

THE CONTESTATION BETWEEN ISLAM AND TRADITION IN *KATOBA* RITUAL WITHIN MUNANESE PEOPLE

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ABSTRACT

The abundant research on the dialectical process between religion and tradition focus in Javanese (Geertz (1950); Woodward (1999); Hefner (1990); Beatty (1999), Bugis-Makassarnese (Matulada, (1976); Pelras, (1993); Robinson (1998), or Sumatranese (Bowen, (1993); (Sager, 2008). However, studies that really deal with Munanese tradition in SE Sulawesi are limited. This is suprisingly due to the fact that the interplay of the process of religion and local tradition are typical element of Indonesia Islam, not only in Java, Sumatra and Makassar, but also beyond that spreading pocket of Islam. In this paper, I explore the ritual of katoba as the coming of age ritual among Munanese people in South East Sulawesi that involves the process of Islamizing the children. In doing so, this study explore the way Munanese accommodate Islamic teachings within the domain of local tradition and how they construct their collective identity based on the understanding of Islam and local tradition as wells. Based on the idea of ritual as a rite de passage, I would argue that katoba is more than just a ritual of changing status but also serves as a compromise religion and tradition, as well as a morality education which contains theological, social, and ecological moralities as wells.

Key Words; rite de passage, religion and local tradition, Indonesian Islam, morality education.

A. Introduction

The practices of Islam in Indonesia could not be separated from local culture, because Islam in different area was not born in the zero cultural influences. This is what makes Islam spread across the archipelago with the unique and distinctive one compared to Islam in other parts of Muslim world, even quite far from Arab. Indonesian Islam has been built the configuration of Islam Java, Islam Aceh, Islam Sasak, Islam Minang, Islam Sunda, and many more. Plurality and heterogeneity of Indonesian society that shape a wide variety of ethnic groups, religions, cultures (Dayak, Bugis, Javanese, Sasak, Madura, Minang, Banjar, Bali, and others) has given the local variant of Indonesian Islam. Those variants are not cut off from the roots of Islam, but has been acculturated with local traditions.

Studies on Islam in Java much confirm this phenomenon, such as Jay (1969); Nakamura (1980); Koentjaraningrat (1985). Those studies emphasize that there are not such absolute differences between devout Muslims (*santri*), syncretism Muslim (*priyayi*), and nominal Muslims (*abangan*) as Geertz's thesis (1976). Java religion was described by Geertz in the typology of *santri*, *abangan*, and *priyayi* has been corrected a lot. Among Osing community in Bayu, Beatty (1999) found that the difference between tradition and religion in Java community so blurred; there is no specific differentiation between *santri* and non-*santri*; even once the nominal Muslims do worship, their commitment to Islam is definitely unquestioned (Pranowo, 2009). Therefore, Muhaimin (2002) disagree that religion of Java is a syncretism one. He found that people in Cirebon with the intention addressed to God (*niyat*), all the activities becoming religious, so there is no separation between religion (the sacred) and mundane (the profane).

Base on that framework, this paper aims to capture local Islam in the community which can be seen in the way local people understand and interpret Islam in their life, by focuses on one initiation rites among Munanese society of Southeast Sulawesi was called *katoba* ritual. *Katoba* is the initiation ritual performed on boys and girls around the age of 7-14 years which is called the ceremony of being Muslim (*upacara pengislaman*). This is a dominant ritual in Munanese society and become a public ritual. As a public ritual, it done individually or collectively involve not only the nuclear family and extended family, but also society as a whole.

Katoba must be undergone by every child both boys and girls in Muna. This obligation said to be closely alongside their names are preceded by *la* for boys and *wa* for girls. The addition of the word *la* and *wa* is an abbreviation of the creed *syahadah* in Islamic tradition: *Asyhadu an (la) ilaaha illallahu, (wa) asyhadu anna Muhammadarrasulullah*. These obligations go hand in hand with the duty of parents to hold *katoba* for their children as part of a way to purify them (*ali kita*). Along with every child undergo *katoba* and the duty of parents to hold it, then *katoba* also always linked to the morality values of children in their lives. Once people deed bad behavior is always said "they didn't follow the advice in *katoba*" or "they didn't undergo *katoba*".

Looking at the morality of Indonesian young generation to day is decrease although many effort has been done to maintain the morality of young people either in formal, informal, and nonformal institution. It is time to have an alternative model of education that not only increase the cognitive abilities of children, but also train the emotional sensitivity and cultivate good habits that will produce Indonesian people who has knowledge as well as an awareness and appreciation of good values. One

alternative could be offered is a model of character education that is rooted in national values that could be found in the local culture, such as in ritual.

Local cultural values could be used as a model of character education will further revitalize local culture and reconstruct the cultural discourse as something not to be against religion, or even as a counter-culture of modernity. If so, then the multidimensional crisis caused by social conflicts or the decadence of the younger generation as a result of the flow of modernity can be reduced effectively.

The use of cultural values in *katoba* ritual as a model of building morality becomes important that imply in a whole series of *katoba* process; in performance, in the advisory given orally, even after *katoba*. Morality values is not only the relationship to God vertically (theological), but also horizontally (social), even upon the environment (ecological). In addition, this paper is not only identifying the morality values on cognitive aspects, but also build the character of emotional-affective, and through habituation and a good deeds (psychomotor), it could be able to build the good character anyway.

