been shrouded in controversy is the *parang sabil*, a narrative song that narrates the heroism of people who "fight in the way of God." The sabil institutionamong the Tausug translates into a personal and religious obligation to defend Islam and to protect the community from invasion. The act of committing parang sabil is celebrated in songs known as *kissa parang sabil* or *liangkit parang sabil*. These are usually sung in the liangkit tradition accompanied by the gabbang. As a literary form, they are considered epic ballads which deal with the exploits of Muslims killed by Christians in warfare. Some parang sabil have been printed. The "Liangkit Parang Sabil kan Apud" narrates the exploits of five young Tausug men namely Apud, Jumah, Mukarram, Pisingan, and Isnain, who refuse to be inducted as trainees in the militia. They become outlaws and are eventually killed in a continuous battle that lasts for about three weeks (Kiefer 1970).

The “Parang Sabil hi Baddon” tells the story of Baddon who is insulted by a *datu*. Baddon ambushes the nobleman, after which he is declared an outlaw. A military operation is launched against him. Fighting begins between the relatives of Baddon and the datu (Mercado 1963).

The “Parang Sabil hi Abdulla” tells the story of Putli Isara, the beautiful daughter of a panglima and the fiance of Abdulla. By the river one day, a Spanish soldier accosts Putli Isara and touches her. The event causes Putli Isara and Abdulla to commit parang sabil (“The Parang Sabil…” 1973).**Performing Arts**

Various musical instruments, played solo or as an ensemble, provide the Tausug with music. Most notable is the *kulintangan* ensemble consisting of two *gandang* (drums), a *tungallan* (large gong), a *duwa-han* (set of two-paired gongs), and the *kulintangan* (a graduated series of 8 to 11 small gongs). At least five players are needed to play the ensemble which is used to accompany dances or provide music during celebrations (Kiefer 1970:2).

Other popular instruments are the gabbang and the biyula. With 14 to 24 keys divided into seven-note scales, the gabbang has become the most popular musical instrument in Sulu. It is used to accompany Tausug vocal music such as the *sindil*. The tune produced when the gabbang is played solo by a man or woman is called *tahtah*.

The biyula is similar to but larger than the western violin. It consists of four strings played by a bow made of horsehair. Traditionally played by men, the biyula, with the gabbang, accompany the sindil (Kiefer 1970:2)

Flute music is associated with peace and travel. It is represented by the following less popular instruments: the *saunay* (reed flute), *suling* (bamboo flute), and *kulaing* (jew’s harp). The saunay is essentially a six-holed slender bamboo, 1.5 millimeters in diameter, capped by a *sampung simud* (mouthguard). A resonating chamber made of palm leaves is housed in the mouthguard. The suling is a larger version of the saunay. It is a 60-centimeter-long bamboo with a 2-centimeter diameter. Like the saunay, it has six finger holes (Kiefer 1970:4).

The repertoire for Tausug instrumental music include: the *gabbang tahtah* (gabbang with biyula accompaniment); the *kasi-lasa*, lugu, and tahtah (biyula songs); the *sinug kiadtu-kari* (kulintangan); the *tiawag kasi* (saunay music); the tahtah (suling music); and others (Kiefer 1970).

Kalangan or Tausug vocal music can be divided into narrative and lyric songs, and further into the lugu and the paggabang traditions. The lugu tradition denotes unaccompanied religious songs, while the paggabang tradition applies to “more mundane” songs that are accompanied by the gabbang and biyula (Trimillos 1972).

Narrative songs tell a story and include all the sung kissa like the parang sabil. Lyric

songs express ideas and feelings and consist of the *langan batabata* (children's songs), the *baat* (occupational songs), the *baat taallaw* and *pangantin* (funeral and bridal songs, respectively), the *tarasul* (sung poems), the *sindil* (sung verbal jousts), the *liangkit* (from langkit or "chained"), and the *sangbay* or song to accompany the *dalling-dalling* dance.

The langan batabata are more specifically lullabies. They have a soft and relaxing melody (Tuban 1977:210):

Dundang ba Utu
tug na ba kaw
Liyalangan ta sa kaw
Bang bukun sabab ikaw
In maglangan mahukaw.

Go to sleep
Now my son
I am singing to you
If not because of you
I would not even like to sing.

Baat and *kalangan* are the same, the latter being the more general term to refer to singing. The baat taallaw have a melancholic melody. The following commemorates a dead sea captain (Rixhon 1974a:49):

Tuwan ku Tuwan Nahoda
Bati' bati' na ba kaw
Sin pu'pu' Tahaw
Aturan hawhaw
Tubig pangdan malihaw
Hiubat langgang uhaw.

My beloved, beloved Nahuda
Will you please wake up
Will you take a look
At the islet of Tahaw
It seems very far
But its clear water among the screw pines
Can quench one's thirst.

