Traditional Tausug Pagkawin In Sulu
Alkinor R. Sajan¹*, Aldren J. Jamasali¹, Yasser-Asil D. Samsal Jr.¹, Rashmie G. Estino¹, Abdulamir G. Ismael¹
¹Faculty, Mindanao State University-Sulu 7400, Jolo, Sulu, Philippines

ARTICLE INFO
Keywords:
Pagpanilas
Pagpasihir
Pagturo Taymah
Paghathud Bugas
Philippines

*Corresponding author:
Alkinor R. Sajan

E-mail address:
alkinor.sajan@msusulu.edu.ph

All authors have reviewed and approved the final version of the manuscript.

https://doi.org/10.37275/EHI.v1i1.9

ABSTRACT
In the history of human race, intimate relationship is normal. When civilization
began to flourish, norms and standards of societies also thrived and preserved.
copulation is lawfully decreed to be bound by marriage. Marital norm is either
prescriptive or proscriptive which depends upon the societal standard. The
Tausugs claims to be a Muslim tribe, their marriage custom is traditional
however, but anchored on the Islamic principle where they are obliged to
carefully observe the so-called ritual Nikah or Pagkawin.

Due to geographical dimensions of Sulu Archipelago, Pagkawin among the
Tausugs is of the same concept but slightly different in practice. This paper will
discuss the Traditional Pagkawin and their variations in five different
municipalities of Sulu.

1. Introduction
Many believed that there is no culture today that is
free from outside influence. The globalization era,
facilitated by technological advancement, started from
television in the early 1920s to the internet in the
1980s, has been influencing many aspects of life.
Countries such as USA, China, Japan and members of
European Union have shaped global culture through
technology and commerce. International interactions
between and among states have carried cultural
influences to each other. The Philippines is no
exception to this. Generally, Colonialism has made the
Filipinos open to outside cultural influences and
specifically, the Tausug had received the same impact.
In other words, technologies such as the television and
the internet served as intensifiers of cultural change
and integration. Today, because of internet,
smartphones, Facebook and other media sites, the
Tausug’s cultural background and practices had been
changed ranging from education to wedding rites. In
other cases, traditional practices are gradually
vanishing in the life of the Tausug. In short,
colonialism, globalization, and modernization have
brought about many influences especially cultural
orientation to the Filipinos and the Tausug as well. If
these trends continue, the Tausug someday may lose their identity, God forbid! Therefore, the Tausug's culture must not only be studied but also translated into literary resources so that every generation will have reasons and roles to preserve whatever is advocated by their forefathers.

This article discusses in details the processes of the Traditional Tausug Pagkawin or marriage practices in Sulu. There are three concepts presented here: norms before pagkawin, pagkawin proper and norms after pagkawin. The three comprised the framework of analysis which is presented with some comparative assessment. The analytical approach is based from the five localities such as the Municipality of Maimbung, Panglima Tahil, Parang, Patikul and Talipao. The objective is to preserve the culture and traditional practices of the Tausug in Sulu and to contribute to the development of Tausug writings especially on culture and tradition. Cultural intrusion from outside forces is growing. By preserving and developing writings about the Tausug, we can build a strong foundation to protect and improve the Tausug culture and traditional practices.

The method adopted in this article is descriptive. The collection of data is a combination of library research, personal interview, observation, experiences and internet references. Although comparative analysis is applied, the overall presentation is synthetic in approach. This means that all the data are presented using one category or arrangement with some examples provided to strengthen the arguments and assertions.

