

GORONTALO WOMEN'S BE'ATI (BAI'AT): The Perspective of History, Culture and Islamic Law

Sofyan A.P. Kau¹, Zulkarnain Suleman², Lahaji³, Mujizatullah⁴,
Nazar Husain Hadi Pranata Wibawa⁵

Abstract

This paper discusses the tradition of Bai'at (be'ati) or initiation for a teenage girl after the arrival of the first menstruation in the traditional culture of Gorontalo. Through field studies by interviews, observation and study of documents, this research shows that the procession of the initiation ritual ceremony (mome'ati) is conducted in six stages, including: molungudu (sauna bath with traditional herbs), momonto (putting a red mark on the forehead), momuhuto (bathing with traditional herbs), mopohuta'a to pingge (stepping on a plate), mome'ati (initiation ritual) and mohatamu (completing the recitation of the Qur'an). The six be'ati rituals are loaded with moral values as a living guidance for the teenage girl. In the perspective of Islamic law philosophy, molungudu and momuhuto are aligned with the principle of benefit as they emphasize physical health and personal hygiene. In the fiqh category, both are included in the discourse of thahârah (cleanliness). Meanwhile, momonto and mopohuta'a to pingge emphasize the identity of the Muslim personality and the attitude of being careful in treading the teenage life. Both are included in the category of Islamic morality, since they are loaded with moral messages. Whereas, mome'ati emphasizes the practice of the pillars of Faith, the pillars of Islam, and obedience to both parents. As for mohatamu, it emphasizes the love for the Holy Qur'an. All stages in the be'ati ritual show the acculturation of Islam with the local culture of Gorontalo. Even, the be'ati tradition is the implementation of Islamic teachings through culture and customs ('urf).

¹ Institut Agama Islam Negeri Sultan Amai Gorontalo, sofyan.a.p.kau@gmail.com

² Institut Agama Islam Negeri Sultan Amai Gorontalo, zulkarnainsulaiman@iaingorontalo.ac.id

³ Institut Agama Islam Negeri Sultan Amai Gorontalo, lahaji@iaingorontalo.ac.id

⁴ Badan Riset Nasional Indonesia, mujizatullah28@gmail.com

⁵ Institut Agama Islam Negeri Sultan Amai Gorontalo, nazarhusain80@gmail.com

Introduction

The discourse of Bai'at is commonly associated with politics. Thus, Bai'at in the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI) is defined as the pronouncement of an oath of allegiance to an imam (leader/the priest). Bai'at does not only involve two parties, the leader and the led. More than that, there are also other parties such as ulama (cleric) functioning as the consultant in the process of Bai'at, and all the parties who are concerned, talented, influential and powerful being involved in the process as well. According to Ibn Khaldun (d. 808 H/1402 AD), Bai'at is an agreement to obey. People who take Bai'at or people who take an oath of allegiance to their leader will embed the views they carry from the leader, both in the form of favorable and unfavorable orders. The opinion of Ibn Khaldun (d. 808 H/1402 AD) is different from T.M. Hasbi Ash-Shieddieqy (d. 1975 M) who emphasizes that Bai'at is a form of community acknowledgment to obey and comply the priest. This is conducted by the ahlu al-halli wa al-'aqdi (authorized people) and carried out following a deliberation. It means that there is an institution that has authority in the process of Bai'at. This is a sign of transformation in the development of the journey of Bai'at itself, starting from something traditional and then developing into a modern political concept that involves institutions.

Bai'at is not only related to a socio-political contract, but is also common in the tarekat tradition. The tarekat is built on the foundation of a close and unique system and relationship between a teacher (mursyid) and the tarekat followers (murid/ students). The relationship between the mursyid and the students is considered as the most important pillar in the tarekat organization. The relationship begins with a statement of allegiance (Bai'at) from a person who wants to become a tarekat student to a certain shaykh as the mursyid. The techniques and procedures for taking Bai'at in tarekat often differ from one another, but generally, there are three important stages that must be passed by a prospective student who is going to take Bai'at, including talqin al-dhikr (repeating certain dhikr), akhdz al-'ahd (taking an oath) and libs al-khirqah (wearing a robe). The process of initiation through Bai'at is important and decisive in the tarekat organization, because Bai'at implies the establishment of an unbreakable relationship between the student and the mursyid. Once the Bai'at is pledged, the student is required to comply with the mursyid's teachings and guidance, and believe that the mursyid is the representative of the Prophet. More than that, it is believed that Bai'at is also an agreement between the student as a servant and al-Haqq as the God. Thus, there is an initiation or Bai'at which has a political dimension and a sufistic dimension.

Historically, Bai'at has existed since the time of Prophet Muhammad SAW (PBUH). In surah Al-Fath verse 18, it is stated that the believers

have pledged allegiance to the Prophet Muhammad under a tree. This verse is revealed to tell about the Bai'at al-Ridhwan in Hudaibiyah, a pledge that displays a commitment to jihad (holy war). At that time, the Prophet SAW conducted Bai'at for his friends to strengthen their stance following the news spread of Usman bin Affan's death. Those who pledged allegiance to the Prophet SAW were not only men, but also women as mentioned in surah al-Mumtahanah verse 12. They pledged their allegiance not to associate Allah SWT with other kinds, not to steal, commit adultery, kill their children, lie and commit forgery, as well as not to disobey the Prophet SAW. The women's oath to the Prophet was by pronouncing, not by shaking hands. According to Abû al-Futûh Râzî, the Prophet's way of paying oath to women was by spreading a piece of cloth between the Prophet and the women, holding one end of it and the Prophet SAW conveying the contents of his oath.

At the time of the Prophet SAW above, Bai'at is more theological. Whereas, the Bai'at in the Gorontalo's be'ati tradition is local and cultural. It is called local since it only exists in the local Muslim culture of Gorontalo. It is called cultural since it is preserved and carried out according to the customs. The study of Bai'at is not a new thing, because there have been writings both theological, political and mystical. What barely written and discussed is the cultural Bai'at, one of which is the tradition of be'ati for teenage girls in Gorontalo's customs and culture. This paper discusses not only the procession of the be'ati ceremony, but also highlights be'ati from the perspective of Gorontalo's history and culture as well as Islamic law. The last three aspects distinguish this paper from previous similar works.