After a hard day's work, the farmers and the fishers sing the following songs which have happy melodies:

Manok-manok lupad kaw
Sulat ini da kaw
Pagdatung mu sumba kaw
Siki lima siyum kaw.

Little bird fly away
Bring this letter

When you arrive make an obeisance
And kiss [her] feet and hands.

Saupama nagbangka-bangka
In alun landu' dakula
Seesabroos nagkaialawa'
Hi rayang hadja
In ba laum dila'.

Supposing I'll go boating
The waves are very big
The Seesabroos was lost
My darling's name
Was always on my tongue.

The *baat pangantin* are also known as *langan pangantin*. With a soothing melody, they are used to reassure a bride and to console a friend (Rixhon 1974a:51):

Unu in hi langan
Sin hidlaw kan jungjungan
Ayir bajanggang
Sukkal banding di kapasangan
Hi ula katumbangan
Bang maisa kulangan
Dayang in pagnganan

What can I sing
[[To ease my] yearning for my beloved
[Her] incomparable presence cannot be matched
[My] dear idolized lover,
When lying in the chamber ,
Utters the name of his beloved.

The sindil (sung verbal jousts) belong to the gabbang tradition and are performed by both sexes conducting an extemporaneous battle of wits. Teasing, jokes, and innuendos flow into the verses, the better ones applauded by the audience (Kiefer 1970:10).

Nihma:
Arri ba dundangun
aha pantun sila sing pindagun
a pantun sing pagpindangun arri andu
arri ba hampil punungun
ba lugay diq pagdanganun.

Hussin:
Nagsablay kaw manipis ba manga
naganggil na ma kaw mga abris
mga naganggil na mga abris
arri bang kaw Nihma magkawa misis
agun ta kaw hikapanguntis.

Nihma [Woman]:
I sing as I am rocking a cradle
With patience,
Until I am exhausted
I have waited a long time to be called “darling.”

Hassin [Man]:
You, wearing a sheer dress,
Resembling a precious stone,
Resembling a precious stone,
Nihma, when you finally call yourself “Mrs.”
I may enter you in a beauty contest.

The liangkit are long solo pieces accompanied by the gabbang and biyula. Unlike the sindil, they are not performed extemporaneously. The subject of the liangkit is wide—love, war, nature, and others. The Tausug *lelling*, adopted from the Sama, are part of the liangkit tradition, but are sung to the music provided by a guitar. They relate and comment on current events. One good example is the lelling narrating the entry of the Moro National Liberation Front forces into Jolo town in February 1974.

The art of singing to the dalling-dalling dance is called *pagsangbay*. The song usually dictates the movement that the dancers should follow.

The lugu or *sail* tradition is associated with religious rituals and rites of the life cycle such as weddings, births, paggunting, pagtammat, and funerals. It is characterized by *dahig* or *jugjug* (high vocal tension). The tempo is slow with long sustained and stressed tones. Although usually performed by women, the lugu can also be sung by men (Trimillos 1972a):

Piyaganak
Malam ismin piyag bata
Ama pilihan mahakuta
Nabiyulla nabi Muhammad
Panghu sa sin kanabihan.

Birth
It was Monday night
A child was born
Of Allah.
He is Muhammad
To redeem the sins of man.

The most well-known dance of the Tausug is the *pangalay*. It is the basic style from which the movements of various dances in Sulu and Tawi-Tawi are derived. The pangalay is danced by either sex, alone or together, and is usually accompanied by the kulintang ensemble. The movement of the pangalay is concentrated on the thighs, knees, ankles, toes, waist, shoulders, neck, elbows, wrists, and fingers. The torso is usually kept rigid, moving upward or downward as the flow of the dance demands.

The feet is firmly planted on the ground and move in small shuffling steps (Amilbangsa 1983:14, 62).

The pangalay dances are distinctive in their use of the *janggay* (metal nail extenders) to underscore hand movements. The extended fingers are stiff and set apart from the thumbs.

Another well-known Tausug dance is the dalling-dalling, where handkerchiefs or fans are used. A singer usually accompanies the dance by describing the various movements of the dancer. The song is known as the *sangbay* and the singing, pagsangbay. Some of the songs used are "Lingisan/kinjung-kinjung" and "Dalling-dalling." The development of the dalling-dalling is attributed to a native Tausug by the name of Albani who became a famous proponent of the dance (Amilbangsa 1983:42).

Tausug martial-art dances are performed by men and include the *langka-silat* and the *langka-kuntau*. The langka-silat simulates a fight and is usually performed with two or three other dancers. The langka-kuntau is a dance of self-defense, resembling the martial arts of China, Japan, and Burma (Amilbangsa 1983:32-35).

A Tausug occupational dance is the *linggisan* which depicts a bird in flight; the *taute*, which shows a fisher diving for the prickly catfish; and the *suwa-suwa*, which shows dancers imitating the swaying of lemon trees (Amilbangsa 1983:28). • C. Abubakar and G.E.P. Cheng Reviewed by S.K. Tan

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