2. Background

identity using culture as basis of recognition. Despite cultural intrusion, from Indians to Chinese, Spaniards to Americans, and today’s neo-colonialism, the Tausug of Sulu have sustained their traditional practices through narratives both oral and written and lasted hundreds of years ago until it became evidences and proofs in today's practical basis. Among such traditional practices, the marital concept of pagkawin is considered as Tausug most valuable traditional values as it solidifies human relations socially, economically, culturally, and religiously. Pagkawin is the process of solemnizing marriage between a man and a woman. It is a symbol of civilization advancement for it is not only done superficially but meticulously followed. The formality of negotiation between two families starting from the Pagpanilas (sensing possibility of acceptance) or pagpasihil (semi-formal or pre-negotiation), pagpangasawa (final negotiation or formal proposal), pagturan (pre-deliberation), Pagtungguh Tunang (for a certain period of time before final scheduling where a boy and a girl is in the state of fiancé/fiancée relationship), pagkawah tugun (final scheduling), paghatud bugas (sending of sacks of rice and other commodities as part of the demands or dowry), to Pagkawin (formal legalization of marital union through solemnization) depicts sophisticated traditional practices that are honored and preserved from generation to generation. Pagkawin also involves some significant processes or stages ranging from pagliguh (bathing both the groom and the bride), wudoh (ablution), pagpassal (coloring of fingernails), pagkawin (solemnization), pagbatal (legal/nuptial touch), pagtingkuang or pagbaid (reversion or requesting the couple to the groom’s residence while celebration is going on), pagsalam (spiritual exchange of greetings between the couple), and pagkakat (a fun viewing where the bride runs and need to be caught by the groom. If the later fails to catch, the viewers shouted, “kakaon sapal!!” It has a deep meaning, where the groom is referred to an ordinary rooster who feeds on the residue of grated coconut after it was being squeezed compared to a fighting rooster who feeds well on the unhusked rice. Pagkakat is really practiced in the early Parang Municipality. It is a depiction of Tom and Jerry cartoon movie. In fact, the term Pagkakat is derived from the natural behavior of a cat either playing or chasing a mouse).
Variation in culture is everywhere. The Sulu society in general and the Tausug in particular is not exempted from this nature. The cultural traditions practiced in the five Municipalities mentioned above are worth revisiting. Some traditional practices, despite having some modification as observed by today’s generation, which are still happening and followed by the Tausug until today will help the readers to appreciate the cultural richness of the Tausug regardless of differences in locality, period and orientation.

**Tausug Norms Before Pagkawin**

**Pagpanilas / Pagpasihil**

The salient feature of the Tausug wedding tradition is that, from pagpanilas to pagkawin, the family of both parties (man and woman do not directly participate but through representatives. The pattern includes indirect courtship with gifts for the bride’s family and negotiations by the intermediaries. Marriage is considered as alliance of families, not just of the couple involved; and since kinship is bilateral (true of all Filipino groups), relatives on both sides have the right to voice their feelings on any proposed union (P. Going, 1979; 73). However, in most cases of the Tausug, the family of a man will directly participate in the pagpanilas or pagpasihil. It is a semi-formal negotiation where the parents of a man accompanied by respected personality either from the family, the barangay captain or an imam who is expert in negotiation go to the woman’s house to converge semi-proposal. It is done secretly with only few members of the family are informed. In these five municipalities, it is here in this first step where they bring the Tapil dilah (bridal gift) which is usually in the form of jewelry or gold ring. In Patikul municipality, it could be a one cartoon cigarette or money that worth one thousand pesos. Tapil dilah is prepared ready as remedy for any unintentional shortcomings and misunderstanding that occurred or somewhat a penalty given to amend the inappropriate manners and speeches rendered during sensitive negotiation. Pagpasihil or Pagpanilas is always the first step in the marital process because it assures the possibility of acceptance and an avoidance of embarrassment or insult whether by rejection or unaffordable demands (sukat kahukaw).

**Pagpangasawa**

Is a mere expression of intent that the son or brother of so and so would like to marry the daughter of so and so. There is no assurance of acceptance yet. The father of the girl usually invites the paternal and maternal relatives of their daughter and decide whether to accept the marriage proposal or not. Assuming that the decision is acceptance, the next step is to decide as to what are the dowry will be. Once everything is listed, it will be then sent to the parent of the boy. If they can afford the dowry, then they will set the date for the Pagturul tayma’. If the dowry is beyond their means, then they will officially withdraw the proposal (Abdugafar Mangkabong).

Traditional Tausug however, Pagpangasawa is hitherto considered as formal and official deliberation of marriage proposal. It is metaphorically term in other Sulu localities such as parang as buyuh bunga which implies the completeness of boy’s family preparation, their consensus, and their pangakuhanan or Gaus (means). Albeit, they are not hundred percent of assurance, but they are confident enough to do so based on their perception during the pagpanilas / pagpasihil. Rejection and withdrawal is also possible but depends upon the outcome of the negotiation.