Review of Previous Literature

Research on the Gorontalo's be'ati tradition has been conducted by several researchers, including Munqizul Umam Kau's thesis and dissertation entitled "Ethical Values of the Be'ati Traditional Ceremony in the Perspective of Moral Philosophy" and "Be'ati Traditional Ceremony in the Perspective of Islamic Ethics of Imam al-Qusyairi al-Naisabury as a Means of Youth Moral Development". The main object of those researches is the be'ati tradition. The first one focuses on an ethical review of be'ati from the perspective of moral philosophy. Meanwhile, the second one is a review of be'ati from the perspective of Islamic ethics of Imam al-Qusyairi. Both the thesis and dissertation examine be'ati philosophically, more specifically, the philosophy of ethics. If the dissertation is limited to the ethical philosophy of Imam al-Qusyairi, then the thesis is focused on moral philosophy.

Another research is Yowan Tamu's thesis entitled "Be'ati Traditional Ceremony for Muslim Teenage Girls in Gorontalo's Community

Culture". This thesis research reveals various reasons for the people of Gorontalo to maintain and carry out the be'ati traditional ceremony. At the same time, this thesis also reveals a shift in values in the implementation of the be'ati traditional ceremony. This value shifting is caused by the influence of modernity. It is in line with Alim Niode's writing entitled "Gorontalo: Changes in Cultural Values and Social Institutions". This book discusses the shift in cultural values owned and adhered by the people of Gorontalo due to foreign cultural influences. This foreign culture not only affects the cultural values of the Gorontalo people, but also influences the social institutions of the Gorontalo people.

This paper is materially similar to the previous researches and writings, yet different from the side of the formal objects. It is said to be similar since the material object of the research is the be'ati custom and tradition. Whereas, it is called as different since the formal object of this research emphasizes the perspective of culture and Islamic law. Meanwhile, Munkizul Umam Kau's research emphasizes moral philosophy. This is also different from Yowan Tamu's thesis which is supposed to be a cultural research, in this case, referring to the culture of the Gorontalo people in the implementation of the be'ati custom. Another formal object that is different from previous researches compared to this research is the Islamic law, or more specifically the Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh). In this research, Islamic law is used as a perspective to highlight the implementation and customary procession of be'ati.

Another article is Muhiddin Bakry's article entitled "Mome'ati Custom's Indigenous Religiosity Values in the People of Gorontalo City". Connotatively, this paper wants to show the religious values in the Mome'ati custom. However, by looking at the purpose of the article, it appears that this paper emphasizes one more thing, regarding the behavior and perceptions of the people of Gorontalo City towards the mome'ati custom. In other words, this paper explores the religious values contained in the mome'ati custom, mainly in the behavior and perceptions of the people of Gorontalo City. By this way, this writing has similarities in terms of material object, yet different from the side of formal objects. This is because the material object of the researches is the same, the be'ati custom. Although, the terminology is different. The term mome'ati emphasizes more on the implementation of the be'ati itself. Whereas, the term be'ati is more conceptual-theoretical.

Similar research is also conducted by Sofyan A.P. Kau and Zainul Ramiz Koesry entitled: "Be'ati in the Gorontalo's Tradition: Anthropological-Sociological Review". However, the formal object is different, concerning on the anthropological-sociological review of the procession in carrying out the be'ati tradition.

Research Method

This research is a field research by applying qualitative method. Qualitative method is characterized by research objectives that attempt to understand symptoms in such a way which require no quantification, as these symptoms cannot be measured precisely. Qualitative research method refers to the research procedure that produces descriptive data to understand the object as a whole and attempt to explore as well as clarify a phenomenon or social reality (hence, it is often called as exploratory research).

The research data were collected through in-depth interviews, documentary studies and observation. Interviews were conducted with the traditional and religious leaders. The interviews were carried out in both structured and unstructured forms. Structured interview is conducted by using an interview guide, a research instrument in the form of prepared written questions. Meanwhile, unstructured interview is conducted freely to find problems more openly by asking for opinions and ideas from the interviewees. In the other hand, the documentary studies were carried out by examining Islamic books related to customs in general and Islamic law or fiqh in particular, especially those related to the issue of be'ati (bai'at). Meanwhile, the observation method was conducted to see directly the implementation of the be'ati ritual.

Analysis of the data was carried out to examine the be'ati ritual procession in the Gorontalo's tradition based on ethnographic data. In analyzing the data, comparative analysis was used with the aim to highlight the be'ati ritual in the Gorontalo's tradition from the perspective of Gorontalo's culture and Islamic law. Previously, the collected data was processed by classifying the data based on the details of the problems that have been formulated in this study.

Procession of the Be'ati Ceremony

The procession of carrying out the be'ati traditional ceremony consists of six stages. First is the molungudu ritual, referring to the ceremony of bathing the girl with traditional herbs. The traditional ingredients consist of timbuwale (lemongrass which its stems and leaves are crushed and/or finely grinded), totapo talanggila (bark which is grinded coarsely), humopoto (kencur which its flesh and leaves are grinded coarsely), tapulapunga (sembung leaves which are pounded together with the stems and roots), linggoboto (pounded galangal along with its leaves and flesh), dundo meme (dadap leaves), nutmeg flesh and clove leaves. The eight ingredients are the main ingredients used in the steam bath (molungudu) procession. The molungudu ritual procession is led by a Hulango. Hulango is a term for a middle-aged

woman who understands the ins and outs of a tradition, including the aspects of the ceremonial procession, the spoken recitations in each ceremony and the detailed knowledge of the objects or materials that are prepared and used for each traditional ceremony or tradition. Therefore, the criteria for Hulango are based on knowledge and experience. The procession for carrying out molungudu is not in the bathroom, but in a certain room called huwali or beleya pollungudelo. That is a small room or small building sized 1x2 meters without windows and the door is tightly closed.

