

The Motif of the Tradition of Female Circumcision "Patuk Ayam" in the Bugis Community in Jayapura: Studi Living Hadits

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Abstract: The relationship between Islam and the Bugis society is strongly intertwined through traditions that last for generations. One such tradition is *makkatte'* or female circumcision "patuk ayam" performed by the Bugis community in Jayapura. This tradition is interpreted as a religious commandment derived from the hadits. This article examines this tradition and its motives from a living hadits perspective to find a correlation between local wisdom and Islamic values. The research employs a descriptive-qualitative method, drawing data from documentation, observation, and interviews within a phenomenological framework. Utilizing Alfred Schutz's concept of motive in phenomenology, data is categorized based on *in-order-to motives* and *because-of motives*. Through verification and substantiation, the results show that the practice of hadits is not only in the practice of circumcision but also combined with the traditional ceremony of validating the Muslim status of a daughter. The symbols of the tradition, including the procession, props, and the clothes to be worn, show the hopes of the parents that their daughters will be religiously observant, avoid misfortune, be hardworking, independent, and easily find a mate. This futuristic expectation is considered to be in line with the values contained in the Prophetic traditions.

Keywords: hadits; female circumcision; *patuk ayam*; living hadits.

Introduction

Female circumcision is a tradition that is still alive and important for the Bugis people. The ritual called *makkatte'* is interpreted as a manifestation of their determination to unite religion with custom. A daughter is declared valid to convert to Islam according to custom if she has been circumcised.¹ In *makkatte'* there are also several rituals that show the hopes that their daughters will grow up to be individuals who are steadfast in following religious orders, independent, and hardworking as the custom has been considered a descendant identity for Bugis women.² Religious values and traditional spirits have a strong urgency so that the existence of the tradition of female circumcision in the Bugis community is maintained.

In its implementation, *the makkatte'* ritual can vary. The Bugis people who live in Jayapura have a unique way and are not the same as other areas. They use the medium of the rooster as one of the ritual media. In one finding of a practice ritual in Jayapura, the clitoris is scraped using a sharp object, then the container is placed in rice on a banana leaf, and then the rice is pegged to the chicken held by other family members. With these characteristics, the tradition of female circumcision of the Bugis community in Jayapura is identical to "*patuk ayam*".

¹ Andi Syintha Ida Subriah, "The Makkatte Tradition Reviewed from the Aspects of Gender and Reproductive Health in the Bugis Ethnic Population of South Sulawesi," *Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling* 53, no. 9 (2016): 3, <https://doi.org/10.32382/medkes.v11i2.230>.

² Anugrah Ananda Budi Salmani, Syaiful Arifin, and Dari Dahlan, "The Tradition of Circumcision of Makassar Tribal Girls in Balikpapan: A Folklore Study," *Journal of Cultural Sciences* 3, no. 1 (2019): 48.

A critical study conducted by Subriah on the Bugis ethnic group in South Sulawesi stated that the implementation of *makkatte'* only applies to Muslim communities. The Bugis people believe that both *massunna'* (circumcision for men) and *makkatte'* (circumcision for women) are the teachings of the Prophet PBUH.³ More specifically, Yuli Yasin in his research mentioned that as often referred to in many fiqh literature, the postulate they used was a hadith narrated by Ahmad and Baihaqi which explained that the Prophet (saw) stated that circumcision is sunnah for men and glorifies for women. The circumcision procedure that is not excessive by only cutting a small part of the clitoris also departs from their understanding of the recommendations contained in other hadiths. The religious legitimacy that has been passed down from generation to generation is the main factor in *the makkatte'* still being preserved.⁴

On the other hand, a study conducted by Salmani through folklore studies found that the benefits expected by the Bugis people with the existence of *makkatte'* are so that their women will grow up to be honourable people who are good at taking care of themselves. Among them, they believe that circumcision for women will biologically reduce sexual sensitivity.⁵ In line with Fitriani's findings, in the Bugis tradition, a woman's degree is often measured by their ability to resist sexual desires and maintain their purity. He said *makkatte'* is the earliest medium to achieve this.⁶ Salmani also added that there are many symbols in the practice of the tradition that show the religious, ethical, and aesthetic values of how the Bugis people shape their women.

To complement the findings that appeared in the previous study above, this study will review the tradition of female circumcision by the Bugis community through a study of *living hadiths*. In a broader spectrum, research on the problem of female circumcision in the realm of *living hadiths* is still rare. The trend so far shows that more studies question the quality of hadiths and their legal derivatives and are often faced with health issues or gender discrimination as shown by Rosyid⁷, Zamzami⁸, Jubaedah⁹, and Azizah.¹⁰ Only Hikmalisa put her study in the study of *living hadiths* with the object of research of the Kampar Riau community.¹¹ While *living hadiths* in the tradition of female circumcision in the Bugis ethnicity has not been found.

The approach that will be used in this study is Alfred Schutz-style phenomenology. As mapped by Qudsy, phenomenology is one of the adequate approaches for the study of *living hadiths*.¹²

³ Subriah, "Makkatte Tradition' Reviewed from the Aspects of Gender and Reproductive Health in the Bugis Ethnic Population of South Sulawesi," 1–8.

⁴ Yuli Yasin, Nadyatul Hikmah Shuhufi, and Ishmatul Maula, "*Makati habit* (Makkatte') :*South Sulawesi Between religious teachings and local traditions*," *Heritage of Nusantara: International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage* 11, no. 2 (2022): 267–92, <https://doi.org/10.31291/hn.v11i2.666>.

⁵ Salmani, Arifin, and Dahlan, "The Tradition of Circumcision of Makassar Girls in Balikpapan: A Folklore Study," 44–51.

⁶ Andi Bini Fitriani & Mia Siscawati, "The Position of Bugis Women in Siri Traditions, Rituals and Cultural Norms," *Dharmasmrti Journal of Religious & Cultural Sciences* Vol. 21 No (2021): 10.

⁷ Moh Rosyid, "Hadiths of Circumcision on Women: A Study of Matan Criticism as an Effort to End Gender Discrimination," *History* 6, no. 1 (2020): 19–39, <https://doi.org/10.21043/riwayah.v6i1.6869>.