**Pagsampang or Pagturul Taymah**

This celebration is proving the acceptance of marriage proposal or Pagpangasawa. Handling over of the dowry can take place in this part either half or whole of it. Nonetheless, the man’s party can also choose to give it later. Tausug delicacies or Bangbang Sug and other modern delicacies wrapped in a colorful and transparent celophanes, soft drinks, and others will be brought to the woman’s family. Maligay, lukun, and Pamilas are provided too during this stage. These are called Pakpak Burak in the municipality of Parang.
If the girl had studied Qur-an under a Guru (teacher), and her parent had not yet made the required Maligay for her Guro during Pagtammat (graduation on the Qur-an study), the Maligay will be given to her teacher as lulukatan or redemption. The lukun represents the foundation of the family and the love of the couple. As for the Pamilas, it is a demand or will of the woman’s dead forefathers, usually Manggagabbang (tradiotional Tausug singers) or a glass jar full of coins to be kept and could be spent only for a spiritual duwaa for the said ancestors. In the municipality of Talipao, it is in this Pagsampang where they bring the Tapil dilah which is accordingly a compensation given in advance as the pronouncement of asking the woman’s heart is heavy and very sensitive issue in life specially on the part of the woman. One important thing in this deliberation is the pagkawa tugun or the finalization of the date of wedding which is the woman’s party who usually decides for it.

**Pagpanunggu Tunang**

While in the state of fiancé/fiancée relation, and no date for the wedding is yet agreed upon, the groom to be has to carefully observe and do things that might prove his capability to be a worthful husband and son in-law by showing kindness, generosity, and virtue to his prospective wife and parents in-laws. He will in some house chores like getting water or gathering and chopping fire woods. The fiance is even allowed to sleep in the house of his fiancee, but of course not together in one room. Also, in some Municipalities like Patikul, the fiance gives provision to his fiancée during this stage even just once a week, which is in the past it usually consisted of rice and dried fish. His prospective parent in-law on the other hand, are observing the character, behavior and the true personality of their prospective son-in-law that once they perceive something wrong with him, they can annul the bond of the two anytime. This called in Tausug Pagbaibad (annulment). Pagtungguh Tunang, is for a certain period of time depends upon the dealing, either weeks, a month, or even years till the man’s party is ready for the wedding day.

**Paghatud Bugas**

Paghatud Bugas is a Tausug implicative term for “sending the rice”. Implicative in the sense that, not just sacks of rice that is going to be sent but other commodities as well. It is to be done, one day before the wedding, where the family of the groom deliver all the commodities requested by the bride's family. It is then, part of the demands usually 20 – 30 sacks of rice, cigarettes, Cow, and sometimes the whole dowry. In the municipality of Patikul, part of the demands to be brought on this day are; Salingkat, Lutuhan, and Durul Jambangan. Lutuhan usually contains 100 panyam in it and salingkat (in other Tausug elders, Salingkat is termed as Palanggung) is in pairs. Usually 200 pairs, each pair contains 5 Panyam a total of 1,000. These are given to the invited guests of the bride’s family. In the Municipality of Parang, Sulu, Palanggung is brought during pagturul Taymah. While Durul Jambangan is in a decorative Maligay form contains a native delicacy out of powdered rice called Durul in black color. It is kept untouched until three days where the Pagsalam is to be done.

**Pagpassal**

Pagpassal is inseparable in the customary practice of Tausug marriage. Varied as always, it takes place differently in time by Municipalities. Some do this on the day before the wedding like in Patikul and Pangutaran (Panglima Tahil). while others do this on the day of the wedding. Before the ritual Nikah takes place, the finger nails of both the groom and the bride should be colored by passal (plant whose leaves used for coloring finger nails in red-orange or purple). The Mamassal is a boy and a girl of complete parents. Usually, they are at the same time a groomsman and bride’s maid. They do their task by gender respectively. Practically, the Pagpassal is done first to the groom before the bride of course with Luguh or Langan (Tausug kissa or tales sang rhythmically by the Pangluluguh “Tausug singer”). Pagpassal seems easy
but it's actually not, because the traditional Tausug bride does not allow easily her nails to be colored. This is due to the bashfulness and also the culture of the Tausug wherein during all the wedding events, a bride should appear shy and not to show full willingness and excitement even may be deep down she is in love with the groom. Pagpassal is very important considering the fact that, it is provided with a tray of foods called Dulang Pamassalan.