Apart from the pot, the eight ingredients for traditional potions, and the place for molungudu, other things that must be prepared for the molungudu ritual are bada'a, mato lo umonu and hihito. Bada'a is a traditional powder made from totapo talanggila (bark) which its epidermis has been removed; antayi, a wooden fruit that grows on the beach; pale yilahumo, rice that has been soaked in water; as well as nutmeg seeds, turmeric and kencur. Meanwhile, mato lo umonu is a herbal concoction made from fragrant roots and fruit. The composition of the herbal medicine moto lo umonu consists of bohu, masoyi, dumbaya, bungale, humopoto, botu pomungudu, alama bunga, bilobohu, nutmeg and cloves, piyamputi and limututu. Bohu is a type of wood that is efficacious for brightening the face and skin. While, masoyi is a kind of bark which is efficacious for tightening the nerves of the muscles as well as the inside of the vital organs. Meanwhile, dumbaya is a kind of watermelon that grows wild in the forest. Dumbaya is efficacious for treating inflammation of the intestines, opening the pores of the skin thus sweat will easily come out and expediting the body's metabolism. Bungale or bangle is a kind of medicinal plant that is useful for improving blood circulation. Humopoto or kencur is believed to be able to clean dirt in blood vessels. Botu pomungudu is alum which has the effect of sterilizing mucus in the intestines and blood vessels. Alama bunga is a kind of incense that emits a fragrance when burned and is believed to be able to scent the body and restore the nerves. Bilobohu is a kind of bark that has been preserved and efficacious for cleaning dirt in the digestive tract, urinary tract and ovarian sac. Nutmeg and cloves are believed to treat digestive inflammation and cleanse blood vessels. Piyamputi is garlic believed to be effectual in treating inflammation in the digestive tract and blood vessels, as well as preventing cholesterol and high blood pressure. Limututu is kaffir lime which is beneficial in eliminating body odor. Whereas, what referred as hihito is a traditional body scrub consisting of dungo wuloto (finely grinded leaves), totapo talanggila (roughly grinded wood) and dregs from the making of mato lo umonu herbal medicine. These three elements of hihito are used during molungudu ritual.

Molungudu is held a week before the be'ati ceremony for the girl to be physically ready. For a week in the morning and evening, the girl is guided by the Hulango for molungudu, drinking mato lo umonu herbs and using skin powder. These three forms of activities in the molungudu process show that the cleaning process is not only intended for the external physical aspect, but also for the internal one.

Second is momonto, putting a red mark on the forehead of the sworn girl as a symbol of purity. The red mark is called as alawahu tilihi, resulted from a mixture of turmeric, limestone and water. These three elements when rubbed on botu pongi'ila (stone for rubbing) produce a red color like blood. Before the momonto event, the girl takes a normal bath and then wears a kebaya or long blouse and is guided by the Hulango. Momonto is performed in a room called as huwali lo wadaka, a closed room, which is only witnessed by the girl's immediate family. The momonto ceremony is held on the D day of be'ati.

Third is momuhuto, pouring yilonuwa taluhu all over the girl's body. Taluhu yilonuwa is fragrant water or flower water that has been mixed with kaffir lime peel, seven kaffir lime seeds, slices of seven kinds of puring leaves and umonu leaves (a type of mayana leaf but fragrant and green in color) and bungaputi (jasmine flowers). During the momuhuto procession, the girl sits on a dudangata (a tool for grating coconut) facing east under a hanging bulewe (upik pinang) which blooms (malongo 'alo). On the back of the girl is placed tumula (coconut shoots) and patodu (sugar cane).

Watering is conducted by using seven yellow bamboo tubes covered with puring leaves (polohungo). Each bamboo tube contains coins. The girl is doused with yilonuwa toluhu flowed through the sidelines of Bulewe. The first and second splashes are carried out by the girl's mother and father. The next splash is performed by the Hulango by using the seven yellow bamboo tubes. The Hulango recites the tuja'i (poem) in every splash, except for the first splash. In the first splash, it is enough to recite basmalah (Bismillahirrahmanirrahim).

The seven tuja'i (poems) recited on each tube are as follows:

On the first tube, the recited tuja'i is:

<i>Bismillah Momuhuto</i>	: <i>Bismillah</i> , in the name of Allah the watering begins
<i>Tobanta pulu tuluto</i>	: In the glorified child
<i>Adati Toyumuto</i>	: Perfect custom
<i>Taluhu Mbu'i Bungale</i>	: The water of <i>Mbu'i Bungale</i>

<i>Lumonggiya lumontale</i>	: Spread all over
<i>Lumontale lumonggiya</i>	: All-over spreading
<i>Taluhu butu aliya</i>	: Pure water from its origin
<i>Wahu amango tidiya</i>	: And making improvements
<i>Ta'e-ta'e to tadiya</i>	: From above the height

On the second tube, the recited tuja'i is:

<i>Tiya taluhi bintelo</i>	: This water comes from the upstream
<i>Wali li Mbu'i Bungalelo</i>	: From the ancestors of <i>Mbu'i Bungale</i>
<i>Tilime to butu delo</i>	: Taken from a spring
<i>Tilalu'o lo pingge kelo</i>	: Lifted with a beautiful plate
<i>Lo pingge dedelo</i>	: Our heirloom plate
<i>Meyi polihu wonelo</i>	: To bathe and purify

On the third tube, the recited tuja'i is:

<i>Tahulu momiyahu</i>	: Nurturing water
<i>Tilime to huliyahu</i>	: Taken from the rapids
<i>Tilalu'o lo patilahu</i>	: Lifted with a glass shard
<i>Polihu pohilamahu</i>	: To bathe and beautify the face

On the fourth tube, the recited tuja'i is:

<i>Bismillah Momidelo</i>	: Bismillah to make it perfect
<i>Toduwo tiliminelo</i>	: Please emit
<i>Lodelo mayi tinelo</i>	: The one that brings the light of life
<i>Umayi pomata wonelo</i>	: Wetting all the ingredients
<i>Dunggolo u momelo</i>	: For the face to radiate light

On the fifth tube, the recited tuja'i is:

<i>Taluhu ayito wulu</i>	: Water comes from the upstream
<i>Tilime lo syukuru</i>	: Lifted with gratitude
<i>Upolabu tilontulu</i>	: The additive that has been mixed
<i>To payu dula tohulu</i>	: In the customary territory of the country
<i>Tihuumu untuo butulu</i>	: To be upright and radiant
<i>Dungguo umulu</i>	: May you live long
<i>Umo'o wangga linggulu</i>	: Can serve the country

On the sixth tube, the recited tuja'i is:

<i>Tiya taluhi bintelo</i>	: This water comes from the upstream of the country
<i>Tilime mayi to delo</i>	: Lifted from a sacred spring
<i>Pe'i polabu wonelo</i>	: The additive that has been mixed
<i>To payu dula tinelo</i>	: From where the sun shines
<i>Malo butu li nenelo</i>	: That given by the beloved grandmother
<i>Malo didu molamelo</i>	: Without doubts

On the seventh tube, the recited tuja'i is:

<i>Tahulu mbu'i yamata</i>	: The water of <i>mbu'i</i> Yamata
<i>Tilime mayi to data</i>	: Taken from its origin
<i>Tiluwa to putata</i>	: Filled in the bamboo spray
<i>Polimengo lomata</i>	: Conveyor of all activities
<i>To banta polu ilata</i>	: To the glorified you

After pouring water from the seven yellow bamboo tubes, it is followed by the splitting of the bulewe hu'u hu'umo (upik pinang) which is performed by the Hulango with the palm of her right hand until it opens. Then the contents are taken out, then kneaded and rubbed on the girl's palms and certain parts of her body. After that, it

The bathing event is then continued by the bathing of flower in a crock by rubbing the body with traditional scrub ingredients. After that, the body is rinsed with plain water. Thus, the momuhuto event is ended. After taking a bath, the girl enters the huwali lo wadaka (decorative room) to change and put on the traditional Wolimomo clothes. Then, it is followed by the fourth stage, called as mopohuta'a to pingge.