⁸ Mukhammad Zamzami, "Women and the Narrative of Violence: A Legal and Medical Analysis of Women's Circumcision," *Asb-Shir'ah: Journal of Shari'ah and Law* 51, no. 1 (2017): 53–78.

⁹ Jubaedah, "Female Circumcision in Islamic and Health Perspective in Bogor, West Java," *International Journal of Multicultural and Multireligious Understanding* 8, no. 2 (2021): 497, <https://doi.org/10.18415/ijmmu.v8i2.2375>.

¹⁰ Aisyatul Azizah, "The Legal Status of Female Circumcision (Debate on the Views of Ulama and the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia No.1636/Menkes/Per/XI/2010)," *Musawa* 19, no. 2 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.14421/musawa.2020.192.173-186>.

¹¹ Hikmalisa, "The Dominance of Habitus in the Practice of Female Circumcision in Kuntu Darussalam Village, Riau Regency (Application of Pierre Boudieu's Social Practice in Living Hadiths)," *Living Hadiths Journal* 1, no. 2 (2016): 324, <https://doi.org/10.14421/livinghadiths.2016.1124>.

¹² Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy, "Living Hadiths: Genealogy, Theory, and Applications," *Living Hadiths Journal* 1, no. 1 (2016): 189, <https://doi.org/10.14421/livinghadiths.2016.1073>.

Departing from the general understanding that *living hadits* is interpreted as a practice that has been tradition carried out by Muslims in a certain community as an effort to practice hadits.¹³ Schutz provides phenomenological observation through the concept of motive with two meanings, namely *in-order-to-motive*, which is the motive of the goal in the form of the future result of a behaviour; and *because-motive*, which is the motive of reason in the form of the background behind the formation of behaviour.¹⁴ This concept is considered adequate to unravel and further clarify the values of hadits that live in a tradition.

The object of this research is the Bugis community in Jayapura whose distribution is most abundant in four regions; Jayapura city, Keerom, Sentani, and Sarmi districts. The objectives: *first*, to describe the practice of "patuk ayam" or female circumcision in the region; *Second*, it reveals the values of the hadits that live in it. Data mining is carried out through documentation, observation, and interviews. The results are then presented in a descriptive-qualitative manner and then classified according to the concept of Schutz motifs. Based on this classification, the practice of the hadits that are internalized in the practice can be described. The determination can be obtained from the direct information of the subject involved or through the substance of the meanings inherent in it.¹⁵ Through this mechanism, the study of *living hadits* on the tradition of "chicken patuk" in Jayapura will produce a new and more comprehensive study by not only unravelling the phenomenon in the context of practising hadits normatively but also examining the relationship between the appreciation of hadits values and the tendency of Islamization from the past and the expectation of cultural identity in the future for the Bugis people.

Discussion

The *makkatte'* tradition is a hereditary habit of the Bugis people whose origin is unknown starting from when it took place. So far, no literature clearly explains the problem. Previous research, based on interviews with community leaders, only mentioned that the tradition was an ancestral heritage that had been practised since ancient times.¹⁶ The same admission was also made by the Bugis people in Jayapura. They do not feel the need to know about it, what is important for them is to carry it out as a form of respecting and caring for the good practices of their predecessors.¹⁷

The single timeline that can be used as a benchmark for the existence of this tradition is the Islamization of the Bugis ethnicity which began around the 16th century.¹⁸ The existence of Islamic elements in the female circumcision they do can be ascertained to be connected to this momentum. As in other regions of the archipelago, the pattern of encounter between Islam and Bugis customs manifests itself through cultural acculturation that is dialogical and integrative.¹⁹ However, it is not possible to accurately ascertain whether the tradition arose due to the initiation of Islamic teachings or the result of modifications from practices that existed before and then injected by the spirit of Islam. The reason is, unlike the tradition of reciting the Qur'an, the Prophet

¹³ M. Alfatih Suryadilaga, *Research Methodology of Living Qur'an and Hadits* (Yogyakarta: Teras, 2007), 124.

¹⁴ Tom Campbell, *Seven Social Theories, Sketches, Assessments, and Comparisons* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1994), 270.

¹⁵ Substance in living hadits is the action of the researcher to understand the purpose of a behavior with a strong indicator that the behavior is based on the hadits. This process is launched when it comes to the point of ignorance of the source to the informant (deadlock). According to Qudsy, this is what distinguishes living hadits from anthropological studies in general who tend to be emic in their research. Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy and Subkhani Kusuma Dewi, *Living Hadits: Practice, Reception, Text, and Transmission* (Yogyakarta: Q-Media, 2018), 115.

¹⁶ Subriah, "Makkatte' Tradition' Reviewed from Gender and Reproductive Health Aspects in the Bugis Ethnic Population of South Sulawesi," 3.

¹⁷ Interview with Junaidi, a figure of South Sulawesi Family Harmony (KKSS) for the Jayapura region, in Sentani, November 29, 2021.

¹⁸ Anzar Abdullah, "Islamization in South Sulawesi in a Historical Perspective," *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal* 26, no. 1 (2016): 87, <https://doi.org/10.15294/paramita.v26i1.5148>.

¹⁹ Ismail Suardi Wekke, "Islam and Customs: A Review of Bugis Cultural and Religious Acculturation," *Analysis* 13, no. 1 (2013): 31.

Muhammad's birthday, or the like that was purely born from the womb of Islamic civilization, female circumcision is also found in other religions or beliefs in various parts of the world, even since before Islam, namely in ancient civilizations such as Semitic, Maya, Aboriginal, and Egyptian.²⁰ But what is certain is that without the presence of Islam in their land, the Bugis people would not have known *the makkatte'* tradition as they have been practising until now.

