

TIMU'ALO TRADITION AS A SOLUTION TO INCREASE SOCIAL SOLIDARITY IN GORONTALO MUSLIM SOCIETY

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on understanding the social, cultural, and religious aspects of the timu'alo tradition that can strengthen social ties between individuals and communities in Gorontalo. This research is important because the timu'alo tradition, as part of Gorontalo's cultural heritage, has great potential in strengthening social solidarity which is increasingly threatened by the process of modernization. This study uses a qualitative method with a philosophical-anthropological approach. This study wants to know two aspects, first, how the timua'alo tradition is implemented in the Muslim community of Bone Bolango. Second, why the timu'alo tradition is still practiced amidst the strong understanding of modernism and secularization. This study shows that revitalization and adaptation of timu'alo values in everyday life can strengthen social cohesion, maintain harmony in society, and prevent social fragmentation.

Keywords: Timu'alo; local customs; social solidarity; Gorontalo Muslims

1. INTRODUCTION

In the last ten years, Gorontalo scholars have written that Muslim society in Gorontalo upholds the values of solidarity. In addition to being an Islamic teaching, in the social life of society, a cultural system has been constructed that contains the value of solidarity. *Huyula* and *tiayo* are the culture of society that represents the value of solidarity. *Huyula* or also called *mohuyula* is a mutual cooperation practice carried out by the Gorontalo community in the aspect of local agricultural activities.¹ While *Ti'ayo* is a practice involving collaboration between community members in social aspects, for example, helping neighbours who are in mourning.

¹ Dewa Oka Sapurwarta, 'Implementasi Huyula Pada Masyarakat Perehabilitas Lahan Kritis Di Gorontalo' (Universitas Hasanuddin Makassar, 2023), p. 4.

Although *huyula* and *ti'ayo* are symbols of togetherness in the Muslim community of Gorontalo, this tradition is slowly losing its existential meaning in social activities.²

The fading of the actualization of solidarity values in the social activities of the Gorontalo Muslim community is influenced by two major schools of thought, namely modernism and secularism. First, modernization. In general, modernization is a process of change from a traditional perspective to a modern one, with the aim of improving the welfare of the community.³ In reality, the ideals of modernism are unable to improve the welfare of all levels of social life. Second, secularization. Secularization used in Indonesian, comes from the English word secularization, which comes from the Latin *saeculum* which is usually interpreted as the temporal world, the opposite of the Kingdom of God.⁴ In this case there is an effort for humans to separate the sacred and the profane, the individual and the collective. Therefore, these two schools of thought (modernism and secularism), if they continue to erode the lives of the Muslim community of Gorontalo, will have an impact on the loss of local traditions and divinity.

The fading of solidarity in Gorontalo Muslim society can have various negative impacts. First, the weakening of social ties can increase vulnerability to internal conflict. Without solidarity, society becomes more vulnerable to division and friction that can damage social stability. Second, the loss of a sense of togetherness and concern for each other can widen social disparities, which ultimately results in increasing injustice and dissatisfaction among the community. In addition, the fading of solidarity values also threatens the communal identity of Muslims. This identity, which has been built on the foundation of unity and togetherness, can be eroded by an individualistic culture that erodes collective values. Thus, the loss of solidarity not only has an impact on the social aspect, but also on the sustainability of cultural and religious values that have been the identity of Muslims.

Therefore, serious efforts are needed to revive the values of solidarity in Muslim society, both through education, strengthening social institutions, and revitalizing local traditions that support togetherness and brotherhood. Without these steps, the Muslim community of Gorontalo risks losing the main foundation that has maintained the integrity and sustainability of their communal identity.

2. METHODS

This study used a qualitative method with a philosophical-anthropological approach. The primary data used are the results of interviews with key figures. Key informants were *hulango* spread across every sub-district in Bone Bolango Regency. According to the researchers, *hulango* are very representative, not only because they carry out the *timu'alo* tradition but also because they have experience and knowledge about the *timu'alo* tradition in death customs. The *hulango* are Zainab Igrisa, Fatma Pakaya, and Sari Tandonga. The supporting informants in this research are traditional leaders, religious leaders, and the community. The supporting informants in this research are traditional leaders, religious leaders, and the community. While secondary data include books and scientific journals related to the research topic. The data collection methods in this study are in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation.