**Pagkawin Proper**

Pagkawin in Tausug traditional practices has many processes. First, the groom and the bride should take ablution (wudoh) and wear a Tausug dress of elegance. Second, the three Dulang (tray) should be ready usually prepared and brought from the party of the groom. Dulang Pagkawinan, Dulang Pamassalan, Dulang pa Muhmeen. Dulang pagkawinan is to be eaten by the couple after solemnization. Its Sampul (cocked rice pressed into a basin or large bowl which is then overturned on a tray) is in three layers combination. The first layer is colored black (pu’tan itum), the second layer is white (pu’tan putih), and the third layer is yellow (pu’tan putih colored by turmeric to make it yellow). All of these are cooked with coconut milk (gatah lahing); walled with Panyam (in the Patikul culture, no panyam in the Dulang Pagkawinan) and with roasted chicken and rooster on its top and a number of boiled eggs including the soup of a roasted chicken/rooster placed inside the squash (chicken and rooster are boiled first before it is roasted). The manner of eating is in accordance with the tradition where the bride and the groom drinks first the soup of the chicken/rooster before they take the first three bates which begins from the bottom layer of the food. Some Arabic pronouncements are made: first the word Subhanallah is said in (black); the second at the middle of the food (white, the word Alhamdulillah, and the third at the top food (yellow) Allahu Akbar. Wherever the bride takes her bate in the first three, the groom will do the same (for every taste on a food, they always took a bate on the chicken, rooster, and eggs). The bones of the chicken and rooster should not be broken so as the egg shells should not be thrown anywhere). After the first three bates, they could eat to their satisfaction but they are not allowed to eat it again once they are done. The remaining food in the tray will be offered to the young girls and boys for the purpose of Kumawah Lihi (hope to be wedded next). Dulang Pamassalan is prepared like Dulang pagkawinan but there is only one roasted rooster. It implies the unity and progress of the future husband and wife once they become independent from their parents. It is in this Dulang where the Imam performs the duwaa salamat (thanks giving/safety prayers). The Dulang pa Muhmeen is part of offerings to the dead ancestors and to all the Muhmeen. Muhmen literally refers to all Muslims bar iyman (true believers in good faith/Muslim pious). But to the Tausug, it refers synonymously to the persons who had passed away that are believed to be free and purified.