The Existence of Bugis Community Traditions in Jayapura

The Bugis tribe has long been known to have a migratory tradition supported by their famous maritime dominance. Starting from South Sulawesi, over time the Bugis people spread to various regions, including Jayapura.²¹ A search conducted by Suardi Wekke found that the entrance of the Bugis people to the land of Papua was through trade and shipping. Not stopping there, they then settled and built an Islamic education centre. The migration of the Bugis people who do not know when it began to various regions brought with them cultural customs that had been inherited from their ancestors.²² In the pockets of Jayapura province, as mentioned at the outset—Jayapura city, Keerom, Sentani, and Sarmi districts—Bugis customs, including female circumcision, are easily found as a logical consequence of their large distribution in these areas.

On the other hand, as has been understood, of course, the existence of traditional traditional rituals has been eroded by the wave of modernization. Globalization entails the repositioning of the roles of indigenous community networks to a certain extent depending on the dynamics that occur in each place.²³ The Bugis community in Jayapura is no exception. All the informants in this study said that although female circumcision is still considered important for its existence,²⁴ there has been a shift in the sacredness in everyone's perception.²⁵ They admit that the factors of socio-economic change have widened the gap between the demands of the past and the present, making the traditional spirit no longer so strong.²⁶

Female Circumcision Procession "Patuk Ayam" by the Bugis Community in Jayapura

Anthropologically, the female circumcision of "patuk ayam" that occurs in Jayapura in addition to being a traditional heritage can also be categorized as a religious ceremony. The implementation of the tradition fulfils the components required by Koentjaraningrat. According to him, religious ceremonies consist of four components, namely: the place of the ceremony, objects or tools, the

²⁰ Ratna Suraiya, "Female Circumcision in the Perspective of History, Medicine and Islamic Law (Response to the Revocation of the Regulation on the Prohibition of Female Circumcision in Indonesia)," *Cendekia* 5, no. 1 (2019): 65–68, <https://doi.org/10.37348/cendekia.v5i1.65>.

²¹ A. B. Takko Bandung, "Bugis Culture and Its Distribution in the Perspective of Cultural Anthropology," *Cultural Lens: Scientific Journal of Cultural Sciences* 15, no. 1 (2020): 33.

²² Ismail Suardi Wekke, Suyatno Ladiqi, and Reevany Bustami, "Bugis and Madura Migration in Nusantara: Religiosity, Harmony, and Identity from Eastern Indonesia," *The Blue Ulul Journal of Islam Studies* 20, no. 1 (2019): 14–15, <https://doi.org/10.18860/ua.v20i1.4902>.

²³ Abdul Jalil, "Traditional Resistance to Modernity," *Umbara* 2, no. 2 (2019): 120, <https://doi.org/10.24198/umbara.v2i2.20451>.

²⁴ Subriah pointed out in her research that none of the informants did not confirm that in her area everyone who has a daughter must circumcise their children. Subriah, "Makkatte Tradition' Reviewed from Gender and Reproductive Health Aspects in the Bugis Ethnic Population of South Sulawesi," 3.

²⁵ For example, an interview with Effendi, one of the Bugis people from Ujungpandang who was the earliest informant for this study, July 21, 2021. When asked about the existence of female circumcision rituals in his area and in the Bugis community in general, he replied "It still exists, but it is not too thick with traditional nuances."

²⁶ This finding is also seen in Yunus' research about the tradition of khataman al-Qur'an (mappanre temme). According to him, the shift in the roles of neighbors and relatives has a significant influence on the sustainability of the traditions of the Bugis community. Mukhtar Yunus et al., "The Appropriation of the Mappanre Temme Tradition Ahead of Marriage in the Bugis Community (Living Quran Study)," *Al-Quds : Journal of Qur'an and Hadits Studies* 6, no. 1 (2022): 369, <https://doi.org/10.29240/alquds.v6i1.4296>.

people who do it, and the moment or procession. Normally, in every religious ceremony these four components appear based on the customs that apply in each region.²⁷ In female circumcision, "chicken patuk", what must be prepared, including these components, has become an understandable knowledge among the Bugis people in Jayapura.

The description of the four components is as follows: (1) the place of implementation is in the house of the girl to be circumcised; (2) objects or tools used include: mushaf al-Qur'an, barzanji book, 4 litres of rice, candles, matches, coconut, brown sugar, rooster, incense, musical instruments such as Makassar drums, banana leaves, local flower leaves, buckets of water, various foods, coins, and black cloth bags. These objects can be different for each person based on social caste and the size of *nasab*. For example, the descendants of kings must prepare at least 8 or 12 litres of rice; (3) the people who do it consist of *anrong bunting* who acts as circumciser as well as leading a series of certain activities²⁸; the girl to be circumcised, her family, and invited residents; and (4) the moment or procession is held in three stages, namely pre-circumcision, circumcision process, and post-circumcision.²⁹

1. *Pra Khatan*

Before entering the circumcision process, there is first an opening ritual that must be undergone by the people involved in the procession. The ritual is called *apassili* or the process of flushing. The girl who was to be circumcised was seated on a chair while carrying a black cloth package filled with rice, brown sugar, coconut, candles and matches. *Anrong pregnant* will take a standing position in front of him to take the package, lift it and touch it to the girl's crown three times. After that, the contents of the package are transferred into a bucket that has been provided. *Anrong was pregnant* then lit a candle and then rotated it three times counterclockwise right in front of the girl's face. Before dousing water mixed with local flowers, *Anrong Bunting* first splashes the water with leaves that have been tied to the girl's head. The host did not forget to put some coins into it. Until the water in the bucket runs out or during the flushing process, two men with typical South Sulawesi headbands beat musical instruments accompanied by the chanting of the prayer. After *the apassili* is completed, the circumcision process can be carried out.

2. *The Circumcision Process of "Chicken Cutting"*

A daughter who is to be circumcised will be treated like a princess. This method is done so that he feels happy so that he is distracted from the fear of being circumcised. First, clothes that have been wet after undergoing *apassili* will be replaced with new clothes that are good and lacy. Above her head was a crown and her face was made as beautiful as possible. Several men were tasked with reading *barzanji* while sitting, then continued to read Yasin's letter together and ended with a prayer led by local religious leaders. After that, the daughter will be seated on her mother's lap with a banana leaf base. If his mother is not there, due to certain conditions, then his father will take his place. The girl who had been made up became the centre of attention and was greeted with happy faces as a form of respect and consolation.