² Supandi Rahman, 'Kearifan Lokal Huyula Masyarakat Gorontalo Sebagai Media Pendidikan Anti Korupsi', *Tadbir: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam*, 10.2 (2022), 148–59 (p. 153).

³ Abdul Syani, *Sosiologi Skematik Teori Dan Terapan* (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2015), p. 177.

⁴ Rd. Datoek A. Pachoer, 'Sekularisasi Dan Sekularisme Agama', *Religious: Jurnal Agama Dan Lintas Budaya*, 1.1 (2016), 91–102

The research location was in Bone Bolango Regency for one year, starting from February 2023 to February 2024. The object of the study was the *Timu'alo* tradition in the death rituals of the Muslim community. This study wanted to know two aspects, first, how the *timu'alo* tradition is implemented in the Muslim community of Bone Bolango. Second, why the *Timu'alo* tradition is still practiced amidst the strong understanding of modernism and secularization.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

a. *Timu'alo* Tradition

Timu'alo is a series of traditional processions carried out by the *tailopateya* (grieving family) after the seventh day. In Gorontalo language terminology, *timua'alo* comes from the word *bualo*, which means opened or separated.⁵ This is in line with what Fatma Pakaya explained. According to Fatma, *timu'alo* means opening or separating the pain felt by the *tailopateya* (grieving family).⁶ In a spiritual context, separating the soul from pain often means reaching a higher state of consciousness in which the individual feels connected to something greater than themselves, such as God or the universe. In this state, pain and suffering are seen as a temporary part of the life experience.⁷ The understanding of *Timu'alo* that grows or is understood in society is bathing in the river after the seventh day of mourning. According to Burhanudin, this understanding has long been understood by society, especially by the Muslim community of Bone Bolango.⁸

There are also those who interpret *timu'alo* as bathing in a *koala* or river. This was conveyed when the researcher interviewed Danang Abdullah.⁹ What Danang meant was true, but what was meant was one of the processions carried out in the *timu'alo* tradition. However, this understanding lives in the midst and is understood in society. Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that the *timu'alo* tradition is a series of practices carried out after seven days of grief. The goal is to release or separate the sadness felt by the *tailopateya* (grieving family). One of the processions carried out is the *tailopateya* (grieving family) bathing in the river.

The *timu'alo* tradition is led by *hulango*, in the context of the *timu'alo* tradition, in the simplest sense it is interpreted as an intermediary figure (female) to eliminate disasters after seven days of *tayilate* (death) by bathing the *tailopateya* (grieving family) in *bulalo* (river). In the *timu'alo* tradition, *hulango* has a big role, because the entire process from beginning to end is guided directly by *hulango*. This confirms that women in the eyes of local culture also have a special place.¹⁰

The implementation of *timu'alo* is carried out in the afternoon. The determination of the time will sometimes vary depending on the place and time. According to Sari Tandonga for the Bone Bolango area, people generally carry out *timu'alo* at 15:00 or after the Asr prayer.¹¹

The initial stage in the *timu'alo* tradition is for the *tailopateya* to prepare the tools and materials. According to Sari Tandonga, there are seven materials that must be provided by

⁵ Mansoer Pateda, 'Kamus Bahasa Gorontalo-Indonesia' (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2001), P. 38.

⁶ Fatma Pakaya (58 Tahun), Hulango, *Interview*, Bone Bolango, 2 November 2023.

⁷ Ali Mursyid And Others, 'Mystical Experience Dalam Agama-Agama : Studi Comparative Perspektif Islam , Buddha Dan Kristen', *Al-Mada: Jurnal Agama, Sosial, Dan Budaya*, 6.4 (2023), 694–718.

⁸ Burhanudin, (49 Tahun), Tokoh Agama, *Interview*, Bone Bolango, 22 Juni 2024.

⁹ Danang, Abdullah (50 Tahun). Tokoh Agama, *Interview*, Bone Bolango, 22 Juni 2024.

¹⁰ Zainab Igrisa (58 Tahun), Hulango, *Interview*, Bone Bolango, 03 November 2023.