B. Ritual And Morality Values

The ritual indicates some actions repeated continuously and gradually, characterized traditionally, describes the action that symbolizes important values within society. Therefore, a ritual in some ways is communication, at least in terms of the transformation of values through generations. Communication embodied in ritual consists of symbols and certain meaning. Symbol is the smallest unit of ritual which contains so much information and can be tangible: a specific objects, activities, words, relationships, certain events, gestures (Turner, 1967). Ritual consists of narration and action (Tremmel, 1976), while Koentjaraningrat (1972) explain that ritual component consist of tools of ritual, place and time of ritual, as well as leaders and participants of ritual.

Ritual is not an entity that is present in the empty space and time, it has a particular meaning and implications, at least for local people who have it. A ritual reveals the social identity that embodied in certain symbols. Ritual regarded as the way to express something considered important in society as a communication to emphasize the existence of identity.

Ritual could be a way to empasize something important in society which is called the morality values. Morality values actually could be found in accordance with the nation values and one of them through ritual. Alwasilah (2009: 50) mentions that there are number of traditional educational practices (ethno-didactic) that proven instill the good values for building morality values. In society, there are exemplary values, the transformation of values and morality within family and society could be a guidelines of life. Exemplary values and moralities as affirmed by Gluckman&Crocker (in Wagner, 1984) gives a clear message positively. Building morality base on cultural values is considered quite relevant and useful compare to the education initially with a structural approach allegedly had experienced many failures. With cultural values-base, building morality is expected could improve the quality of education by balancing all aspects; not only knowledge, but also emotional and practice of values in everyday life. With cultural values-based, children are introduced to the cultural values prevailing at that time.

As a dominat ritual, *katoba* could be used as a media not only for cultural and religious marker as a muslim but also for transferring the morality values. In addition, the position of *katoba* is a public ceremony that involves a lot of people make *katoba* as a strategic role in providing the cultural values for children. Building moralty values base on the *katoba* ritual will construct a solid morality of children that built slowly. In a ceremony, each individual is placed in the moral categories (Swantz, 1970). Thus, each individual has the responsibility to maintain the good morals. Once the morality of individuals begins to build, will increase a family morality and ultimately affirm the society. Mulder (1999) argue that a social order is largely determined by the morality of the people who play a role in it. Morality is awakened from the small level (the members of family) will be more solid slowly. In addition, Dhavamony (1995: 183) assert that a tradition can renew the functions and life in society.

C. The Practice Of *Katoba* Within Munanese SocietY

This study took place in Muna regency of Southeast Sulawesi province. Geographically, Muna is located on the Muna Island, the northern part of Buton island and other part of Souteast Sulawesi. However, demographically, people of Muna spread throughout Southeast Sulawesi and mingle with people of other ethnicities.

Muna population scattered in 33 districts divided into 239 villages and 31 urban villages and the capital city located in Raha. By 2012, the population of Muna is 278.437 consist of 144.158 women, compare to men is 134.279 (Muna in the figure, 2013). Munanese people consist of a wide variety of religions with Muslims as majority (97.28%), then the Catholic (1.24%), Hindus (1.18%), Protestant (0.26%), and Buddhist (0.04%) (Muna in Figures, 2013). The population of Munanese Muslim as well as other religion such as Catholic, Protestant, Hindus, and Buddhist spread out in a wide variety of districts. Among the productive age, Munanese working in various occupation, such as agriculture/plantation, mining, trading, industry, gas and water, construction, public services, and so on. However, Muna people more involved in agriculture compared to other occupations. Generally, Muna people has more than one occupation, they are farmers as well as fisherman or traders, farmers as well as fishermen, traders and fishermen as well, or traders as well as civil servants.

For Muna people, undergoing *katoba* is not only important during the ritual procession, but it started before the ritual even after the ritual. The chain of ritual divided into three parts, namely pre-*katoba*, procession of *katoba* and post *katoba*. In the pre-*katoba* there are two things firmly related to this ritual, which is the particular belief that is considered as the base for rituals, it is the concept of removing the grime (*ali kita*) and the concept of the sacred (*nongkilo*). Parents hold *katoba* ritual is an attempt to

clean the dirty in the body (*ali kita*). Grime is something dirty and pollutes the body, therefore must be removed. Dirty or impurities is not contaminating the physical body, but more than contaminating the mind. Indeed, *katoba* could be one way for parents to fulfill their responsibility to remove dirty attached to the body.

In the procession of *katoba*, the main practice is verbal symbol which contains the pledge repentance and *syahadat* as an entry point to becoming Muslim. Repentance requires certain conditions in order to be accepted by God. There are stages that must be passed before the children pledge *Toba* (repentance). Before saying *istighfar* and *syahadat*, the Imam beforehand informs and teaches the child about the way to repent. These admonitions are very important and could be a sacred teaching in the process of a child's everyday life. The way of repentance is four; three things related to human beings and one related to God. Three things related to human beings are: (a) Regretting the bad deed (*dososo*). This regret covers three cases, the bad deeds arise from the intentions of the heart (*dukuno lalonto modaihano*), bad deeds arise from the words (*pogau modaihano*), and bad deeds arise from the actions (*feelino podiu modaihano*); (b) Avoiding matter could plunge someone to the same or other mistakes (*dofekakodoho*), which arise from the heart, words and deeds, and stay away from things that are related to human rights (*hakkumaasi*); (c) Eliminating the tendency to make mistakes (*dofomiina*), related to the heart, due to the words, as well as deeds. One thing related to God is Allah's decision and provisions (*botuki*). The decision to be forgiven is the right and authority of God and only seek forgiveness from Allah is the right of human beings.