Ami lipu mawaoluwo : We, traditional leaders are ready
Molo'opu moloduwo : Accepting and welcoming
Moloduwo molo'opu : Welcoming and accepting
Adati lipa'i pusaka dotu : The traditional heritage of the
ancients

<i>Ami tilo tiyamo</i>	:	We are from the elements of Mother and Father
<i>Lahe'ayi tiliyango</i>	:	Asked and invited
<i>Lo hilawo molango</i>	:	With a sincere heart
<i>Biluhuto ilamango</i>	:	Intertwined with vows
<i>Pilanggalo yilalamo</i>	:	United and unified
<i>Molayowa modiyambango</i>	:	Please step and walk

Arriving at the door of the room to leave, the girl stops, followed by the tuja'i mopoluwalo [poems when leaving the room] as follows:

- Banta hulawa gumala* : *Nanda* (you) are like resplendent gold
- Tombuluwo to madala* : Pronounced according to the national custom
- Poli po'ambulawa* : The guests have arrived
- Lo'u dula'a kimala* : Including the state officials
- Popohuta'a to dala* : Stay on this path
- Tiya malo pudu'olo* : *Nanda* will be picked up again
- Wahuma popo luwalolo* : *Nanda* please leave the room

After the tuja'i is finished, the girl steps out of the room. Before stepping foot, it is preceded by the following tuja'i:

- Banta payu bulayi* : *Ananda* (you) the main princess
- Ontade ntade pomayi* : Please take a look here
- Ontade polayi'ayi* : Please step your foot
- Otile potuwotayi* : Please come in here
- Tuwotayi to madala* : Enter the palace
- Pilantanga kabatala* : Through the path of customary greatness
- Ota ota bala bala* : It's fenced and guarded
- Oloyihi olowala* : From the left to the right
- Potu wota poluwala* : At the entrance and exit

When the girl leaves the room, there are plates in front of the door. The plates are lined up to the pu'ade lo be'ati (aisle chair for the initiation). Under the Hulango's guidance, the girl set her foot on the

plate first with her right foot, then her left, accompanied with the tuja'i mopontalengo [poems when stepping] as follows:

<i>Maleo payu lo humolu</i>	: For the sake of perfect rules
<i>Lipu duiwo tilolu</i>	: The two countries are united
<i>Ohuuto o loolu</i>	: Loved and missed
<i>Tilolu huntango wolu</i>	: Through a deep reflection
<i>Payu lo lipu duluwo</i>	: The laws of both countries
<i>Dilla boli lilaluwo</i>	: Without doubts
<i>Mo o huli mo'o huyo</i>	: If missed causing sadness
<i>E'eti lo luma</i>	: If underestimated
<i>Odelo hungo lo wungo</i>	: Like a betel grows on a rock
<i>Hililaya hilinggimo</i>	: Reluctant to live unwilling to die
<i>Ami wombu li yombu layingo</i>	: We are the grandmothers
<i>Hiwonuwa mololimo</i>	: Welcoming with all the hopes

The event is continued with mopohuta'o, the ceremony of stepping the girl's feet on a spinning plate three times accompanied by the tuja'i mopohuta'o [poems when stepping foot] as follows:

<i>Hulalata lo hunggiya</i>	: The state dignitaries
<i>Molunggumo to ladiya</i>	: Deciding the trial
<i>Adati lo hunggiya</i>	: The rules of this country
<i>Dila he kati katiya</i>	: No different
<i>Adati lo madala</i>	: The rules of this country
<i>Dilaha wawu tilaala</i>	: Protected and respected
<i>Adati llolahuwa</i>	: Inherited events
<i>Hidudu'a hi pakuwa</i>	: have been soldered and eternal

<i>Adati lo data</i>	: The existing customs
<i>Hitiminge hidapata</i>	: Perfectly arranged
<i>Adati io Lingguwa</i>	: Customs in the government
<i>Lonto tiyombu ti'uwa</i>	: And the ancestors
<i>To dula pilohutuwa</i>	: Today
<i>Ongongala'a hiambuwa</i>	: All the family gathered
<i>Ulipu lolo taluwa</i>	: Attended by the state dignitaries
<i>Hipapade hiwonuwa</i>	: In a familiar circumstance
<i>Hulalata lo hunggiya</i>	: The state dignitaries

After the mopohuta'a to pingge procession is finished, the girl is invited to go to the pu'ade lo be'ati. Before moving on, she is delivered with the tuja'i mopontalengo [poems when stepping] as follows:

<i>Taluhi Mbu'i bunggale</i>	: Descendant of the glorious nobility
<i>Wali li bintelo lale</i>	: Descendant of the renowned people
<i>Talu de'o timbuwale</i>	: Flawless personality
<i>Lipu duluwo lumale</i>	: Respected by both countries
<i>Lumonggiya lumontale</i>	: The noble princess is welcomed to step
<i>Lumontale lumonggiya</i>	: With a prestigious step
<i>To lipu duluwo tiya</i>	: In the both countries
<i>Tombulu tadidiya</i>	: <i>Nanda</i> (you) are praised

In front of the pu'ade lo bea'ti, the girl that has been initiated (bai'at) stops. Next, she is asked to sit while being accompanied with the tuja'i mopohulo'o (poems inviting to sit), as follows:

<i>Banta pulu lo hunggiya</i>	: <i>Ananda</i> the princess of the palace
<i>Malo to dula botiya</i>	: Today
<i>Tombuluwo to didiya</i>	: <i>Nanda</i> (you) are praised
<i>Banta ma taduwolo</i>	: <i>Ananda</i> (you) are welcomed

Wahu motiti hulo'olo : Welcomed to sit

To pu'ade wajalolo : In the prepared *pu'ade*

Furthermore, the customary leader mopoma'lumu (announces) the fifth stage, the mome'ati (initiation ceremony). A set of polutube (a place to burn incense) is prepared in front of the priest or qadi. After that the priest or qadi takes a seat and sits in front of the girl, then, the Bai'at is carried out without shaking hands, except through a shawl. The priest or qadi holds one end of the shawl, while the other end of the shawl is held by the girl. While the totabu (incense) smoke is billowing, the ceremony begins with the mukaddimah (preamble) to bai'at (be'ati). It is started with the praise to Allah SWT, then reading verses and hadiths as well as pronouncing the sentence of syahadah (oath of the Muslim).