¹¹ Sari Tandonga (59 Tahun), Hulango, *Interview*, Bone Bolango, 05 February 2024.

tailopateya, these materials include; 1) turmeric, 2) lime powder, 3) *buloyo* (betel nut flower) two closed and open *buloyo*, 4) four *bongo* (coconuts), three empty coconuts (no water or flesh) and one filled coconut which has been peeled, 5) *sideru* (winnowing rice), 6) *polohungo* and *tabongo* flowers, 7) leaves, mango leaves, water guava leaves, 8) *wamilo* (peda), and 9) white and red cloth.¹²

The implementation stage according to Sari Tandonga begins with the giving of *bontho* starting from the forehead, then followed by *bontho* on the joints of the left and right arms, the backs of the left and right feet, the soles of the left and right feet. The giving of *bontho* always starts from the left and ends with the right using the thumb of the right hand.¹³ In performing *bontho*, there are three rules that must be followed by *hulango*. First, every time the body part that is being *bontho* is moved, *hulango* takes *alawahu tilihi*. Second, *hulango* starts *bontho* from the core family, for example, a husband *tayilate*, then *bontho* will start from the wife, children, siblings of the husband, siblings of the wife. Next followed by nephews, and finally with distant family; neighbours, friends, coworkers, and others. Third, before *alawahu tih* is attached to the specified points, *hulango* touches the finger with *alawahu tih* near the fire from the bottle lamp. Fourth, every time *hulango* takes *alawahu tilihi*, it is obligatory to recite the Prophet's prayer and Surah al-Fatihah.¹⁴

After the *bontho* process is complete, the *hulango* will put a white cloth on the wife's head (for example, if the husband has died) before leaving the door of the house. Next, the *tailopateya* and *hulango* parties will head to the river closest to the house. The journey can be achieved by vehicle or by road, depending on the distance to the river. For the places visited by the researchers, they used a pickup truck. Ingredients such as *buloyo* (betel nut flower), *bongo* (coconut), *polohungo* flower, *tabongo* flower, mango leaves, water guava leaves, and *wamilo* (peda) are put together in a *sideru* (rice winnower) without forgetting to put it on the bottom.

When the *tailopateya* and *hulango* parties arrived at the river, the river bathing ritual began. First, all *tailopateya* members were directed to sit in a row on the river bank in a squatting position facing the *hulango*. The wife (for example if the husband dies) is in the front row. The second, third and so on rows are filled with family members in the form of younger siblings, cousins, in-laws and so on. As you get to the back row, the rows are filled with people who are not related by blood but still have a relationship with the *tayilate* such as neighbours, work friends, schoolmates, and so on.

Second, *hulango* takes a coconut to be broken on the wife's head (for example if the husband dies). After that *hulango* continues the ritual by taking two types of *buloyo* (open and closed betel nut), the open *buloyo*/betel nut is held by one of the family members as a cover for the top of the wife's head (for example if the husband dies) and the still closed *buloyo* is broken on the wife's head (for example if the husband dies) using his right hand. According to Zenab Igrisa when breaking the betel nut bud on the head, *hulango* recites *salawat* and Al-Fatihah.¹⁵ After breaking the *buloyo* (betel nut), the *hulango* takes mango leaves and water apple leaves and then pats them on one part of the body of each family member being bathed.

Next, all the materials used in the ritual are washed away in the river. The goal is that all the sadness, bitterness, and pain felt by the *tailopateya* are washed away like the ritual materials carried away by the river current. On the other hand, there is a belief that sadness due to the

¹² Sari Tandonga (59 Tahun), Hulango, *Interview*, Bone Bolango, 05 February 2024.

¹³ Zainab Igrisa (58 Tahun), Hulango, *Interview*, Bone Bolango, 03 November 2023.

¹⁴ Zainab Igrisa (58 Tahun), Hulango, *Interview*, Bone Bolango, 03 November 2023.

¹⁵ Zainab Igrisa (58 Tahun), Hulango, *Interview*, Bone Bolango, 03 November 2023.

loss of a family member can dissolve in the water that is poured when bathing. Next, the *hulango* will sprinkle river water towards the *tailopateya* to the back row. The splash of water produced emits a fragrant aroma, typical of the aroma of betel nut. This aroma is likened to a new stimulus for the *tailopateya* in living life after being left by the deceased.