Anrong pregnant took a position ready to be circumcised. He sat in front of the child with a companion. He then lit a candle that had been stuck in the rice in a bucket. After a while, the candle was pulled out once again, as in *apassili*, to be circled in front of the girl's face three or more times. At the same time, he took a few grains of rice to sprinkle slowly on the child's head. Then the child will be guided to read *the shahadatain* and its meaning, *ta'awudz*, *al-fatihah*, *al-ikhlās*, and

²⁷ Koentjaraningrat, *Some Subjects of Social Anthropology* (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1992), 252.

²⁸ The role of *pregnant women* in some areas of the Bugis community in Jayapura is not limited to circumcision of girls, but also includes the makeup of brides and groomsmen. Interview with Herawati, in the city of Jayapura, November 30, 2021. In previous research conducted by either Subriani or Yuli Yasin in South Sulawesi, or Salmani in Balikpapan, the name pinned to circumcision is not *anrong bunting* but *sanro*. In terms among the Bugis ethnicity, *sanro* is synonymous with shamans in a general sense.

²⁹ Interview with Ridwan, one of the Bugis people in the Abepura district who recently held circumcision for his daughter, in the city of Jayapura, November 20, 2021.

mu'anwidzatain. Beside him, a companion then handed over a chicken whose peck would be used as a circumcision tool.

Musical instruments were beaten and accompanied by the collective reading of *shalawat* which was sung in a cheerful tone. Again, this method was used to distract the girl. While also participating in prayer, *the pregnant anrong* holds the head of the chicken and then the beak or stab is guided towards the girl's genitals so that part of the clitoris can be cut. Only *pregnant women* can see this cutting process because, unlike the process of male circumcision, in girls, the crotch is covered with a cloth. After the chicken was pulled out, *the pregnant man* cut a little bit of his beard with a small knife until it bled, to signal to the people that the girl's genitals had been circumcised. The people present were even more enthusiastic to pray to the rhythm of the beating until it was finished.

3. Post-Circumcision

After the girl is circumcised, there are still two important rituals that must be undertaken, namely *mabaju bodo* and *nisompo naik ri loft*. Without these two rituals, the circumcision procession is not perfect. *Mabaju bodo* means the use of seven layers of *bodo* cloth carried out by *anrong bunting*. This is done after the base of banana leaves is kept away from the girl and sprinkled with rice on top which will then be pecked or eaten by chickens. After *the mabaju bodo*, the girl will be carried by her father and then taken to a high place, for example, an attic, a mound of earth, and so on. Arriving at the place, the father guided his son to request Allah SWT. The editor is free as long as it contains good wishes and is spoken in the Bugis language, not special prayers in Arabic. When doing that, the father should not look at things that are considered inappropriate, such as looking at church buildings or other houses of worship. This is what is called *nisompo naik ri loft*. Upon returning from that place, the girl was presented with an envelope filled with money by her parents. *Anrong Pregnant* was also given an envelope as a token of gratitude. After everything was over, everyone present was welcome to eat together.³⁰

Female Circumcision Motif "Patuk Ayam" as Buginese Living Hadits

To find the values of hadits that live in a tradition, you must first go through a typification process. In the framework of Alfred Schutz's phenomenology, this typification is at the same time conceptualized as the determination of motives that lead to reason or *because-motive* and the purpose or *in-order-to-motive*.³¹ How typification works (*typification*) It is the same with categorization because it is in the form of categories or types that exist in human life. This typification is taken from individual interactions to define each of his actions.³² Individual interactions that harden and expand into a form of belief that prevails in a tradition are embodied in certain ritual symbols. The typification of the tradition of female circumcision "*patuk ayam*" in the Bugis community in Jayapura can be described as follows

1. Because-motive

The motive for the reason behind the tradition of female circumcision has been mentioned from the beginning, which refers to ancestral practices and religious teachings. While ancestral practices are shaped by customary localities, religious teachings are rooted in the hadits of the Prophet PBUH. The externalization of hadits values that lead to these two things is driven by fiqh discourse to produce legal objectification. This legal product is then internalized into the tradition

³⁰ Documentation in the video archive belonging to Junaidi, a South Sulawesi Family Harmony (KKSS) figure for the Jayapura region, in Sentani, accessed on November 29, 2021.

³¹ Mitsuhiro T Ada, "Alfred Schutz on Race, Language, and Subjectivity: A Viennese Jewish Sociologist's Lifeworld and Phenomenological Sociology within Transition from Multinational Empire to Nation-State," *Kumatomo Journal of Humanities* 4 (2023): 104.

³² Heddy Shri Ahimsa-Putra, "Religious Phenomenology: A Phenomenological Approach to Understanding Religion," *Walisono: Journal of Socio-Religious Research* 20, no. 2 (2012): 282, <https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.20.2.200>.

of female circumcision and is understood sustainably as part of the construction of Islamic teachings.

First, the hadits that show the legitimacy of the implementation of circumcision are:

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: الْفِطْرَةُ خَمْسٌ أَوْ خَمْسٌ مِنَ الْفِطْرَةِ، الْخِتَانُ وَالْإِسْتِحْدَادُ وَتَقْلِيمُ الْأَظْفَارِ وَنَتْفُ الْأَبْطِ وَفَصُّ الشَّارِبِ

From Abu Hurairah ra, the Prophet said, "Five things that are human nature: circumcision, al-istibdad (shaving the hair around the genitals), shaving the armpit hair, cutting the nails, and cutting the moustache."³³

عَنْ أَبِي الْمَلِيحِ بْنِ أُسَامَةَ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: الْخِتَانُ سُنَّةٌ لِلرِّجَالِ، مَكْرُمَةٌ لِلنِّسَاءِ

Abu al-Malih ibn Usamah, from his father, the Prophet (peace be upon him) said, "Circumcision is sunnah for men, glorifying for women."³⁴