After children are taught about the way of repentance (*isaratino toba*), the imam leads the child to pledge forgiveness and creed of *syahadah*. First of all, the imam leads the child to read *surah* Al Fatihah and furthermore leads to pledge *istighfar*. *Istighfar* is used to pronounce in the form of long *istighfar*, but in other practice it was pronounced in short *istighfar* with three times. After pledging *istighfar*, children lead to the praising *syahadat*. Communication between the imam and child along with tying a white cloth around each finger. White cloth which bonds the finger symbolizes a strong commitment to hold engagement and responsibility both for the imam and child. The next stage in the procession of *katoba* is admonition consisting of three main points, namely the teaching of obedient to parents (*lansaringino*), purification (*kaalano oe*), and keeping the balance relationship between human beings, God and nature.

The procession ends with the prayer which is called *baca-baca*. *Baca-baca* led by an imam or anyone who leads *katoba*. *Baca-baca* simply is the ending process of *katoba*, sometimes followed by a meal among family. However, generally the ritual continues by celebration or reception party with invited guests, relatives and friends. Reception party or celebration ritual in this context is the final stage of the ritual. It is a mark of the child's return to his society. Indeed, congratulatory words, setting the place, gifts, handshakes, action, meal party with food and drinks served are such marks that children have received not only by parents, families, relatives, but also by society.

Katoba tradition celebrated at the age of 7-14 years, an age of puberty. Puberty in Muna society is biological as well as social. Muna puberty rite also becomes a maturity initiation. Puberty is characterized by the body's biological rhythm coming along with the social puberty. This social puberty celebrated culturally has the consequences for the new status as a Muslim. In this context, *katoba* indicates the biological puberty as well as social puberty (Zainal, 2015). *Katoba* not only heralded the onset of the child's puberty, but also the change of status as a Muslim. La Fontaine (1985: 14) in study of initiation rituals of many cultures confirms that despite the initiation ritual could be performed at the age of puberty, but the ritual is more focused on social change rather than natural change. *Katoba* implemented in children's puberty, it was not implemented at an earlier age. *Katoba* conducted at puberty also indicates that the status of Muslim needs to be confirmed at a mature age which is considered as a mark of maturity.

Katoba is named by Muna society as Islamizing ceremony. From its word, *katoba* is nominalizations from prefix *ka-* and the root word "toba" means "repentance or how to repent". The word "Toba" or "taubat" comes from the Arabic word "repentance" and in the local language said with "Toba". In its practice, *katoba* highlights the aspects of repentance and Islamizing children done orally with the guidance of *imam*. *Katoba* tradition contains the morality values reflected in the overall series of *katoba* procession, ranging from verbal pledge spoken by kids, advice delivered by *Imam*, and the active roles involved in *katoba*. Not to stop there, the morality values remain reflected in the consequences and responsibilities of actors of *katoba* received after the *katoba* was ended, even throughout the entire life of the child.

D. Building Morality Values Through *Katoba* Ritual

Doing *katoba* is not only important at the time of a ceremonial procession, but before and after the ceremony. The purpose of *katoba* is achieving the sanctity of the child. *Katoba* is the basic or prerequisite cleanness for children to get the sacred knowledge. The cleanness in *katoba* is physical and inner purity as well. Any knowledge in Muna society requires the cleanness on the mind. *Katoba* makes the heart always clean; otherwise bad things arise because of the heart that is not clean.

The procession of *katoba* consists of three main points: first, the process of repentance (*dotoba*); second, repentance and pledge of Islamizing; and the third is *katoba*'s advice which consists of three main advices, obedience to parents (*lansaringino*), process for purification (*kaalano oe*), and the balancing relationship of three subjects (human, God, and nature).

D.1 Balancing Relationship Between Social, Ecological, And Theological Morality

Ritual is the way people transfer the things that are important in their life. Knowledge granted, the rules are set, the new obligations and duties created, certain roles placed on each position. Knowledge, rules, obligations and duties in the ritual build a concept of morality constructed by society consciously. Ritual in this context is morality building constructed by society and for society as well. Morality construction can be found in a verbal symbol of *katoba* which is the main symbol; the imam's advice

to children. Verbal symbols of the *katoba* construct the moralities values covered by two things: first, the balancing relationship with three subjects (man, God, and nature); and second, personal and social consequences for children. The morality construction is done in order to bring someone into the human secrets. If the child is able to fulfill their duty was taught in *katoba*, then he will be a secret man or otherwise become useless man.

Advice is given by Imam to the children as guidance to repent (*isaratino toba*) relating to three cases, the man's relationship with God, man's relationship with nature, and man's relationship with human beings. Through this teaching, *katoba* want to build the moralities messages in balancing relationship with other human beings and relation to nature horizontally and also a vertical relationship with God. This moral message constructs a balancing relationship between social (*hablumminannaas*) and theological (*hablumminallah*).

D.1.1 Relationship With Humans

Human relations is one morality teachings in Muna society and become important advice in *katoba*. Muna society has a certain concept to explain the morality, namely *hakkunnaasi*. *Hakkunnaasi* are human rights or rights that others should not be violated. Violates or depriving others either trivial or severe considered taboo in society.