When the sprinkling process is complete, the *hulango* will then put a white cloth on the wife's head (for example, if the husband has died). The white cloth that covers the wife's head is worn continuously until returning home. However, before returning home, the *tailopateya* and *hulango* head to the *tayilate's* grave. According to Zenab Igrisa, when going to eat or even returning home, they cannot take the same path, in other words, they must take a detour. In the community's understanding, this is interpreted so that the sadness that has been carried away by the river does not return to hit the *tailopateya*.

Third, upon arrival at the *tayilate* grave, *hulango* directs all members who bathe in the river to circle the grave three times. After that, the *tailopateya* squeezes the clothes they are wearing three times so that the water can drip and wet the *tayilate* grave, trying to get the squeezed water from the clothes to fall right on the tombstone. The goal is to keep the corpse cool and get an abundance of grace. When the *tailopateya* is circling the grave, *hulango* recites *salawat*, Al-Fatihah and grave prayers.

After circling the grave, *hulango* and *tailopateya* headed to the funeral home. According to Fatma Pakaya, before the family enters the house, family members circle the house three times by reciting Surah an-Nas, al-Falq, and al-Ikhlâs three times.¹⁶ However, in some places, *hulango* no longer requires *tailopateya* to circle the house. The reason is that if the funeral home is in a housing complex or a house that is close together. According to Sari Tandongan, it is enough to wait in front of the house.¹⁷

When the process of going around the house is complete, the *tailopateya* will be directed by the *hulango* to enter the house through the back door or kitchen. Behind the back door, there has been one person who has been ringing a can, zinc plate, or similar material. The goal is to surprise the *tailopateya* which can make each person surprised.¹⁸

The final stage in the *timu'alo* ritual is the *hulango* removing the *humbuyuto* (equipment installed on the bed). The items in question are the *kulambu* (white cloth cover), clothes, sarong and pants that are worn last by the *tayilate* in the room where the *tayilate* is bathed. In some places, some take the *humbuyuto* out to the front of the house, while others only go out the door of the room. According to Fatma Pakaya, the difference in taking out the *humbuyuto* is due to the interpretation of the community. However, the meaning remains the same, namely so that the spirit of the *tayilate* no longer resides in the room.¹⁹ With the issuance of the *humbuyuto*, it signifies that the *timu'alo* ritual has been completed. After finishing changing clothes, the *tailopateya* will give alms to the *hulango* and accompany the *hulango* to the front door of the house to leave the house of mourning.

b. Social Solidarity

Social solidarity is an interaction based on trust and moral feelings that are adhered to together and strengthened by emotional experiences between individuals or groups. Solidarity is defined as solidarity among members of a social group. Each member's trust in the ability of

¹⁶ Fatma Pakaya (58 Tahun), Hulango, *Interview*, Bone Bolango, 2 November 2023.

¹⁷ Sari Tandonga (59 Tahun), Hulango, *Interview*, Bone Bolango, 05 February 2024.

¹⁸ Zainab Igrisa (58 Tahun), Hulango, *Interview*, Bone Bolango, 03 November 2023.

¹⁹ Fatma Pakaya (58 Tahun), Hulango, *Interview*, Bone Bolango, 2 November 2023.

other members to carry out their duties well is one factor in the existence of high solidarity in a group.²⁰ In certain circumstances, the division of tasks according to the abilities of each member can produce good work. Because of this, the solidarity in a group will also be higher and the higher the sense of belonging.²¹

Social solidarity creates equality, mutual connection, and equal experience in a family, group, or community. Zakiah Darajat defines etymologically solidarity as solidarity or compactness. Furthermore, she stated that in Arabic it means *tadhamun* or *takaful* and *ukhuwah*. Solidarity in this sense contains the meaning of an attitude of helping each other, bearing and shouldering difficulties in living in society. The attitude of Islamic society which always thinks, pays attention, and also helps overcome difficulties; one member of Islamic society feels the suffering of others as his own suffering and his luck is also the luck of others.²²

The concept of social solidarity is a central concept of Émile Durkheim (1858-1917) in developing sociological theory. Durkheim stated that social solidarity is a state of relationship between individuals and/or groups that is based on moral feelings and beliefs that are shared and strengthened by shared emotional experiences. Solidarity emphasizes the state of relationships between individuals and groups and underlies shared attachment in life supported by moral values and beliefs that live in society. The real form of shared relationships will give birth to emotional experiences, thus strengthening the relationship between them.²³