The interpretation of fiqh on the two hadits above results in various legal conclusions. Scholars view circumcision for women in two laws, namely between obligatory and sunnah. Some say that it is a form of glorifying women (*makrumah*). The first hadits is the basis that most often appears because its value is valid. While the second hadits is doubtful of its quality or weak. The Hanafi and Maliki schools believe that it is sunnah, while the Shafi'i impose obligatory laws. As for those who judge it as a *makrumah*, it is the same as the sunnah, only it is more textualist based on the redaction of the second hadits above. This *mukrumah* diction is also contained in MUI fatwa number 9A of 2008 which specifically discusses female circumcision as the basic principle of reviving the sunnah of the Prophet Saw. On the other hand, some scholars refuse by saying that the intention of circumcision in the first hadits is specifically for men besides there is no benefit.³⁵

The Bugis people place female circumcision as an obligation. This is very likely influenced by the dominant school of jurisprudence throughout their history. Among the Bugis ethnicity, as in the majority of the areas where Islam spreads in Indonesia, the shafi'i school has a great influence.³⁶ Of course, their scholars provide Islamic teachings by relying heavily on the books of shafi'iyah where female circumcision is mandatory.³⁷ Moreover, this obligation is strengthened by certain rituals that are institutionalized in customs. For them, a woman is not valid for Islam according to tradition if she has not been circumcised.

Second, a hadits that specifically contains the limits of circumcision for women, namely:

عَنْ أُمِّ عَطِيَّةَ الْأَنْصَارِيَّةِ، أَنَّ امْرَأَةً كَانَتْ تَخْتِنُ بِالْمَدِينَةِ فَقَالَ لَهَا النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: لَا تَنْهَكِي فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ أَحْطَى لِلْمَرْأَةِ، وَأَحَبُّ إِلَى الْبَعْلِ

³³ This hadits is contained in many hadits books, including in *Sabih AL-Bukhari*; Hadits number 5550, *Shahi Muslim*; Hadits number 257, *Shahiyya ibn Hibban*; Hadits number 5479, *Sunan al-Tirmidzi*; v, p. 91, *Sunan al-Bayhaqi al-Kubra*; I, p. 14, *Sunan Abi Dawud*; juz IV, p. 84, etc. M. Asrorun Ni'am Sholeh, "MUI Fatwa on Female Circumcision," *Abkam* 12, no. 2 (2012): 38.

³⁴ This hadits is narrated in Musnad Ahmad, number 20719, and Sunan al-Bayhaqi al-Kubra, number 17567. Azizah, "The Legal Status of Female Circumcision (Debate on the Views of Ulama and the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia No.1636/Menkes/Per/XI/2010)," 180.

³⁵ Zamzami, "Women and the Narrative of Violence: A Legal and Medical Analysis of Women's Circumcision," 62–66.

³⁶ Anny Nailatur Rohmah and Ashif Az Zafi, "Traces of the Existence of the Shafi'i School in Indonesia," *Tamaddun Journal: Journal of Islamic History and Culture* 8, no. 1 (2020): 186, <https://doi.org/10.24235/tamaddun.v8i1.6325>.

³⁷ In Muhammad Zamzami's research, it is mentioned that several books on the handhold of the Shafi'i school such as the works of Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani and Imam al-Nawawi stipulate the compulsory law of circumcision for women, and even reviewed in detail the legal istinbath and its implementation procedures. Zamzami, "Women and the Narrative of Violence: A Legal and Medical Analysis of Women's Circumcision," 62–64.

From um 'Athiyah al-Anshari, that a woman was circumcised in Medina, then the Prophet (peace be upon him) said to her, "Do not overdo it, because that part can beautify the face and add pleasure during intercourse." 38

This hadith is received by the Bugis people in the tradition of female circumcision by cutting off the genitals of girls (*clitoris*) without exaggeration. This is a must in traditional *makkatte*. Although the tools used are various. Thus, in the tradition of female circumcision "patuk ayam" by the Bugis people in Jayapura, chickens are not allowed to just peck at the genitals of girls but are controlled and guided by a *bunch* because they are worried that there will be excessive cuts that will later have a bad effect on the child's sexual health.³⁹ The use of chicken *patuk* without control has occurred in other regions. Usually on top of the child's genitals will be sprinkled with a little rice which is then pecked by the chicken.⁴⁰ But so far, the sadistic practice has not been found at all in Jayapura. Although the practice of female circumcision is entrusted to people who do not receive modern medical education, only one *What a bunch of*, the Bugis people believe that the limits taught by the hadiths must meet the health aspect.

2. *In-order-to-motive*

The tradition of female circumcision "patuk ayam" in Jayapura does not stop at the circumcision of girls alone but has complex goals. For the Bugis people, everything in a traditional ritual has meaning. Starting from the time of implementation, the place, the procession, to the property used is a medium for them to convey messages in the form of spirits that show their identity. All of them can be read as a symbol of the results of their appreciation of how life should work as well as the absorption of the values that affect them, including the values of morality and religion. The objectives of the tradition of female circumcision "patuk ayam" in Jayapura and the analysis of the typification of the hadiths values in it include:

a. *Religious obedience*

The main purpose of holding this tradition is to instil in girls from an early age that she is a Muslim. This is an initial commitment from parents to foster responsibility so that in the future their children will obey the teachings of Islam as best as possible. The recitation *of the creed* is a part that should not be left out in the circumcision procession as a form of pledge witnessed by the crowd. Every child approaching *puberty*, both boys and girls, must do this because *shahada* is the first pillar of Islam. The Bugis people call it "Islamic".

*Children must be circumcised before puberty; and Islamized first before growing up. Islamized, that's why circumcision is mandatory.*⁴¹

The *shahada pledge* from an early age as the first pillar of Islam and the efforts made by parents to "Islamize" their children correlate with the following two hadiths:

³⁸ This hadith is contained in *Sunan Abu Dawud*. Different redactions are narrated by al-Hakim, al-Tabrani, al-Bayhaqi, Abu Na'im, and al-Dlahhak. Muhammad Al-Syaukani, *Nayl Al-Awthar I* (Kairo: Musthafa al-Bab al-Halabi, n.d.), 135.