In teaching *hakkunnaasi*, there are imams who give advice in direct advice and some using metaphors. In using metaphor, the advice consists on teaching of human relationships in general as well as teach the social relations between men and women. For many cultures, the issue of relationship between two sexes is something important in initiation rituals. The relationship between men and women set in the rituals and associated with sexuality and culturally introduced first in puberty rite or ritual initiation. For example, *Jando* ritual in Buntu society of East Africa (Cory, 1948), initiation rituals in Kaguru Society of Tanzania (Beidelman, 1997) or initiation rites in Samoan society of Papua New Guinea (Shaw, 1982). Initiation rites in some societies regulate sexuality while emphasizing gender differences between men and women. Gender and sexuality are two things that are interconnected and inseparable. With the ritual, people build the morality character among society members indirectly. The construction of character and morality is obtained through adulthood rituals. Initiation ritual in Kaguru society of East Africa (Beidelman, 1997) is a cultural education, as well as affirmation of social differences (gender) identity through differentiation people whether men and women.

The teachings of gender relations between men and women in some cultures explained clearly, but some are mentioned metaphorically, whether in the form of advice, mantra chanting or poetry. In Muna society, social relations of men and women described by using metaphors, including in the teaching of *katoba*. Sexuality in Muna had to be controlled and initiation rituals confirm it either explicitly or implicitly through the learning metaphors.

In *katoba*, the advice given by imam to the boys will be different to the girls. In many *katoba* practices, the imam clearly uses a different sentence metaphorically to explain the two sexes. Some *katoba*' advice to the boys are prohibition to overstep or mound sweet potatoes, papaya, grapefruit or mango belongs to someone else and local language said that "*Koe mefindahi kokarawuna ghofano atawa gholeno labuno, kobhakeno palolano atawa kobhakeno methawa*". It means "You must not step on sweet potato, pumpkin, eggplant or sweet potato of others". While the girls are advised to not picking eggplant belong to someone else, such a sentence is often given in the form of "*koe meuta kobakeno palolano*" means "Do not pick others eggplants". The symbols mentioned in the imam's advice refers to the symbols of maleness and femaleness. Sweet potatoes, papayas, grapefruits or mangos are symbol of women femininity and eggplant is a symbol of male masculinity.

Another *katoba*'s advice thought by imam in other versions. The imams gave the advice of *katoba* for girls is prohibition to hand over the papaya plant, oranges or mangoes are being guarded as follows "*Kadekiho dua waane oomu nimesalono aitu, bhae kadekiho dua alae oomu gholino sonigholino*". It means "Do not always leave it to who ask and do not always take the money purchase". Men who want to buy should inquire in advance and request permission to their parents (*Ane Ompu-mpu omegoli mefeenaghao deki nae amaku bhanae inaku. Nahumundagho kaawu amaku bhae ianaku it naemalimo it omegholi*) means "If you intend to buy, you should ask first to my parents. If they agree, then you may buy it". Buying (*omegholi*) in that advice means propose.

Stepping over or tread (*mefindahi*) is a symbol of misbehavior to women without propose process or interfere with women who already belong to someone else. Picking up (*meuta*) is a symbol of tampering partner or husband of certain women. The metaphor mentioned in *katoba* refers to the symbols of the relationship between men and women. This teaching shows the codes of morality and social ethics are universal and very high values. With the metaphor, someone prohibited to intrusive someone else's couples or married and vice versa interfere with husband's someone else.

This advice is closely linked to the system of rules and measures in the customary marriage of Muna society that protects the dignity and honor of women and their families. To the men are required to take the stage *kamata* (see the bride) and *fenaghuno tungguno karete* (questioning the whereabouts of the girl is already proposed or not). If both of these processes get permission from a parent, then the male shall propose so the wedding could take place. In contrast, women are taught to keep the dignity of themselves and their families anyway. The phrase "buy papaya, oranges, mangoes" (*moghane nae salo gholi bakeno kapaea, naegholi bhakeno lemo atawa nae gholi bhakeno foo*) figurate in the teaching of imam refers to "good propose". The meaning of the metaphor is the girl had to keep her honor as women until certain man comes to propose her and approved by parents.

The metaphor of plants and gardens at this time may not be able to make children understand easily, especially children who live in the city. They are not familiar any more with the plants in the garden compare to the prior old people. Children now are more

familiar with the unoriginal plant sold in the stores, so it no longer a natural plant grown in the garden or field. It is quite recognized by some imams and traditional leaders of Muna who used to lead *katoba*. That's why, in some ritual, some Imams provide advice no longer uses the metaphor of plants and gardens, but modern objects are seen and witnessed in everyday kids. The garden is a symbol of space or context of the relationship between men and women, then the space is now adapted contextually to the child's everyday world.

The Imam of Wuna's mosque in his advice for example, use the metaphors close to the child's everyday life. This is done to make the child understand easily. For boys, imam says"

"If the father or mother had bought you a pencil or pen, it should not be used to write anywhere unless taught by teacher in the school or parents at home. If you arrived at the school, then teachers ask you to write then you may use it to write. If your pen or pencil used everywhere, the ink later discharged (As quoted from Imam of Wuna's mosque advice in the procession of *katoba* in Labasa).

For girls, the imam advised "If your parent gave you the book, it should not be used to write any things that are not taught and do not let your book painted by others".

The book is a metaphor for the girls and the pen is a metaphor for the boys. The school symbol refers to the marriage. Pen is a symbol of masculinity and ink analogous to his ability as men. Meanwhile, the book is a symbol of femininity and honor that must be maintained. Metaphors are an expression to save own honor and dignity, as well as respect the property and honor of others.