There are three material aspects of the contents of the Bai'at that the priest or qadi conveys to the girl at the be'ati ceremony. First is the practice of Islamic teachings both contained in the pillars of Islam and the pillars of Faith. Second is social ethics, such as maintaining self-respect and being devoted to their parents. Third is knowledge regarding the obligations of a Muslim woman such as knowledge about purifying oneself from menstruation, childbirth, istinja and junub (body cleanliness); knowledge of Islamic dress; avoiding the 5 (five) major sins committed by the limbs; knowledge about attitudes and manners in the social life of teenagers.

After the initiation (bai'at), the girl returns to huwali lo wadaka and changes her clothes to undergo the last stage of the process, namely mohatamu. Mohatamu is a ceremony for reading the Qur'an verses, surah Ad-Dhuha to surah Al-Lahab by the girl. Before the girl reads several of the intended verses in the Qur'an, the mohatamu ritual begins with an introductory prayer by the Imam or qadi, which is continued by reading surah Al-Ikhlās, An-Nas, Al-Fatihah, the beginning of surah Al-Baqarah, the verse of Qursi and the preamble of tahlil. Next, a munajat prayer (a request for safety) is recited alternately by the audience. After that, the priest or qadi closes with the prayer of khataman (completeness) of the Qur'an.

The be'ati ritual is declared as complete after the customary leader mopoma'lumu (declaring the end of the ceremony's entire series) using mongabi (gesture to stand up) as a sign that the entire series of events and the be'ati rituals can be disbanded. The invitees and the audience stand and disperse while saying sholawat (prayers) to the Prophet SAW accompanied by a handshake.

Be'ati Tradition in the Perspective of History

Be'ati (in Gorontalo language) comes from Arabic, bay'ah which etymologically means to sell or buy. Bay'ah (bai'at in Indonesian) also means shaking hands, since shaking hands is the habit of the pre-Islamic Arabs in buying and selling transactions. Presumably, shaking hands is a symbol of willingness for the transaction. According to Muhammad Ali Quthub, a handshake between the seller and the buyer is a substitute for registration in a stamp, ring or signature. In the Qur'an, the term bay'ah besides having meaning as buying and selling (Q.S. al-Baqarah: 254 and 275; al-Jumu'ah: 9 and Yusuf: 20), it also means a promise of loyalty (Q.S. al-Fath: 10 and Mumtahanah: 12).

Surah Al-Fath verse 10 and Mumtahanah verse 12 confirm the practice of bai'at at the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. The first-mentioned verse tells about the allegiance of the companions to the Prophet Muhammad SAW. While, the second verse tells about the oath of women to the Prophet Muhammad SAW as they pledge their allegiance not to associate with Allah SWT with other kinds, not to steal, commit adultery, kill their children, lie and commit forgery, as well as not to disobey the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Pledge of the Companions to the Prophet Muhammad SAW is conducted orally. Meanwhile, for the Muslim women, it is sufficient to conduct through a speech. Sofyan A.P. You mentions Bai'at at the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW as an allegiance of theological dimension to distinguish with the allegiance of political, sufistic and cultural dimension.

Political allegiance is an allegiance made after the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW in the form of political support statement to the khalifah (leader). After the Prophet Muhammad SAW died in Medina in 11 H/632 AD, the religious and state duties were continued by his successors (khalifah), namely Abû Bakar as-Shiddiq (d. 13 H), 'Umar ibn al-Khattab (d. 23 H), 'Utsman ibn 'Affan (d. 35 H) and 'Alî ibn Abî Thâlib (d. 41 H) known as the al-khulafâu al-Râsyidûn. They are leaders chosen by friends through a democratic mechanism. Whoever is chosen, then other friends have the right to give their allegiance (oath of allegiance) to the chosen candidate.

Meanwhile, the sufistic bai'at is the bai'at in the tradition of tarekat from a student to a mursyîd (spiritual teacher). That is a statement of the loyalty and commitment of a suluk (spiritual learner) to the spiritual teachings of a spiritual guide (mursyîd). According to Sayyid Nur bin Sayyid 'Ali, bai'at (declaration of allegiance) in the Sufi tradition is a term that indicates the inner connection of a student to a mursyîd shaykh in a chain of guidance, purification and acquisition of the degree of ihsan (ideal Muslim). The student, for example, says: "O my teacher Shaykh Mursyîd, I need you to purify my soul and to achieve

the degree of ihsan. Please give me your long experience, sir, which will be beneficial in accomplishing my spiritual education thus I can overcome the deceptions of lust and demons."

Hence, historically, the meaning of bai'at has evolved in three stages. At the age of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, Bai'at means loyalty to the Prophet Muhammad SAW and Islam in the form of a verbal statement. After the era of Prophet Muhammad SAW, it means a statement of allegiance to a khalifah (leader of the people). As the tradition of the tarekat grows, the bai'at is conducted between a murid (tarekat follower) and a mursyid (tarekat leader) to faithfully practice the mursyid's teachings. In this context, bai'at has a sufistic meaning. The substantial meaning of bai'at as a form of loyalty is then expressed culturally in the Islamic culture and traditions of Gorontalo as a reaffirmation of a teenage girl's loyalty to Islamic teachings, which is called mome'ati or be'ati.

It means that the concept of bai'at in the context of Islam in Gorontalo becomes a cultural concept. Even though mome'ati or be'ati has a cultural dimension, substantively, it is normative-theological because the religious principle of Islam in Gorontalo is built on the philosophy of "adati hula-hula'a to sara'a, sara'a hula-hula'a to quru' ani" which means "Adat with syaraq, syaraq with Al-Quran". According to Ibrahim Polontalo, the be'ati tradition has existed since the time of King Amai (1523-1550). During the time of Raja Amai, local customs and culture existed and grew in the community. The development of early Islam during the time of Raja Amai accommodated these local customs and culture. The accommodation pattern is in the form of bringing together local customs and culture with Islamic patterns. Mome'ati is one pattern in the aspect of youth nurturing.