³⁹ The issue of female circumcision is often associated with WHO publications on *Guidelines on the Management of Health Complications from Female Genital Mutation* in 2016. In essence, circumcision is a practice that is highly discouraged because it is harmful to health as well as a form of intimidation against women. Genital mutations are the focus of this problem. However, in Subriah's research, the tradition of female circumcision that applies among the Bugis ethnic group does not cause negative health effects, because in practice it is carried out not excessively so as not to injure the external and internal genitalia organs. Subriah, "Makkatte Tradition' Reviewed from the Aspects of Gender and Reproductive Health in the Bugis Ethnic Population of South Sulawesi," 7.

⁴⁰ Interview with Effendi, one of the Bugis people from Ujungpandang, July 21, 2021.

⁴¹ Interview with Hj. Syamsiah T. Daeng Ngini, a *pregnant woman* in Abepura district, Jayapura city, November 20, 2021.

عَنِ ابْنِ عُمَرَ - رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا - قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: بُنِيَ الْإِسْلَامُ عَلَى خَمْسٍ شَهَادَةِ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَأَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ، وَإِقَامِ الصَّلَاةِ، وَإِيتَاءِ الزَّكَاةِ، وَالْحَجِّ، وَصَوْمِ رَمَضَانَ..

*From Ibn 'Umar ra. said: The Prophet said, "Islam is built on five things; testify that there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, establishing prayers, reciting zakat, hajj, and fasting in Ramadan."*⁴²

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ، رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، قَالَ: قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: مَا مِنْ مَوْلُودٍ إِلَّا يُولَدُ عَلَى الْفِطْرَةِ، فَأَبَوَاهُ يُهَوِّدَانِهِ أَوْ يُنَصِّرَانِهِ، أَوْ يُمَجِّسَانِهِ، كَمَا تُنْتَجُ الْبَيْهِيمَةُ بَيْهيمَةً جَمْعَاءَ، هَلْ تُحْسِنُونَ فِيهَا مِنْ جَدْعَاءَ

*From Abu Hurairah ra. said: The Prophet said, "No baby is born in a state of fitrah. Then it was his parents who made him a Jew or a Christian or a Magi, just as a livestock that was born survived, do you feel that there is a defect?"*⁴³

The significance of these two hadits leads to the vital role of parents in the religion of a child. *Shahada* is the entrance to Islam and a person's Islam is greatly influenced by their environment, especially their parents. According to the explanation (*syarah*) of the second hadits, the word *fitrah* is interpreted as the inevitability of accepting the truth or the ease of embracing Islam. As long as parents do not influence their children to other paths, the guidance of Islam will be easily accepted by every child born into this world.⁴⁴ In line with this, parents in the Bugis community, especially in Jayapura, view that parents must do something that aims to make their children follow in their footsteps to embrace Islam. The trick is to "Islamize" them through the tradition of circumcision whose procession is also filled with the recitation of the Qur'an, including *Yasin* and short surahs.

b. *Loving the Prophet (sam).*

Mabbarazanji or the reading of *barzanji* in the procession of female circumcision has a strong meaning among the Bugis people. The book, which contains praise poems about the life of the Prophet PBUH, is read and listened to to cultivate their love for the Prophet PBUH. as well as an exemplary guide. *Mabbarazanji* is not only found in the circumcision procession and *maulid* of the Prophet Saw., but almost all the traditions carried out by the Bugis people, such as birth ceremonies, weddings, *khatam* al-Qur'an, going on the hajj, death warnings (*haul*), to prayers for safety because they can afford to buy a new car, and so on.⁴⁵ Through *mabbarazanji*, they try to place the Prophet Saw. as the main figure who is very worthy and even obliged to be used as a role model in living life. This attitude is in line with the message of the following hadits:

عَنْ أَنَسٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ: قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: لَا يُؤْمِنُ أَحَدُكُمْ حَتَّىٰ أَكُونَ أَحَبَّ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ وَالِدِهِ وَوَلَدِهِ وَالنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ.

*From Anas ra. said: The Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings of Allaah be upon him) said, "The faith of one of you is not perfect so that he makes me more beloved than his parents, his children, and all mankind."*⁴⁶

c. *Be obedient to parents*

The tradition of circumcision in the Bugis community can be interpreted as a moment of joy for girls. It was a time for parents to pour out their attention with affection, and girls were given respect and comfort. As previously explained, the circumcision procession requires that girls be

⁴² Muhammad the son of Isma'il al-Bukhari, *Sabih Bukhari* (Beirut: Dar Ibn Katsir, Nou.d.), 8.

⁴³ Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj, *Sabeeh Muslim Iy* (Beirut: Dar Iha AL-Turatasi, No.D.), 208.

⁴⁴ Abu Zakariya Muhyiddin yahya ibn Syaraf al-Nawawi, *Syarb Al-Nawawi 'ala Muslim XVI* (Beirut: Dar Ihya al-Turatsi, 1972), 157.

⁴⁵ Abdul Fattah and Lutfiah Ayundasari, "Mabbarazanji: The Tradition of Reading the Book of Barzanji in an Effort to Emulate the Life of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)," *Wabana Islamika: Journal of Islamic Studies* 7, no. 1 (2021): 53–56.

⁴⁶ al-Bukhari, *Sabih Bukhari*, 9.

treated like a princesses, wear good clothes and a crown by their mother and then be upheld by their father when *nisompo rides the attic*.