Similarly, other imam, such as AA when gave the teachings of *hakkunaasi* to the children is no longer used the metaphor, but using words close to the child's life. In his advice, for example AA using the phrase:

"If your Mom or Dad ask you to buy sugar in a stall if there is money you should not be taken, before telling Mom or Dad. Although money is your parent's money, but it's called lying and that is called sin, moreover to the parents." (As quoted from an advisory *Katoba* procession in the city of Kendari).

The teachings of *hakkunaasi* is something close to a child's daily life. Metaphor used by imam may be symbolic, but the language used near to the child's everyday life; garden, sweet potatoe, plant, pencil, pen, book, school, buy sugar, or other things that are familiar in the children's life. Learning is something factual, but at the same time it is contextual in kid's everyday life. The metaphor or symbol known to be close to children and advice is also important and contextual in a child's life today, namely the relationship between men and women. Learning is not something dreamily, it is present in the child's daily life. *Katoba* ritual lifting and perpetuate the relationship between men and women and experienced by children in their everyday lives. Ritual is thus a way of transferring public knowledges and beliefs about life for the next generation. As a medium transfer, ritual contains the universal values and importance in Muna society.

Hakkunnaasi understood in various meaning in Muna society. Everyone has their own interpretation to explain this concept. However, the various meanings have remained underline one thing that it become a code of morality which is taboo to be broken. Violation of this morality will cause damage even misfortune. One traditional leader, KM explained that *hakkunaasi* as advised by imam in *katoba* refers to two meanings. First, human rights and the second meaning is a right that will make damned if breached (*naasi* in local language means harm).

The first meaning of *hakkunnaasi* is deeds relating to the deprivation of human rights. One traditional leaders of Muna, SI explained that "Every human being has the right respectively. If the island has a population of 300 thousand people, there are 300 rights in the Muna island." He said that "freedom will die when they hit each other freedoms". Thus, the right person as a human being is not absolute rights if such rights have been colliding to the other's rights. If these rights are in conflict, then society will chaos. So the meaning of *hakkunnaasi* in his understanding is the death of right when it crashed into the other's rights.

The second meaning of *hakkunaasi* indicates that the violation of human rights in the Muna society would cause a misfortune. According to one traditional leader, KB, the fall of a person into bankrupt and contempt or suddenly stricken with a chronic or on the accident is believed to be due to violation of *hakkunaasi*. He explained that:

The elderly men in Muna society believe that sin caused by someone is not likely to be perceived by others. The result of misfortune of village's community may not be perceived by other villages. Then someone will pay for himself if he dared to violate the human rights. (As told in an interview with KB).

Hakkunaasi becomes central morality in maintaining the order of life. Every relationship between each other, interactions, and everyday behavior is always associated with this concept. The teaching of *hakkunaasi* is a keyword in explaining and affirming the importance of maintaining the attitude and behavior of human beings. For many traditional leaders in Muna, when the teaching of *hakkunnaasi* well understood by everyone, then society will be peaceful. SI explained that by living the meaning of *hakkunaasi* we do no need for polices, judges, or prosecutors, because each person aware his right not to clash with the other's rights. With the understanding and appreciation of this, many elderly man in Muna very guarding the behavior carefully to not offend others, keeping the offense eyesight and hearing, speech and actions offense as taught in *katoba*. Heart offense even though little bit they think will lead disaster, calamity, and misfortune.

D.1.2 Relationship With God

Human beings as servants must always maintain the attitude and behavior, because they are tending to do mistakes and sins. Therefore, if human beings do mistake and sin he was required to repent. The repentance is an important part of servitude to Allah. Explaining this condition, imam of Wuna's mosque explained that as a servant of God, human being must always prohibit the bad intentions in the heart (*bhahi sonohala niatino dukuno lalo*), the impolite words (*bhahi sonohala bhoasao*), and the ugly deeds (*bhahi sonohala feelino podiu*). The heart, words and deeds mistaken are three key words as the sources of human mistaken.

In *katoba*, God has the absolute right and power to decide to accept or reject the forgiveness (repentance) of human beings. In *katoba* advice, Imam of Wuna's mosque said:

"... That's the way to repent. Three kinds of mistaken lies on the human relation; regret the mistaken, avoid the prior mistakes that have been made, negating the intention to do the same mistake or the new one. The fourth one is hand over (back the repentance to only God). This means that after regret, away, negate and followed by declare repentance and recite *syahadah*, human being hand over the repentance to Allah, as the sole right to decide whether accept or not this repentance (As told in interview with Wuna's mosque).

That advice is one advice given by imam in *katoba*. In such advice Imam said that after child declare the repentance as taught to him, then the decision whether it accepted or not was submitted to God. Allah has the sole power and right in human being's life, including whether He accepts repentance of His servants or not. This concept is called *botuki* or right/power to decide. Allah has power over His creation. If humans make mistakes and sins, he is required to always repent. Humans have an obligation to seek forgiveness for the mistakes and sins of his accomplishments. Only Allah who has the absolute right to grant a pardon or not.

God becomes the sole authority to decide something. So, if humans make mistakes and sins to one another or mistreatment to the nature in which he lives, he should apologize. After that he was required to repent and seek forgiveness to Allah. Mistakes and sins do in relationship among human being, he must be apologizing to the people who hurt, then handed and ask forgiveness to Allah, as well as the mistreatment to nature. Above all communications and interactions made by man, God becomes the main goal and the end of all life decisions.