Be'ati Tradition in the Perspective of Gorontalo's Culture

Be'ati is one of Gorontalo's local traditions, customs and culture which is still carried out and preserved by the Gorontalo's traditional Muslims. Be'ati is a series of traditional ceremonies performed on girls after experiencing their first menstruation. Therefore, be'ati is interpreted as a form of legitimacy for the transformation of a little girl into a teenage girl which is marked by menstruation. The people of Gorontalo believe that this ceremony is important because hormonal changes in girls affect the mental and psychological aspects of teenage girls. Therefore, the function of the be'ati ceremony is to provide moral guidance to the girls in dealing with various problems arisen in the social life of teenagers. Hence, the be'ati ceremony is a means of forming the character of teenage girls. According to Medi Botutihe,

the be'ati ceremony is also a dogmatic affirmation indoctrinated to the girl for self-organization, both physically and mentally, as well as for the girl's maturity.

The girl who takes the bai'at is a girl who has experienced menstruation (menstruation). In the category of Islamic law, the girl has entered the age of puberty (adulthood) to which religious obligations are imposed. In Gorontalo's cultural terminology, the teenage girl is called as tadulahu. Etymologically, the term tadulahu comes from the word dulahu which means the sun. Tadullahu means to have become the sun. Teenage girls are called tadullahu as they draw attention and attraction. According to A.W. Lihu, a teenage girl is called tadullahu because in the past, she never left the house except during the day when the sun had risen. It is considered as disgraceful for a girl to go out at night. Indeed, this meaning is irrelevant. The relevant meaning is related to the transition from childhood to adolescence. It means that the word tadullahu for teenage girls is referred to an imagery of the girl as a newly shining sun. To make the teenage girl's "sunshine" to function properly, the girl is given religious guidance. Religious guidance is conveyed through a cultural forum called as the be'ati tradition.

A number of stages and series in be'ati ceremonies are full of noble values. Husnun Nizham Kau considers that physically, the traditional ingredients used as ingredients in the molungudu ritual are beneficial for body health and personal hygiene, as well as giving fragrance. Body health and personal hygiene are beneficial internally for the girl, while self-perfume has an external impact. According to Abdurrasyid Kamaru, these two benefits give lessons and teach the girl that from the time she takes the Bai'at, she is responsible for herself, of which previously, this responsibility rested with both parents. The first is the internal responsibility in the form of maintaining body health and personal hygiene. The second is the external responsibility in the form of a charming appearance.

Both responsibilities above are reaffirmed in the momuhuto ceremony. If the molungudu ceremony is limited to sauna bathing with traditional herbs, then in the momuhuto ceremony, the bath is performed with herbs without a sauna. However, according to Zainul Ramiz Koesry, the two ceremonies emphasize the urgency of the girl's personal hygiene. If the molungudu ritual is concerned with body health, then the momuhuto ritual is more emphasized on personal hygiene. Certainly, personal hygiene is not limited to self-cleaning from dirt, but also self-cleaning from najis (uncleanness). It is because in the momuhuto ceremony, the procedure for junub (janabah) bathing is taught. Therefore, according to Aldes Ilahude, the momuhuto ceremony teaches about procedures for cleansing oneself not only externally, but also spiritually as it relates to the procedures

of junub bathing. Thus, the molungudu ceremony implies physical cleansing and self-purification. The teaching of physical cleansing involves the role of Hulango, while self-purification involves the Imam or Qadi.

Meanwhile, momonto implies the importance of self-identity as a Muslim woman who is consistent with religious teachings. Therefore, since the be'ati process is conducted, a girl (tadullahu) must show herself as a Muslim woman who is loyal to the practice of Islamic teachings. The Islamic teachings (pillars of Islam, pillars of faith and Islamic morals) are consistently explained by the Imam or Qadi when taking the oath of allegiance (bai'at) at the mome'ati ceremony. Thus, the momonto ceremony is a non-verbal-symbolic statement about the identity of a Muslim woman. Therefore, the place for momonto (the sign) is on the forehead with red color, and not on the other limbs. According to Jafar Lanur, this is a sign for the girl who has taken Bai'at to have the courage to not be ashamed to show herself as a Muslim woman.

Meanwhile, the ritual of stepping one's feet on seven plates filled with soil (mopohuta'a to pingge) is more symbolic. Stepping foot means pursuing the future. It is as if the sworn girl who welcoming the teenage life has entered a new world and she is starting to pursue the world of youth. If previously she was classified as a little girl (buwa kiki'o), now she has become a teenage girl (tadullahu) and has set her foot in the world of youth. As tadullahu, she is fully responsible for her every action. Therefore, she must be careful in walking her life path, just as careful as stepping her foot on a plate. If she is not careful enough, the stepped plate will break and she will get injured by the broken plate. Thus, the mopohuta'a to pingge ceremony is interpreted as an attitude of caution in life. This careful attitude is symbolized by the nature of the soil, crops, and leaves contained in the seven plates. Land is a symbol of humility. Meanwhile, crops and leaves are symbols of giving life and health to humans.

As for mohatamu, it is a ritual of reciting several surahs in the Qur'an. The girl will demonstrate her ability to read the Qur'an in front of the invitees. According to Zainul Ramiz Koesry, mohatamu is not only a sign of the ability to read the Qur'an when entering their teens, but also a form of implementing the parental responsibility in having their daughters learning the Qur'an from a young age.

The Symbolic Meaning of Traditional Objects in the Be'ati Tradition

The materials used at each stage of the be'ati ritual in the language of Gorontalo's culture are called as the traditional objects. Among the

be'ati traditional objects are dudangata, bulewe (upik pinang), huwali (room) or beleya pulungudelo (special room for steam baths or sauna rooms), chicken eggs and yellow bamboo. Traditional objects are full of meaning and moral messages for the girl. Dudangata is a traditional tool in Gorontalo used to grate coconut. During the momuhuto ceremony, this tool is used as a seat for the girl. Sitting on a dudangata obviously makes no comfort, in contrast to sitting on a chair. This discomfort teaches the girl a real lesson that moving the life cycle from children to teenagers is not easy. It is for the reason that since someone who has reached puberty (baligh), she has full religious responsibility. This is different when they were a child, of which not burdened with religious obligations since they are still mukallaf (not a full Muslim yet). Even when breaking the rules of religion, it was not subject to the law. In other words, she was free from the law as a child. However, when she becomes a baligh and a mukallaf, she is legally responsible for all her actions.