*The child looks up and looks around him, while the parents pray for the good for his future, can be upheld, respected, appreciated, liked, and loved by everyone.*⁴⁷

It is nothing but a part of education that implies that parents must love their children so that in the future their children will also love them, always obedient and far from disobedience. The Bugis people believe that this attitude has high moral values as well as one of the core teachings of Islam. This reciprocal relationship is implied in the hadits:

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ، رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، قَالَ: قَبَّلَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ الْحَسَنَ بْنَ عَلِيٍّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا، وَعِنْدَهُ الْأَقْرَعُ بْنُ حَابِسٍ، فَقَالَ الْأَقْرَعُ: إِنَّ لِي عَشْرَةَ مِنْ الْوَلَدِ مَا قَبَّلْتُ مِنْهُمْ أَحَدًا، فَنَظَرَ إِلَيْهِ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَقَالَ: مَنْ لَا يَرْحَمُ لَا يُرْحَمُ

*From Abu Hurairah ra. said: The Prophet (peace and blessings of Allaah be upon him) kissed al-Hasan bin 'Ali (may Allah be pleased with him). while nearby is al-Aqra' bin Habis. Said al-Aqra', "Indeed, I have ten children that I have never kissed." The Prophet then looked at him and said, "Whoever does not love will not be loved."*⁴⁸

In line with that, there are many hadits that explain how the Prophet (peace be upon him) was gentle to children, especially to his sons and daughters. He also called on parents to educate their children with affection, including:

عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ عَنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: أَكْرِمُوا أَوْلَادَكُمْ وَأَحْسِنُوا آدَابَهُمْ.

*From Abdullah bin Abbas ra., the Prophet (peace and blessings of Allaah be upon him) said, "Honor your children, improve their manners."*⁴⁹

d. Avoid calamity

The Bugis people have been preserving *appassili* or siraman for generations as a means to avoid disasters. *Appassili* is not only found in the tradition of women's circumcision but also many other forms of crucial traditions, such as wedding ceremonies and the making of *phinisi* boats. There is also a tradition of entering the house and being seven months pregnant.⁵⁰ Its very central position in the life of the Bugis people is thought to have existed before Islam came. That is the cultural articulation of the Bugis people about their hope to survive various calamities. Although both are oriented towards self-purification, *appassili* is different from the repentance bath in Islamic teachings. The only Islamic element included in it is the accompaniment of the recitation of *shalawat*.

*Appassili to purify oneself or purify before circumcision. Cleaning himself from his head to his whole body, getting rid of his bad luck, and keeping away from the distractions of demons and demons that always tempt him when he grows up. Basa is also illuminated by a candle in front of him. The meaning is to brighten his life, including his family, especially his parents. It is also sprinkled with rice so that for the rest of its life there will be no shortage of food. There is a reading that must be read, namely shalawat. Prayer is usually intended to be safe in this world and the hereafter.*⁵¹

The redaction of the prayer that is read in every tradition of female circumcision in Jayapura is usually taken from the creations of scholars who are believed to have efficacy in avoiding calamity.

⁴⁷ Interview with Hj. Syamsiah T. Daeng Ngini, a *pregnant woman* in Abepura district, Jayapura city, November 20, 2021.

⁴⁸ al-Bukhari, *Sabih Bukhari*, 2235.

⁴⁹ Ibn Majah al-Qazwini, *Sunan ibn Majah I* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, n.d.), 190.

⁵⁰ Interview with Junaidi, a figure of South Sulawesi Family Harmony (KKSS) for the Jayapura region, in Sentani, November 29, 2021.

⁵¹ Interview with Hj. Syamsiah T. Daeng Ngini, a *pregnant woman* in Abepura district, Jayapura city, November 20, 2021.

The recitation of prayers to the Prophet Saw. is considered to keep a spirit that is in line with *appassili*, namely to distance oneself from evil. This assessment correlates with one of the hadits of the virtues of *shalawat*:

عَنْ أَنَسٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: مَنْ صَلَّى عَلَيَّ صَلَاةً وَاحِدَةً صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ عَشْرَ صَلَوَاتٍ، وَحُطَّتْ عَنْهُ عَشْرُ حَطِيئَاتٍ، وَرُفِعَتْ لَهُ عَشْرُ دَرَجَاتٍ

From Anas ra. said: The Prophet said, "Whoever prays to me once, Allah will surely repay him ten times; and Allah wrote for him ten good and removed ten evils." 52

The symbol of rejecting disaster is sometimes also present when *nisompo* goes up to the *attic*. When the child was carried by his father, he was told to move his skirt as a symbol of getting rid of bad luck.⁵³ This practice is very difficult to find a correlation with the hadits. Meanwhile, another element in the procession of female circumcision that is very likely to function as a symbol of hope to avoid disaster and has a strong connection with the hadits is in the food treats for the people present. The host intended it as alms which was believed to also anticipate evil. Likewise, the amount of money given to *the pregnant anrong* is also intended for almsgiving. In a hadits it is stated:

عَنْ أَنَسٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: بَاكِرُوا بِالصَّدَقَةِ فَإِنَّ الْبَلَاءَ لَا يَسْخَطِي الصَّدَقَةَ.

From Anas ra. said: The Prophet said, "Hurry up in giving alms, for indeed there is no army before almsgiving." 54

e. *The spaciousness of sustenance*

The most dominant motive in the tradition of circumcision "patuk ayam" in Jayapura, in addition to "Islamizing" girls, is the spaciousness of sustenance. There are not a few symbols that lead to that. The rooster is a symbol of animals that rush and work hard to make a living.

Therefore, use chickens, besides he wakes us up at dawn, and then the chickens can claw here and there to find food. So let the child after he grows up be smart to make a living.

The sowing of rice during *appassili* is interpreted so that there is no shortage of food for life. Similarly, coins thrown into a bucket simply hope to be blessed with a prosperous life.

The water in the bucket lowers the coins so that the life is good for the rest of his life, for example, if the circumcised child is 5 years old or 10 years old is given more coins that are handed down so that he will be more lucky.

Inviting the surrounding community as a medium to strengthen friendship is also believed to help the spaciousness of sustenance. The sincerity of *Anrong Bunting* and the religious and traditional leaders who were also present are believed to have affected the smooth sustenance of the child and his family.