D.1.3 Relationship With Nature

Humans are not the only creatures who created by God in this world. The whole creatures of God in Muna society also should be treated and respected as well, including the treatment and respect for the natural surroundings. Human beings need nature to make them continue to live and grow up. The appreciation and respectful of Muna people to the natural surroundings shown in their belief and action. People believe that nature is the source of human life and can help people manage their life. Farmers and fisherman need natural signs to determine when the right time for planting or harvesting. Nature helps the fishermen to determine wind direction and when it is appropriate to go to the sea. The close relation between communities and natural signs cause them also believe that the fortune and misfortune in the community, especially in the past can also be read from the signs of nature. In addition, the appointment of kings in Muna society in the past believed to require the blessing of nature with special signs that accompany the process inauguration or cessation. If a king blessed by nature, then the signs will appear in conjunction with the inauguration ceremony.

With appreciation and respectful to nature as God's creation, people have certain ritual in managing nature which is called *kaago-ago*, *katumbu* and *katisa* ritual or such kinds of planting ritual. In the natural process, Muna society also has its own way to honor and respect nature in a wise way, which is called *kabhelai*. If people will open the field, the elderly men in Muna will treat the trees with an ethical manner and polite. The elderly men normally would carve a knife in the biggest tree was profound in the field. The carving knife regarded as the practice of *kabhelai*. This is done to get permission from the creatures that have been there formerly, if they allowed or not to open the field. In the next three days or at least the next day, he will come again; if it does not happen anything harmful, it is a sign that they are allowed to gardening the field. Conversely, if there is something harmful such as family illness or suddenly get in an accident, then it is considered as a sign of nature is not allowed. The elderly men usually recite a certain prayer by making an offering (*haroa*) and asked the permission to gardening. SI, one traditional leader explained that:

"If people who want to cut trees in the forest should make a certain treatment firstly, to get permission. It was not idolatry; it is done in order to carry out the teachings *toba*, because the entire universe was created by God. Therefore, we don't have right to persecute any God's creation, because we remember our *toba*. Because of it, Muna people will not violate any human rights, against the law. He will not carry out any God's decision (*botuki*), because it is only belongs to God. The mutilation to human right, to animals, and to plants are sin because we are depriving God and He is the only one entitled to do *botuki* (As told in an interview with SI).

The carving the tree (*kabhelai*) was done in order to get permission to the tree (*popanga*). This is called by SI as a way to respect God's creation. The practice related to the teaching of *katoba* in Muna society to appreciate the human and the natural surroundings. This cultural practice believed is not an idolatry or polytheism. It is actually the manifestation of obedience to God by way of appreciating His creations. In addition to the practice of *kabhelai*, Muna society also has local wisdom which is called *falia*. It refers to maintaining speak or behave when someone in sacred places or in certain situation.

How importance to respect to nature, so it needs to be taught in *katoba*. The advice of imam in respectfully the natural environment is related to relationship between men and women in metaphorical words. A symbol may refer to other meanings, but it is also could be as it so. The symbols in the ritual may contain denotative and connotative in once (Swantz, 1970: 68). When Imam said that "If you walk in the middle of the garden, do not step over the sweet potatoes of someone else". Another

advice given to girls: "If you walk in the garden, do not picking up the eggplant belongs to someone else". Advices given by imam has two meanings; the explicit meaning (denotative) and implicit meaning (connotative). These meaning of advices may be indeed a metaphor that refers to another meaning (connotative), but people also believes that the sentences not only has the symbolic meaning but also the meaning as it was (denotative).

Explicitly, advice taught by imam provide the lesson not to treat the plants arbitrarily. Imam taught that if stepped on someone else's garden should not be stepped on and must get rid of the first plants that block. If willing to pick up, let ask permission first to the owner and if someone want to pick it up, do it in a good way, not snatched away. If treating plants by stepping or picking arbitrarily, then the plants will be damaged and offend the owner of the plants.

The Imam of Wuna's mosque provide an explanation of how all the elements of nature in the world should be treated well. He describes it as follows:

"... Wood if not used, is not allowed to cut haphazardly. Rope, if not used is not allowed to disconnect. Stone, if not used is not allowed to be thrown. Ground when not in use is not allowed to be dug haphazardly. Water when not in use is not allowed to stream at random, fire if not used shall not carelessly ignited ... (Handwriting of imam Wuna about procession of *katoba*).

The elements mentioned above are the nature's elements that close to human life; wood, rope, stone, earth, water, fire. These elements are also believed are elements in the creation of man, therefore it could help the life of humans. The elderly men in Muna especially in past time is very close and respectful to the nature where they live. This is confirmed by imam who said that the teacher of human beings is the universe. That is why the elderly people in Muna is very close and able to read the signs of nature, even they are highly dependent and helped by natural signs that gave them. Teaching to appreciate and respect the natural surroundings shows that the morality lesson is very noble. Teachings asserted in *katoba* for imams and traditional leaders are lesson to treat the natural surroundings in a good way. This teaching highlights the eco-social values in Muna society.

Relationship among human beings, with God, and with surrounding nature shows the importance of maintaining balance in life. Humans need to maintain relations with fellow human beings, because he is prone to make mistakes. To the surrounding nature, human respect and appreciate as a way to appreciate all the creatures of God. Humans also have to keep their behavior in order not to violate the prohibition of God. Furthermore, he surrendered and repented to Allah as the absolute owner of the rights of humanity and the rights owner for granted and not granted human's repentance. This is the teaching of balancing between social-humanity values, ecological values, and theological values. If translate in religious understanding, then the balance is achieved in two ways at the same time, a balance between the relationship to God through vertical relation (*habluminallah*) and horizontal relation to human beings and nature (*habluminanaas*).