The discomfort of sitting on the dudangata gives the meaning of struggle. Struggle necessitates sacrifice, and every sacrifice is not an easy thing. The struggle and sacrifice are symbolized by the sharp grated coconut. Because of this, grating coconut is not easy as it takes hard work and caution. If you are not careful enough, your hands can be injured and the coconut isn't grated. This teaches the girl a lesson, thus as she enters the teenage life, she does not depend on her parents, but takes care of herself. For that, the girl has to struggle with hard work. Even though the coconut is successfully grated, not all of the grated coconut fell to the bottom (container). Some parts of the grated coconut are left and stick to the sidelines of the grated coconut. This has two meanings. First, every hard work does not always produce 100% results. Second, every effort and struggle leaves results for others. In other words, every result and struggle is not only enjoyed individually, but also socially beneficial. Munkizul Umam KaU adds another meaning to what is left on the dudangata knife as a symbol of dishonesty. This dishonesty in the metaphor of Gorontalo language is called as mowarta delo duduangta (taking profits the way a grated coconut knife works). It is because the top and bottom of the grated coconut blade (dudangata) always leave grated coconut. The symbol of the grated coconut knife teaches the girl a lesson not to follow the example of how dudangata works. In other words, the girl has to stay away from profit-seeking due to self-interest. Strictly speaking, young Muslim women should not be selfish. Reproach for individual egoism is emphasized in the symbol of the traditional object Bulewe.

Inside the Bulewe (upik pinang), there are thousand or even ten thousand seeds that will become areca nuts. There are many of them, yet neatly arranged in the upik pinang. This attitude shows harmony and togetherness. It reinforces the message from the knife in

dudangata for not being selfish, but builds togetherness. In other words, a Muslim teenage girl is required to prioritize common interests above her personal and group interests.

Meanwhile, huwali (room) and beleya polungudelo (the place where molungudu activities are carried out) refer to a closed place. Thus, the implementation of molungudu is not carried out in the bathroom, but in a small room or small building sized 1 x 2 meters without windows and the door is tightly closed (beleya pulungudelo). This contains a lesson for Muslim teenage girls to clean themselves in a closed room. By this way, she avoids the attitude of showing his nakedness. When a girl enters puberty, she is required to cover her genitals. This is different when they were innocent children when their genitals were exposed. Thus, the place where molungudu is held teaches Muslim teenage girls not to indulge in nakedness. The tradition is performed in a small and closed room and away from the people's view, which implies that a young Muslim girl should protect herself from promiscuity. If she is dragged in a wrong social life, then it will damage herself. Because of that, in the seven stepped plates during the mopohutao to pingge ceremony, one of them contains an egg. This choice of egg indicates that the teenage girl is like an egg. As it is known, egg is an object that easily broken and cracked. Care is needed for the egg not to break and crack. It means that if a teenage girl's honor falls, breaks and cracks, then she is worthless. Even cracked eggs sometimes lose their selling value. This implies that a teenage girl is very valuable and respectable as long as she keeps herself from indulging in nakedness and promiscuity.

Maintaining private parts and avoiding promiscuity is the glory of a teenage girl. Therefore, the yellow bamboo used in the momuhuto ceremony has the meaning of glory. As the yellow bamboo holds the noble symbol of glory, it is not used except for traditional rituals, and is not used as a material for making other goods. Yellow bamboo itself in Gorontalo society is a special bamboo that is only used on certain occasions. Aside from being rare, yellow bamboo is very expensive, thus it is only used for special purposes. According to Munqizul Umam KaU, yellow bamboo symbolizes glory and prosperity. That means a Muslim teenage girl must display noble qualities. Among these noble qualities is simplicity. Yellow bamboo is also interpreted as a symbol of wealth, as if emphasizing the importance of the rich heart of the Muslim teenage girl. People who are rich in heart are not jealous of other people's material wealth, as they believe that true wealth lies in the heart, not in objects. Avoiding jealousy is symbolized by the coins contained in the yellow bamboo. When the water in the bamboo tube is splashed on the girl, the coins fall onto the girl's body. This shows that everyone's fortune has been determined by Allah SWT. What God bestows upon a person, as a coin falls, is the God's provision.

Therefore, it is not appropriate for someone to feel jealous of the God's gift. It is because everything is the destiny and qadha decided by Allah SWT. Strictly speaking, the traditional objects on the yellow bamboo contain meaning and lessons for Muslim teenage girls to be sincere to the God's grace and not envy to other people's fortune.

Be'ati Tradition from the Perspective of Islamic Law

Momeati (bai'at to teenage girls) is a local tradition in Gorontalo. If in the early history of Islam, bai'at was theological which later developed into political and sufistic, then bai'at in the local tradition of Gorontalo is more cultural. As a local tradition, the be'ati tradition is believed to be aligned with the Islamic law, and there is even a relation between the two. This relationship can be seen such as in the molungudu ritual, which has a positive impact on the body's fragrance. The urgency of fragrance is implicitly mentioned in the hadith of the Prophet SAW.: "When one of you comes to Friday prayers, then let him take a shower (first)". Textually, the hadith above contains recommendations for Friday bathing. Essentially, the command to bathe in the hadith is not the obligation to take a bath, but rather to take a bath as a means of eliminating the body's odor. It is because contextually-historically, the hadith was uttered by the Prophet SAW to workers who attend the Friday prayer with the smell of sweat that stings the nose. According to Ibn Hamzah al-Husainî, the statement of the Prophet SAW cannot be separated from the economic conditions of his companions. At that time, they were generally still in a predicament. They wore woolen clothes and worked in date palm plantations, and carried water on their backs to do the watering. After working on the plantations, many of them went straight to the mosque for Friday prayers. In the hot air, the Prophet delivered his Friday sermon on a short pulpit, while they were sweating in woolen clothes. The smell of their sweat and woolen clothes permeated the mosque, and the jama'ah (congregation) was disturbed. Even their smell also reached the pulpit of Rasulullah SAW. Then he said: "O people, if you perform Friday prayers, you should take a shower first and use the best perfume you have." Thus, the essence of bathing in the context of this hadith is self-cleanliness and presenting fragrance, thus it does not disturb other people due to a rotten body. Bathing is only a means, yet the goal is to eliminate the body's odor. This is the contact point between bathing in Shari'a (Islamic law) and bathing in tradition. Therefore, molungudu and momuhuto can be understood as a means of self-cleaning towards a healthy body.