Third, the Imam (religious leader), the pangluluguh (traditional singer), and the mamassal (traditional artist) should be ready usually requested from the Groom’s party. The Imam is the one who solemnizes the wedding by reading the religious rite nikah (kawin) and other ritual prayers. The pangluluguh is the one who sings (maglangan) in order that the door of the bridal room will be opened by the bride’s party. Traditionally, before nikah takes place, the bride is always locked in a certain room (bridal room). Together with her bridesmaids, her party never open the door without luguh (Langan), a form of kisya or tales sang rhythmically usually in Tausug dialect. She will do her task during pagpassal and pagba’tal (legal/nuptial touch). Since the couple is in ablution (wudoh) it needs to be nullified. The manner of pagba’tal is by touching the bride’s forehead three times by groom’s right thumb with a stick of cigarette to be dropped on the bride’s lap. Before each touch happened, the Imam, held the groom’s right hand and turning it around the bride’s head three times (Imam Da’ma Tuan Said of Parang,
Sulu). The pagba’tal will happen after the Pagkawin (solemnization) and it signifies broken or losing virginity on the part of the bride. And since it is the first touch of the husband, it implies as his partial liberation or possession over his wife. The Mamassal (boy and girl of complete parents) are the one who will do the pagpassal (from the word passal, a certain plant used by the early Tausug for coloring their nails in red-orange or purple). These roles are done following gender arrangement accordingly. Fourth, is the Wali. In Islamic perspective, Pagkawin is unlawful without a Wali. It is actually a permission, a clearance, and a consent of willingness from the right person among the family of the bride usually the father. With the absence of the father, her grandfather, uncle (biological brother of her father), brother mentally fit and a freeman could be a Wali (A. Mangkabong, 2000). These four steps or processes of Pagkawin are all applicable to all types of Tausug marriage such as legal negotiation/engagement (pagpangasawa), elopement (pagdakop), abduction (pagguyud/paglundat), force marriage (pagsarahakan tugol and pagpasumbaih), Pag-uwih Magbana, and Tahakkim. Manguwih magbana and tahakkim has the same concept for it is the girl that goes to the house of the boy and tell the parents that she is willing to become the wife of their son. But the difference is that, the former has a dowry (ungsod) that depends on the prescribed law of the municipality (sometimes the parents of the girl do not stick to the prescribed law, instead they demanded on their own). Some reasons for it to happen are; pregnancy due to unlawful intimacy and caught dating by the strict parents or relatives of the girl. While the latter is understood to be a real submission and dowry is not really a matter whether there is or none at all. Mostly, the one who did this Tahakkim is a religious woman usually separated and widow that is knowledgeable of her duty to Allah. It is believed that a widow and a separated woman could give Wali of her own because she had been wedded before. Fifth, is the nikah or Pagkawin (solemnization of marriage). While the bride is in the bridal room, the groom is outside with the Imam who will lead the ritual nikah. Before it takes place, the emissary is ordered to go to the bridal room, and knock the door three times asking the name of the bride also three times. Once he gets the answer, he would tell the bride by mentioning her name for example, “Khadija, you are going to marry (mentioning the groom’s name for example) Ahmad”. This is done three times. Most Tausugs always used the name Fa’timah and Muhammad before the real name of the bride and groom during nikah for example “Fa’timah Khadija” and “Muhammad Ahmad”. But some knowledgeable men do not follow this unless the real name of the bride and groom is Fa’timah and Muhammad respectively. The reason behind is that, in the real sense, Muhammad (S.A.W.) and Fa’timah (R.A.) is father and daughter which is totally forbidden. The bride will give her ring (from the groom’s party and had given to the bride earlier during Pagpassal and the ring is called Mahar Basingan which implies the totality of the dowry. Thus, the bride had to take good care and never attempt to sell or least it no matter hardship is) to the emissary as a proof of “yes”. The emissary will take his leave with the ring giving it to the Imam to put it on the middle finger (jaimanis) of the groom’s right hand. And then, the Imam had to start the Khutbah Nikah, a religious sermon/orientation on how to be a good and responsible husband, son in-law, and father as well. When he is done with the orientation, he tells the groom to do the same as his by positioning their right foot stand on the calcaneus/heel (tikud tikud) and their toes against each other so as their right hands and their thumbs covered with handkerchief and eye-to-eye contact. The groom assisted by his groomsman that gives signal by pressing him from the back for his immediate answers on the ritual Nikah/Kawin orated by the Imam. The oration begins with, “Ahmad…by the power vested in me, I am obliged to let you marry Khadija…” with groom’s immediate answer with excitement, “I will accept the said nikah lawfully to me!” This is said once or three times depends on how the
groom responded to it. Then, the Imam followed up the final oration such as, “O’si’kom Iba’dallah………” where he had to respond it in the same manner, “Insha’Allah!” The oration is repeated three times so as the answers of the groom. Then, the Imam leads the groom to the bridal room for Pagba’tal (explained in the third process) and the Paggiling. The Paggiling is turning the couple (they are now couple because they are legally wedded as husband and wife) to the straight position.

One of the early Tausug norms is, the bride will always be conservative in nature. She doesn’t show excitement no matter how happy she is. Thus, after the Pagba’tal (nuptial touch), when her husband seats awkwardly beside her, she is in a side view position. So, the bridesmaid and the groomsman assigned will have to turn them three times until they are put into a straight position. This is one of the most exciting scenes in the wedding ceremony where the relatives of the couple start to make fun of them by asking the husband if who is the name of his wife, how he sweetly addressed her, and how he said goodbye to her. And then, they will be requested to come out of the bridal room for duwaa salamat (thanks giving/safety prayers), to eat the prepared Dulang (especially Dulang Pagkawinan explained in the third process), and for public scene. It should be noted that Pagkawin is of two kinds. The first is the public one “kawin mahalayak or kawin ha katiluagan” that we had discussed. The second is the so-called “kawin duwa ruwa” where most Tausug in the early times usually did this. It depends upon the acceptance of the couple and how they valued their relations as husband and wife. Some believed that if they do this kind of kawin, their relationship as husband and wife will last forever till the hereafter. The knowledge on this kind of Kawin could be sought from a few sagacious Tausug.