Solidarity based on its results according to Durkheim, can be distinguished between positive solidarity and negative solidarity. Negative solidarity does not produce any integration, and thus has no specificity, while positive solidarity can be distinguished based on the following characteristics: first, one binds the individual to society directly, without intermediaries. In other positive solidarity, the individual depends on society, because the individual depends on the parts that make up the society, second: the second positive solidarity is a system of different and special functions, which unites permanent relationships, even though in fact the two societies are only one. Both are only two faces of the same reality, but need to be distinguished, third: from the second difference comes the third difference, which will give characteristics and names to the two solidarities. The characteristics of the collective type are that individuals are an inseparable part of society, but have different roles and functions in society, but still remain in one unit. One of the main components of society that is the focus of Durkheim's attention in paying attention to the development of society is the form of social solidarity. Simple societies have a form of social solidarity that is different from the form of social solidarity in modern society. Simple societies develop mechanical forms of social solidarity, while modern societies develop organic forms of social solidarity. So, based on its form, social solidarity in society consists of two forms, namely: first, Mechanical Social Solidarity, and second, Organic Social Solidarity.

Durkheim's view of society is something that is alive, society thinks and behaves when faced with social phenomena or social facts that seem to be outside the individual. Social facts that are outside the individual have the power to force. Initially, social facts come from the thoughts or behavior of individuals, but there are also the same thoughts and behaviors from other individuals, so that they become the behavior and thoughts of society, which ultimately become social facts. Social facts that are general phenomena are collective in nature, caused by something that is forced on each individual. In society, humans live together and interact, so

²⁰ Doyle Paul Jhonson, *Teori Sosiologi Klasik & Modern Jilid II* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1986), p. 181.

²¹ Abu Hurerah and Purwanto, *Dinamika Kelompok Konsep Dan Aplikasi* (Jakarta, 2006), p. 7.

²² Zakiah Daradjat, *Ilmu Pendidikan Islam* (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2004), pp. 71–73.

²³ Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society* (New York: Free Press, 1957).

that a sense of togetherness arises among them. This sense of togetherness belongs to a society that consciously creates collective feelings. Furthermore, collective feelings which are the result of togetherness, are the result of actions and reactions between individual consciousnesses. If each individual consciousness echoes collective feelings, it comes from a special drive that comes from these collective feelings. When mechanical solidarity plays its role, the personality of each individual can be said to disappear, because he is no longer an individual self, but only a collective creature. So, each individual is absorbed in the collective personality.²⁴

Based on several descriptions, it can be concluded that social solidarity is the existence of a common goal, mutual trust, solidarity, and a sense of shared responsibility between members of a group based on sentiment and etiquette that is believed by most members or residents. Social solidarity leads to closeness or solidarity (attachment) within a group. From a sociological perspective, the close interaction between one community group and another community group is not only an instrument to realize their desires, but rather this closeness describes a main goal of life in a group in society.

c. Muslim of Gorontalo

Islam is not only a belief in the Almighty, but for the people of Gorontalo, Islam is also a symbol in everyday life, including in traditions that are often carried out. Call it tahlilan, thanksgiving, Isra Mikraj, and the week of Muharram. Activities of a religious nature like this have become a routine that is legally obligatory and must be carried out by the people of Gorontalo. If they don't do it, they feel that something is missing (not perfect) in life.

In the history of Islam in Gorontalo, according to Basri Amin, the founder of Islamization in Gorontalo was King Amai (1523-1550). The process of Islamization in Gorontalo occurred when King Amai married Princess Owutango from the Palasa kingdom. To make it more sophisticated, King Amai had to be converted to Islam and so too the customs and traditions that apply to the Gorontalo community had to be based on the Qur'an. This is evident from King Amai carrying out reforms in the kingdom by developing the principles of customs and habits of the community in accordance with Islamic teachings.²⁵

The marriage of the two elite groups of the kingdom was more profitable and accelerated the channel of Islamization in Gorontalo society. Diplomatically, the two kingdoms were directly related to Ternate.²⁶ The major changes that occurred at the same time made local rulers and their followers convert to Islam. The success of Islam was due to the fact that the political status of the kingdom became an important factor in the process of Islamization, because the king had authority and charisma among the people, making it easier to accept and spread it among the people. However, some people still adhere to Aninis beliefs, including the worship of supernatural powers.²⁷