Molungudu and momuhuto as traditions (sunnah) were never carried out by the Prophet and his companions, but the Prophet once ordered Tsumâmah ibn Atsâl to bathe when he converted to Islam and ordered

Qais ibn 'Âshim to bathe with water and Bidara (virgin) leaves when he converted to Islam. Both hadiths contain two of the Prophet's commands, including bathing when converting to Islam and using a decoction of virgin leaves when bathing. The wisdom of bathing with bidara leaves is for health. Theologically, bidara leaves are plants that disliked by the devil. Even though bidara leaves are used in the concoction for bathing, it does not mean that bidara leaves are the only kind of leaves used in the concoction for bathing. Other leaves besides bidara leaves can be used, as long as those leaves contain health benefits. Therefore, bathing with traditional herbs is nothing new in Islamic history. Since the time of the Prophet SAW, there is already a recommendation to use leaves for bathing based on this hadith. Therefore, historically, molungudu and momuhuto have a normative-theological foundation, even though the rituals of molungudu and momuhuto are local culture and traditions. In other words, historically, bathing with traditional herbs has been practiced since the beginning of Islam, even in the context of Islamic theology and law. In fiqh (Islamic law) it is sunnah for women to bathe from menstruation and after childbirth by using bidara leaves. Bidara leaves are also recommended to be used in washing the corpse. Meanwhile, theologically, it is sunnah to bathe with bidara leaves when someone moves and embraces Islam. Even though bathing with traditional ingredients in the Muslim bea'ti tradition of Gorontalo is a cultural context, yet normatively, it has a theological-normative foundation. It means that there is a relation and correlation between the theological-based normative teachings of fiqh (bathing when converting to Islam) and the traditional bathing (molungudu and momuhuto) which are based on culture and local wisdom. The relationship and correlation of both lies in the moving phase from one to another. In fiqh legal norms, people who convert to Islam are required to take a bath as they switch and move from non-Islam to Islam. Thus, bathing is theological and normative. Whereas, bathing in the context of the be'ati tradition is a transition from childhood to the taklif (responsible) period to bear the religious obligations. Childhood behavior must be cleaned up when moving into puberty (adolescence).

From the perspective of maqâshid al-shari'ah (principles of Islamic law), molungudu and momuhuto in the be'ati tradition are in line with the principle of hifzh al-nafs (self-preservation). It is because molungudu and momuhuto provide benefits for body health and personal hygiene. Self-care is certainly not limited to prohibiting body harms and loss of life, but also maintaining health and personal hygiene. Molungudu and momuhuto are only one of the cultural means in realizing the maqâshid al-shari'ah. In this context, the relationship between religion and culture can be seen. The relationship between the two lies in the function of the culture in realizing the will of the religion in an implementable-practical manner.

The be'ati tradition is a form of cultural function in implementing normative teachings in the form of locality. Therefore, all norms that live in society are accommodated by Islam, as long as these norms or traditions do not conflict with religious teachings, common sense and human instincts. Islamic accommodation to local culture is based, such as, on the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad SAW: "What is considered good by Muslims, is good in the sight of Allah".

This hadith forms the basis of the cleric argument for acceptance to 'urf (tradition). According to Muhammad Abu Zahrah (d. 1974 AD), this hadith, both in terms of editorial and purpose, shows that every matter that has become a tradition among Muslims and is seen as a good matter, is considered as good by Allah. Similar statement is also emphasized by Abd. Rahman Dahlan, saying that the good habits applied in Muslim society that are aligned with the common demands of Islamic sharia, are also something that is good from Allah's side. Conversely, things that are contrary to the considered-good habits by the society, will rise difficulties and narrowness in everyday life.

Thus, be'ati as a good local tradition ('urf) is accommodated in Islamic law, as it is not conflicted with the Islamic law and loaded with universal Islamic values. According to Imâm al-Syâthibî (d. 790 H), local customs that are not against the spirit of Islam can be a guide in applying law. Imâm al-Syâthibî (d. 790 H) distinguishes two types of custom: al-Qawâ'id al-syar'iyyah and al-Qawâ'id al-Jâriyah. The first one refers to the custom approved by nash other syar'i (validated) propositions, while the second refers to various forms of custom stifled by sharia, in the sense of neither accepting nor rejecting them. Whereas, the sharia acceptance for the first group depends on its compatibility to the sharia itself. The second group is non-binding and thus mubah (allowed).

Accommodation of Islamic law to local culture is summarized in the rule of "al-'Âdah al-Muhakkah" (Custom Becomes a Source of Legal Considerations). This rule shows that customs or habits can be used as a legal basis. The intended custom is the one which has certain conditions. Rachmat Syafe'i mentions six conditions: not against the Shari'a, causing no harm and no elimination of benefit, has been commonly applied by Muslims, not applicable to mahdhah (pure) worship, already popular in society when the law is going to be enacted, and not against to what is expressed clearly. According to T.M. Hasbi Ash-Shieddieqy, 'urf or custom is not only accommodated by the Islamic law, but also can affect the changes in law. Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqi asserted that in fact, all laws are applied according to customs, thus the changes in law by the jurist is based on the change of custom. One stupidity of the muftis is their stagnation on the texts contained in the existing books without considering the changes in 'urf (customs). Thus, essentially, custom is the behavior confirmed as the

law. Al-Qarafi al-Mâlikî (d. 684 H) states that a person will experience a misguidance if he only follows the legal opinions without paying attention to the customs existed in society.

Conclusion

The be'ati (bai'at) tradition for Gorontalo's teenage girls is not only cultural in its nature, but also religious. It is referred as cultural since it is based on the Gorontalo's local culture. While, it is referred as religious since it is loaded with religious values. The intended religious values are in line with the norms found in Islamic jurisprudence and ushul fiqh (sources of the laws) discourses, such as personal hygiene (tahârah) and physical health. Molungudu and momuhuto in the context of be'ati fall into the thaharah category. Meanwhile, momonto, mopohuta'a to pingge, momeati and mohatamu are included in the category of Islamic morality because these rituals are more symbolic and loaded with moral messages for teenage girls.

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