This concept asserts the importance of balancing between theological and social relations in human life. Maintaining a good relationship with God, even if carried out in whole day and night, it would make no sense if people at the same time also hurt other human beings. God has an absolute right to accept people's repentance, but submission to God made after requested apology from people who hurted. Theological faith in Muna society will be achieved after gain the social faith. This believe shows that people in Muna assert the balancing relationship between communication with humans, with nature and with God, a balance in social and the theological relations as wells.

D.2 Personal And Social Consequences

Initiation rituals such as *katoba* affirm the importance of the child's status in Muna society, as well as symbolize the vulnerability status of a child transition into adolescence. Due to the nature of the vulnerability, a child is considered necessary ushered through the gates of adolescence. Each individual occupies a certain status and importance in the structure of society (Saifuddin, 2005: 157), as well as the status of a child. This status puts the child's position is important as a part that forms the structure of communities. Through ritual, the status of a child is socially defined, also confirmed the release of a child from an inactive life become socially active (Radin, 1957), with responsibility to maintaining good behavior in association with the family and society.

In ritual, society sets certain consequences after the child undergoing the ritual. The consequences support the construction of morality which already built through traditional and religious knowledge. *Katoba* as ritual of changing status has certain consequences associated with the new status. Ritual celebrating the new status and new obligations necessitates anyway. In the ritual initiation, a child gave the right and responsibility fully by the community, whether social, religious and administrative (Dhavamony, 1995: 198). Ritual leads a person to leave his old status and obtain the new status.

There are two forms of consequences in children after undergoing *katoba*; the personal consequences and social consequences.

D.2.2 Personal Consequences

Personal consequences relate to child's responsibilities individually. It is the individual responsibilities and if not, the consequences result in his personally as wells. Thus, the personal consequences are matters relating to himself, its own behalf. The personal responsibility also effects in self-esteem and personal dignity.

The personal consequences is at least child not allowed to be naked in front of other people, including parents and brother. If he is still naked after undergoing *katoba*, it is required to undergo *katoba* again. Some cases found in Muna society with little bit

same, for example in District Tongkuno, where one boy underwent *katoba* twice. According to his parents, for the first time, the boy did not change the behavior even already underwent *katoba* and he still naughty and naked in front of others. So, parents thought that the boy need to underwent *katoba* again. Furthermore according to his parents, when the boy underwent *katoba* for the first time, he was six years old so he was not aware of any consequences of his deeds. The cases are found also with the same story and the same reason.

Katoba held when children are in the age of puberty (*baligh*). At that age children are able to keep and honor himself. Nudity in public is a sign of childish in Muna. Nudity also a sign of loss of consciousness and self-esteem. Vulgar nudity is a representation of the loss of dignity, whereas dignity is closely related to the self sanctity. People who keep self sanctity will keep anything that will lower his dignity in front of others. Therefore, if child is still naked after underwent *katoba*, he regarded as a child, he could not think and behave like an adult, and could not be keep his dignity. That's why he had to undergo *katoba* again at an age which biologically and mentally he understands the consequences of his behaviours.

D.2.2 Social Consequences

Social consequences are matters relating to the social community. Society sets some things to do and not to do for people as well as certain rules precisely that must be obeyed. Social consequences laying down certain rules come from society, addressed to members of society, and have a social impact to society as wells. Because it has social characteristics, the impact will result in social aspects, although the effects were already felt by the child personally. If people could obey those rules, it will contribute to the social order and automatically impact in personal life. Conversely, if the rules had outlined could not be done, then it will cause the bad affect for the social order.

Katoba is a maturity ritual of the child. The maturity categories both in cultural and religious manner. Both of these categories little bit same. An adult person in society either culturally or religiously who know well the good and bad deeds and able responsible for such behaviours. Adults traditionally is a license to acquire knowledge about Muna tradition. An adult in Muna society means he allowed to sit in front of elderly men to learn the traditional teaching in order to protect themselves. Meanwhile, adults in Islam is licensed to carry out the normative teachings of Islam. A person who already considered an adult in Islam has an obligation to run sharia law seriously and full responsibility.

Maturity in Islam captured since at puberty (*baligh*) that required him to practice religious teachings as a Muslim. After declare the *shahada*, someone gained status as a Muslim. This status has consequences for the rights and obligations as a Muslim too. Declare is not merely verbal pronounciation, it necessity has the consequences to practice the normative teachings of Islam. In the ritual, the child not only led to say *shahada*, but also given advice that is closely associated with things and duties that must be carried out as a Muslim. These obligations include knowledge about the way of purification (*kaalano oe*), the obligation to recite the Qur'an, praying five times, fasting Ramadan, paying zakat, as well as such things should be obey or conversely forbidden (*nemotehi bhe nemokado*). These obligations are the social consequences for child after undergoing *katoba*. Thus, *katoba* be licensed for children to practice the normative teachings of Islam in a more responsible.