In its development, the local philosophy of the Gorontalo people was known, namely "*Adati hula-hulaa to saraa, saraa hula-hulaa to Kur'ani*" which means "custom is based on Syara', Syara' is based on the Book of Allah (al-Qur'an)". In practice, almost all customary ceremonies will always be based on Islamic values and rituals. This context can be seen mainly in wedding

²⁴ Sulthan Ahmad, 'Totem, Ritual Dan Kesadaran Kolektif: Kajian Teoritik Terhadap Pemikiran Keagamaan Emile Durkheim', *Al-Adyan: Journal of Religious Studies*, 2.2 (2021), 153–61.

²⁵ Basri Amin, 'Islam, Budaya Dan Lokalitas Gorontalo', *Sejarah Dan Budaya (KURE)*, 2012, 1–16.

²⁶ Amin.

²⁷ Sofyan A P Kau, *Islam Dan Budaya Lokal Adat Gorontalo Makna Filosofis, Normatif, Edukasi, Dan Gender* (Malang: Intelegensia Media, 2020)

ceremonies, funerals/deaths, birthdays, moving into a new house, welcoming guests, giving titles and honors, the Prophet's birthday, and others.

The value of this wisdom has been refined three times, previously known as "*saraa topa-topango to adati*" meaning that the explanation is based on custom, then "*saraa topa-topango to adati, adati topa-topango saraa*" meaning that syarah is based on adat, adat is based on syarah. Until King Eyato with the concept as we know it today the philosophy of "*Adati hula-hulaa to saraa, saraa hula-hulaa to kuru'ani*", as mentioned before became a color and pattern of its own for the implementation and implementation of religious values in the land of Gorontalo.²⁸ To this day, the philosophical concept of that message has become the rule of the Gorontalo Muslim community.

d. Social Cohesion

Related to the implementation of the *motimu'alo* tradition carried out by the Muslim community of Bone Bolango, it shows the establishment and formation of social cohesion in society. The form of cohesion is the involvement of tailopateya (the mourning family) in collecting the materials needed in the *motimu'alo* tradition. In an interview with Sari Tandonga, he explained that the materials used in the *motimu'alo* process are usually sought by all family members, in general, those who usually look for these materials are husband or wife, grandmother or grandfather, uncle or aunt, adult children, or neighbors.²⁹ This can make every individual to always work together so that the goods needed in the implementation of *motimu'alo* are obtained.

Sari Tandonga's explanation above was confirmed by Haris. In an interview with him, he explained that when his family carried out the *motimu'alo* tradition after the death of his brother-in-law, all the family members worked together to find the necessary ingredients. There were three forms of effort that they made. First, looking for it themselves. This effort is usually done by looking for it in the family garden or looking for it in the traditional market. Second, asking for help from neighbors. This effort is usually done by grandmothers or grandfathers. Usually if they ask, they will definitely be looked for until they are found by the neighbors, this is because for neighbors, requests from older people will always be appreciated. The third effort is to call family members who are far away, for example, a family in need is in Bone Bolango Regency, then the family in North Gorontalo Regency will be contacted. This effort, previously, was visited directly by the family, since there are now mobile phones, they have used the telephone to ask if there are any ingredients needed for the *motimu'alo* tradition.³⁰

Based on the data above, it is revealed that in collecting various materials needed in the *motimu'alo* tradition, it contains important aspects in the social life of the community. Moreover, in the third effort as explained above, the effort philosophically tries to knit the bonds of brotherhood by informing or visiting distant relatives or relatives. Thus, *motimu'alo* becomes one of the traditions practiced by the Muslim community of Bone Bolango which reflects aspects of cooperation, accommodation, collaboration so that social harmony is created in a social system of the Bone Bolango community.

Finally, in an interview with Nurhayati, she explained that the implications of the *motimu'alo* tradition that have an impact on social cohesion are revealed in the *hulango*

²⁸ Zulkifli Lamujuni, 'Pandangan Kosmologis Masyarakat Lokal Gorontalo: Api, Air, Angin, Dan Tanah Dalam Diskursus Bate Dan Muslim Gorontalo' (Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, 2023) <<https://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/id/eprint/62031/>>.