**Tausug Norms After Pagkawin**

**Consumption of Dulang/Durul Jambangan/Pagsalam**

Shortly after the Pagkawin, the newlywed couple is now ready to consume the special food prepared for them especially the Dulang pagkawinan (explained in the second process). In Patikul, a Durul jambangan in a decorative semi Maligay form where flowers with stem poled into a durul is prohibited for everyone to touch it except the couple. During the night of Pagsalam, it will be consumed by the couple. Some said that a bride will take one thing secretly either a flower or a candy decorated in the flowers and she hide it wherever she wants. If his husband fails to find it, he cannot get what he desires from his wife. Meaning, he cannot impose his absolute right on his wife as a lawful husband during this first night and even longer unless he could find the said hidden thing.

**Pagba’tal (Legal/Nuptial Touch)**

After the pronouncement of marital legalization, the groom will then be led by Imam to the bridal room (explained in the fifth process). When the groom is asked how he addressed and say goodbye to his wife, usually he said, “my endearment for her is hi rang piyagtiyuan piyagbugas sapian”. Others preferred to call theirs as “dang, lasa, dayangku, and among others. Saying goodbye is depending upon their expression. But with the presence of the both relatives, and for them to be entertained, some grooms rhythmically said, “Mari pa ako dayang ko, Pa hansipak pa liyu, misan aun pa cen ko, mag asawa dih na ako”. More or less it means, “I have to leave my darling, to the other side beyond, even I have still money, I will never marry again”. This implies his great love to his wife.

**Pagtingkuang or Pagbaid**

This is one of the marital norms where the newlywed together with relatives and friends is requested to the groom’s residence while the celebration is going on for the purpose of public viewing for the guests of the groom’s family. However, it is case to case bases. If the Pagkawin is done first before celebration, then, it is a norm after Pagkawin. But if the celebration is done first, it is a norm before Pagkawin. It is observed differently by municipalities. In some parts of Parang they do it before pagkawin while others such as Patikul, Pangutaran (Panglima Tahil) and Talipao, they do it...
after the pagkawin. Pagtingkuang or Pabaid is done for the people of both families to witness the legalization of marital union and for the couple’s families to be cleared from the watchful eyes of the gossipers. In this case, both parties (of the groom and the bride) has to prepare a well-decorated stage or in a certain part of the house. While the couple is on the public, the families and friends of the bride are entertained with different foods and drinks served in the process. After a couple of hours, the newlywed will go back to the house of the bride where they will stay until dum salam.

**Pagjaga**

The idea of Pagjaga is the newlywed should not fall asleep the whole night after the Pagkawin. Some friends and Pandalas (groomsmen and bridesmaids) will accompany them in this event. It is believed that whosoever (Groom and Bride) remains awake, will have a longer life. Hence, the couple had to resist not falling asleep by any means such as non-stop drinking of coffee, telling funny stories, card games, and so on and so forth.

**Pagsalam**

Finally, the Pagsalam is the last to be observed in the Tausug traditional marriage practice. just like the Pagkawin, the couple will wear beautiful dresses. It is the process of exchanging spiritual greetings between the groom and the bride. Their right thumbs will be positioned opposite to each other so as their big toes and eye to eye contact like what was done by the Imam and the groom during the ritual Nikah. The groom will be the first to greet the bride by saying, ASSALAMUALAYKOM YA (………….), and the bride will reply by saying, WA ALAYKOMUSSALAM YA (………….). It is said three times. When it is done, a special Dulang and Durul jambangan (explained in the Paghatud bugas and in the consumption of Dulang and Durul jambangan) will be served for the two to share while some members of the family from both sides are observing the exciting moment. It is in this stage where the Pagkakat (explained in the background) is observed. The idea of Dum salam is actually the first night for the couple to sleep together in the same bed. Like honey moon, giving them an ample time to be closed to each other. After the dum salam, the marriage is finally consummated. In the culture of the early Parang, Pagsalam in marriage is also of two kinds like that of Pagkawin. The first is the Salam katiluagan (public Salam) that we had just explained. The second is the Salam duwaruwa which is secretly between the couple only. It serves as a key for the husband to exercise his absolute right to own his wife. But, if his wife has the knowledge of this said Salam, he can’t just easily do what he desired unless he is also knowledgeable about it. If he knew nothing then, he needs to find someone who knows about it or he need the help of his wife’s Guro (teacher) for him to conquer the holy fortress of the divine EYE.