In the past, these provisions are very strict, the child cannot chant or holding the Qur'an before he underwent *katoba*. Child is considered not purity before undergoing *katoba*, even he is forbidden to touch the Qur'an. Recite the Qur'an is something very heavy in the past. SI, one traditional leader told the history when he was a child, as bellow:

"As a child I used to be required to recite Qur'an in front of the teacher and it was very heavy. Before chanting, firstly students must perform ablutions. During the lessons, students should concentrate to the Qur'an and not allowed be turned to the left or to the right. On our back neck, he put one hazelnut. It's to keep us be concentrate. If the hazelnut falls off, the teacher would admonish or even slap our face. Oh... it used to be heavy at all, it is not the same now. That's why the smart people in reciting Qur'an in the past time is rare and could occupy respectable positions in Muna traditional leader (*pegawai sara*) (As told in an interview with SI).

The position of religious leader in reciting Qur'an who highly respected and severity that so heavy is quite reasonable, because religious leader who quite expert in islamic teaching is very rare. In addition, recite the Qur'an is considered very heavy, rare and sacred, so to learn it requires certain and specific requirements.

In *katoba*, children are also taught about the way of purification (*kaalano oe*). The teaching is associated with the teaching of *istinjaa'* which became the first lesson in syariah law (*thoharoh*). This purification teaching consist on the water could be take as purify water and could not be, the way of self-purify, such as ablution, and so forth. Even in some *katoba* process also taught of the function of each finger while cleaning after urinating and defecating. It became the first basic knowledge about purification in Muna society. Quoting one information given by a religious leaders in Muna, AA said that "ablution without cleaning (*istinja'*), then the ablution is not valid. Ablution standing on *istinjaa'* and it became a prerequisite for the further purity." Therefore, *istinjaa'* in this case is the basic or foundation for one's purity.

Religious knowledges taught in ritual becomes mandatory after undergoing ritual. *Katoba* ritual sets the limits and differences between different status; before and after undergoing ritual. As explained by Crocker (in Shaughnessy, 1973: 50) that ritual not only explain something but also do a variety of things, it could change one season to the next, turning a boy into man or be able to cure someone. Before ritual, a religious teaching may be run as a habit, but after the ritual, the religious and traditional teachings regarded as something obligation.

After undergoing *katoba*, children have the obligation and the consequences of social and religious as wells. Socially, he was required to responsible and able to control their words and deeds. While religiously, children are expected to learn and implement the normative teachings of Islam in a responsible manner. As a child if children make mistakes, it do not recognize as a mistakes, because he do not understand and therefore there are no consequences. *Katoba* is a license for religious and social recognition that the children have to be responsible for the consequences of any behaviours.

This shows that *katoba* is not only natural-biological ritual, but also social puberty rite, even religious maturity as well as an initiation as a muslim. The purpose of ritual initiation performed to mark and celebrate the state transitions from childhood into adolescence and even adulthood (Arbuckle, 1982: 230) and also religious maturity (Dhavamony: 1995 :191). *Katoba* done at the age of puberty are more likely to be social-religious rather than biological. This ritual generally performed at children puberty, although some are carrying out before or even after the age of puberty. However, it is more emphasis on the social aspects rather than natural-biological changing. In addition, biological puberty in ritual strengthened by social puberty, so puberty in Muna society is not just a biological changes of the body, but also social changes that followed.

Physical-biological changes in the ritual are marked by a simple physical symbol of movement across the threshold, while social change marked by the change of status, identity, responsibility, and new obligations (Muir, 1997). Society establishes certain rules, roles, acts, and specific obligations in the ritual. Maturity characterized by changing status is not only physical growth. *Katoba* ritual implemented in physical readiness and maturity of a child's consciousness. It is also expected to have an awareness of the responsibility both individually and socially, in the tradition and religion. In ritual, a child truly experiences his religion and traditioan and finally after ritual he is expected to account for its behavior appropriately and responsible on it.

E. Conclusion

Katoba in Munanese society frame two social identities, namely social-cultural identity as Munanese and social-religious identity as Muslim. Ritual is not something meaningless. *Katoba* is very important to be present continually because of its function as an axis or pivot for the status of Muslims is something could be simply disappear, let alone replaced. If the ritual no longer exists, people not only lose one mechanism to invest the social morality and theological values, but also loss of their social identity as Munanese Muslim.

Moreover, morality values constructed through *katoba* ritual could be paramount and important. In past time, the ritual became one media transformation of moral values that are considered important in Muna society. Ritual build social-theological morality through the sacred narratives. Social and theological morality is built in the ritual became more solid through the ritual consequences after undergoing it. In this context, the message of morality constructed as a process that mutually strengthen each other, that is through knowledge that is taught in the narrative process and more solid by the obligations that must be undertaken as a consequence of ritual. *Katoba* is an initial foundation on building social and theological morality, both in relation to God, to nature, and to fellow human beings.

Ritual presents itself as a mechanism for revitalizing personal and social morality as well. Individuals in the ritual are placed in sacred position, getting the sacred knowledges, and implement the knowledges as wells. This is what makes the construction of morality in *katoba* increasingly strong and sturdy. The morality in *katoba* constructed in balancing relationship on theological, social, and ecological morality as wells. Finally, cconstruction of morality built in *katoba* make a person become a secret man as the ultimate goal of the ritual or conversely become the useless man. The child's behavior will also be controlled through the consequences after children undergoing *katoba*, those are personal and social consequences. Therefore, if it lost in the ceremony, making *katoba* lost in almost its value and meaning. Missing roles means lost the duties and obligations and could means the morality of children constructed by *katoba* be lost anyway. If morality is missing, then the meaning of *katoba* will necessarily be lost.

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