²⁹Sari Tandonga (59 Tahun), *Hulango, Interview*, Bone Bolango, 05 February 2024.

³⁰Haris (45 Tahun), *Masyarakat, Interview*, Bone Bolango, 23 Desember 2023.

reception before the *motimu'alo* ritual is carried out. According to her, when the *hulango* arrives at the funeral home, the *tailopateya* (grieving family) will chat with him a little. This conversation usually asks, what was the last condition before the deceased died, what illness, how long the illness was, and so on. This is not only intended as a way for the *hulango* to calm the *tailopateya* (grieving family) but can also create harmony among them.³¹

Thus, in reality, the traditional practice of *timu'alo* in Bone Bolango society has an influence on the social cohesion of Bone Bolango Muslim society which refers to the strength of unity and solidarity in a society. This includes various elements that maintain harmonious relationships between individuals in a group or community.

e. Tolerance Between Religious Groups

Etymologically, tolerance comes from the English word "toleration" which means tolerance. In Arabic, it is called "altassamuh" which means an attitude of tolerance, tolerance, and an attitude of allowing. Terminologically, tolerance is an attitude of allowing others to do something that is in accordance with their respective interests.³² Tolerance in religions means a person's attitude of allowing differences, suspending judgment, and understanding why others believe and behave in a religious way that is different from their own and allowing them to express their religious experiences without interference or threat.³³

Related to the understanding of tolerance between religious groups above, in the context of the *motimu'alo* tradition carried out by Bone Bolango Muslims, it shows such things. That the practice of the *motimu'alo* tradition has implications in the social life of the Bone Bolango Muslim community. The form of implication of the existence of the *motimu'alo* tradition is to avoid divisions between community groups and strengthen relations between groups. On the one hand, the *motimu'alo* tradition increases tolerance between Muslim groups and/or non-Muslim groups.

In an interview with Endang, she revealed that the existence of the *motimu'alo* tradition in Bone Bolango Regency provides a deep understanding of the importance of tolerance, both among Muslims and non-Muslim groups. For example, there was an incident where one of the *tailopateya* (grieving families) carried out the *motimu'alo* tradition, whose house happened to be directly adjacent to a Christian community, what happened was not a clash due to different beliefs but harmony. That the neighbor who was a Christian was actually happy to see the implementation of the *motimu'alo* tradition, especially since the neighbor followed the *motimu'alo* process until it was finished.³⁴

The above description was confirmed by Syamsudin Pakaya. In an interview he explained that in the history of Bone Bolango Regency when there was a family member carrying out a tradition or in this case for example the *timu'alo* tradition which resulted in a split between fellow Muslims or Muslims and non-Muslims.³⁵ On the one hand, Demsi Rampisela added that there has been no conflict between groups with different beliefs because the community applies the principle of *buhuta wawu walama* (one complete unity) actualized in the traditions of *ti'ayo*

³¹Nurhayati (40 Tahun), Masyarakat *Interview*, Bone Bolango, 09 Desember 2023.

³²Said Agil Al-Munawar, *Fiqh Hubungan Antar Sesama* (Jakarta: Ciputat Perss, 2003), P. 13.

³³Heri Surikno, *Pendidikan Agama Islam Berwawasan Pluralisme*, *Turāst: Jurnal Penelitian & Pengabdian* (Jakarta: Kementerian Agama RI, 2015), III, P. 354.

³⁴Endang, (46 Tahun), Masyarakat, *Interview*, Bone Bolango, 02 November 2023.

³⁵Syamsudin Pakaya (47 Tahun), Tokoh Agama, *Interview*, Bone Bolango, 12 Oktober 2023.

(helping each other), *huyula* (mutual cooperation), *bilohe* (seeing each other), *depita* (accompanying each other) and *ambuwa* (gathering with each other).³⁶

Another implication revealed in the implementation of the *motimu'alo* tradition is tolerance between fellow Muslim groups. The groups in question are NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) and Muhammadiyah. Field data shows that Muslims who practice the *motimu'alo* tradition are Muslim groups who adhere to Nahdatul Ulama. This is because the Nahdatul Ulama understanding adheres to four frameworks of thought, namely *tawāzun*, *tawassuṭ*, *tasāmuh*, and *i'tidāl*. With these four perspectives, NU in Bone Bolango society is known as a religious group that is adaptive to social reality, moderate in relations between religious communities, and accepts local traditions.