3. **Conclusion**

The Tausug is known for being the first group of people to organize sovereign nation centuries before colonization. Their culture has been preserved especially with the institution of government known as the Sultanate of Sulu. However, due to outside intervention facilitated by colonial masters such as the Spaniards, Americans and others, the Tausug gradually lost the focus to guard their identity because war has consumed much of their time. Their culture, traditional practices and political recognition were attacked for hundreds of years since colonialism until the era of globalization where modernization, internet, Facebook and other social media sites have contributed to the modification of some Tausug traditional practices. The only way to counteract this trend is to revisit the Tausug culture and tradition especially focusing on the local sources of the Tausug literature and putting them down into writing. And this process of re-examination was started from writing about the nature, variation and traditional practices of the Tausug about wedding or in the native language—pagkawin.
Using some comparative analysis focusing on five localities such as the Municipality of Maimbung, Panglima Tahil, Parang, Patikul and Talipao, the Tausug culture and tradition on pagkawin varied only in terms of each municipality's interpretation or application of the concept. Generally, the Tausug observed common processes in marriage started from norms before pagkawin which comprised pagsa’ihil (pre-negotiation), pagpangasawa (formal negotiation), pagturan taymah (re-deliberation), pagkawah tugun (final scheduling), paghatud bugas (sending of sacks of rice and other commodities as part of the demands); to pagkawin proper with Imam or any religious official tasked to solemnize marriage, mahar-basingan (dowry and other requirements), witnesses, Wali, dulang, khutba’ Nikah (wedding sermon) and celebration as its main features; to norms after pagkawin which comprised the consumption of dulang, pagba’tal (legal/nuptial touch), pagtingkuang or pagbaid (reversion and public viewing) pagiaga (watching over) and pag salam (consumption of marriage).

The Tausug are really rich in culture. Pagkawin or Tausug marriage practice with its sophisticated processes, procedures and materials attached to it is an indication of high level of cultural orientation. As most sociologists argued, culture is a manifestation of advanced civilization because culture is considered as something that describes people, group and society’s behavior. The Tausug culture is gradually disappearing because some preferred modernized practices partly symbolizing development and social acceptability. Without allocating some time and interests in knowing and writing the Tausug culture and tradition, western values, modernization and globalization may somehow replace what has been preserved by the early Tausug in Sulu. However, by engaging in studying and writing about Tausug culture and tradition, the Tausug identity will not only be preserved but also acknowledged as original and acceptable.

4. References
1. Mangkabong, Abdulgafar A. Bin Sin Kamaasan, Merryjoy Enterprises; Manila, 2000
2. Going, Peter G. Muslim Filipinos: Heritage and Horizon, New Day Publishers: Quezon City, 1979
3. Jacento, Al. Tausug Cultural Orientation, Defense Language Institute, Foreign Language Center, 2019
4. Bruno, Juanito A. The Social World of the Tausug: A Study in Culture and Tradition, Manila: Centro Escolar University research and Development Center, 1973
5. Majul, Cesar A., Muslims in the Philippines, University of the Philippines Press: Quezon City, 1999
6. Hassan, Irene U. Tausug – English Dictionary: Kabtangan Iban Maana, Online PDF Version, 2018 by Sil International
7. Untih, Alphata J. and Gaffar, Shukri U. personal communication, April 2021, Talipao, Sulu
8. Abdurasid, Gabir J. personal communication, April 2021, Patikul, Sulu
9. Hatib Sangkula, personal communication, April 2021, Parang, Sulu
10. Imam Da’ma Tuan Said, personal communication, April 2021, Parang, Sulu
11. Salahuddin, Wannadzmie, personal communication, April 2021, Parang, Sulu