As a community of Ahlussunnah waljamaah, NU is the largest and strongest in Gorontalo. The religious heritage based on culture compiled by the bearers of Islam and the sultans, such as Sultan Amai, Sultan Butotihe, and Sultan Eyato, represents the style of NU's Islam. NU emerged as a force or as a safety valve for Gorontalo residents who have been accustomed to Islamic procedures that have been practiced for generations, such as *dikili* (joint *dhikr* event), *miraji* (*isra' mi'raj*), *tumbilo tohe* (installing lamps on the 27th day), putting up pictures of clerics at home, and the practice of *motimu'alo*. What can be understood from this reality is that NU has become a symbol of a cultural group.³⁷

Based on the description above, it shows that the Muslim group that often carries out the *motimu'alo* tradition is the Muslim community that adheres to NU. However, in religious activities in Bone Bolango there are also groups of seasonal communities that adhere to Muhammadiyah. Of course, in responding to the phenomenon of local *motimu'alo* practices, the Muhammadiyah Muslim group is not in line with the NU Muslim group. This is due to Muhammadiyah's perspective regarding local practices. For the Muhammadiyah Muslim group, traditional practices must be abandoned immediately because they may not be in line with the Qur'an and Hadith which lead individuals to heresy and superstition practices.³⁸

Her explanation above is in line with the results of the interview with Sari Tandonga. In the interview, Sari Tandonga explained that for approximately thirty years of her profession as a hulango, she had never performed *motimu'alo* to the *tailopateya* (grieving family) who adhere to Muhammadiyah. On average, only those who adhere to NU do so. According to Sari Tandongan, this happens because the *tailopateya* (grieving family) who adhere to Muhammadiyah do not believe in the things contained in the *motimu'alo* tradition. When a member of a Muhammadiyah Muslim family falls ill or even dies after seven days of mourning, they will not perform the *motimu'alo* ritual. Because they believe that it is already a destiny that has been written in *the law of mercy*.³⁹

The data above shows that in the response of the Bone Bolango Muslim group regarding the existence of the *motimu'alo* tradition, it was responded to in various ways by its community. That the Muslim group that is identified with the implementation of the *motimu'alo* tradition is a Muslim who understands NU while the Muslim group that differs from this is a Muslim who understands Muhammadiyah. However, the differences that occur do not ignite conflict between neighbors, do not call heresy for neighbors who practice *motimu'alo*.

³⁶ Demsi Rampisela (57 Tahun), Tokoh Adat, *Interview*, Gorontalo, 21 Januari 2024.

³⁷ Muhammad Dahlan, 'Nahdlatul Ulama and Inter-Religious Interaction in Gorontalo City', *Penamas*, 30.3 (2018), 281–98 <<https://doi.org/10.31330/penamas.v30i3.185>>.

³⁸ Arfan Nusi, P. 35.

³⁹ Sari Tandonga (59 Tahun), Hulango, *Interview*, Bone Bolango, 05 February 2024.

Thus, the existence of the *motimu'alo* tradition in Bone Bolango has an impact on the values of tolerance between religious groups. The impact is not only between fellow Muslims, but also between other religions, for example Christians. Therefore, the *motimu'alo* tradition needs to be maintained as a form of the cultural face of the local Bone Bolango community. By maintaining *motimu'alo*, it can maintain the religious character of the Muslim community of Bone Bolango.

4. CONCLUSION

The *timu'alo* tradition plays an important role in maintaining and strengthening the social solidarity of the Muslim community of Gorontalo. Through the practice of mutual cooperation, solidarity, and family values imbued in this tradition, *timu'alo* can be an effective solution to answer the challenges of modernization that tend to weaken social ties. This study shows that reviving *timu'alo* values and adapting them in everyday life can strengthen social cohesion, maintain social harmony, and prevent social fragmentation. Therefore, the *timu'alo* tradition is important not only as a cultural heritage but also as a relevant and useful mechanism for dealing with dynamics.

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