Those who live well must be accepted sincerely so that their life is good, plus sustenance and the afterlife is good. 55

Through a series of symbols contained in this tradition, the Bugis people idealize that their daughters will grow up as independent and hardworking individuals. The spaciousness of sustenance is very determined by productivity so it is difficult to achieve for lazy people to make an effort. Meanwhile, blessings are obtained from always strengthening friendship. Thus, according to them, the teachings were brought by customs and religion. The command to work hard, live independently, and establish friendship is originally enshrined in the hadits, including:

عَنِ الْمُقَدَّامِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ عَنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: مَا أَكَلَ أَحَدٌ طَعَامًا قَطُّ خَيْرًا مِنْ أَنْ يَأْكُلَ مِنْ عَمَلِ يَدِهِ، وَإِنَّ نَبِيَّ اللَّهِ دَاوُدَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ كَانَ يَأْكُلُ مِنْ عَمَلِ يَدِهِ

⁵² Ali ibn Sinan al-Nasa'i, *Sunan Al-Nasa'i Al-Sughra* (Aleppo: Maktab al-Mathbu'ah al-Islamiyah, n.d.), 337.

⁵³ Interview with Nurdiana, a Bugis in Sarmi, November 25, 2021.

⁵⁴ Abu Thahr al-Salafi, *Al-A Hadits King Al-Hikayat Li Al-Salafi* (Mesir: Syirkah Afaq li al-Barmayat, n.d.), 7.

⁵⁵ Interview with Hj. Syamsiah T. Daeng Ngini, a *pregnant woman* in Abepura district, Jayapura city, November 20, 2021.

From al-Miqdam ra. the Prophet said, "A person shouldn't consume food than to eat from his labour. Indeed, the Prophet Dawud ate from his labour." 56

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ، رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، قَالَ: قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: احْرِصْ عَلَى مَا يَنْفَعُكَ، وَاسْتَعِنْ بِاللَّهِ وَلَا تَعْجِزَنَّ، وَإِنْ أَصَابَكَ شَيْءٌ فَلَا تَقُلْ: لَوْ أَنَّنِي فَعَلْتُ لَكَانَ كَذَا وَكَذَا، وَلَكِنْ قُلْ: قَدَّرَ اللَّهُ، وَمَا شَاءَ فَعَلَ، فَإِنَّ لَوْ تَفْتَحُ عَمَلِ الشَّيْطَانِ

From Abu Hurairah ra. said: The Prophet said, "Be zealous to do what is beneficial to you, ask Allah for help, and never be lazy. If you are struck by something (evil) do not say: if I had done it it would have been this and that. But say: Allah has decreed, what He wills will come to pass. Indeed, it opens up the opportunity for the entry of satanic interference." 57

عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: مَنْ أَحَبَّ أَنْ يُسَيِّطَ عَلَيْهِ فِي رِزْقِهِ، وَأَنْ يُنْسَأَ لَهُ فِي أَثَرِهِ؛ فَلْيَصِلْ رَحْمَهُ

From Anas bin Malik ra. said: I heard the Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings of Allaah be upon him) saying, "Whoever likes to have his sustenance and his life prolonged, then continue the friendship." 58
f. *A bright future*

The last goal motive contained in the tradition of female circumcision in Jayapura is the hope for a bright future. The identification is in the form of high dignity or social status and getting the best soul mate. The use of seven-layer clothes in the *mabaju bodo* procession is interpreted as a hope that in the future the girl will become a respectable person in the community. When a daughter is held on her lap outside the house and is held high by her father on the *nisompo in the attic*, it means that she grows up to be a leader or is seen as respected. The prayers read by the father usually contain dreams of the future. Meanwhile, the faster the rice is pegged to the chicken after the circumcision procession, indicating that it will quickly get a mate.

So that in the future he has a good degree and position. The higher the layer of our stupid clothes, the higher the person is considered to be of the same level.

...

Carried on his shoulders by his father, uncle, or brother. The meaning is upheld at a high level, maybe at any time he becomes a leader.

...

The chicken is pegged to rice, the faster the chicken pegs the rice, the sooner the soul mate will also come, or the sooner they get married.⁵⁹

Broadly speaking, these goals are based on making tradition a means of praying. The Bugis people believe in the power of prayer as the most powerful weapon for every believer. Although the line of human destiny has been set, they also believe that prayer will bring about good things or be a factor in bad destiny before it becomes good. This belief is in line with the following hadiths:

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ، رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، قَالَ: قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: الدُّعَاءُ سِلَاحُ الْمُؤْمِنِ وَعِمَادُ الدِّينِ وَنُورُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ

⁵⁶ al-Bukhari, *Sahih Bukhari*, 906.

⁵⁷ al-Qazwini, *Sunan ibn Majah I*, 62.

⁵⁸ al-Bukhari, *Sahih Bukhari*, 1227.

⁵⁹ Interview with Hj. Syamsiah T. Daeng Ngini, a *pregnant woman* in Abepura district, Jayapura city, November 20, 2021.

From Abu Hurairah ra. said: The Prophet said, "Prayer is the weapon of the believers, the pillar of religion, and the light for the heavens and the earth." ⁶⁰

عَنْ سَلْمَانَ الْفَارِسِيِّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ: قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: لَا يَزِدُّ الْقَضَاءَ إِلَّا الدُّعَاءُ ، وَلَا يَزِيدُ فِي الْعُمْرِ إِلَّا الْبِرُّ

From Salman al-Farisi ra. said: The Prophet (peace and blessings of Allaah be upon him) said, "There is no rejection of "qada" except prayer and there is no addition to life except goodness." ⁶¹

Based on the above findings, the tradition of female circumcision preserved by the Bugis people in Jayapura is not only based on the hadits of the Prophet PBUH, but its goals are also in line with the orders or recommendations of the hadits. Although not all of them are so, the symbols in the tradition and the values contained in them can be read as living *hadits*. The values of religious obedience, obedience to parents, friendship, and the sacredness of prayer are some of the religious attitudes of the Bugis people that have been inherited from generation to generation so that they can still be found today.

Conclusion

The hadits that live in the whole *because-motive* and *in-order-to-motive* above are the result of substance based on indicators that emerge from the values of the Bugis people's "patuk ayam" female circumcision tradition in Jayapura. Not all informants, the majority of whom are ordinary people, know these hadits. The institutionalization of a tradition that is sown in the teachings of Islam is rarely known to the public, let alone has crossed many generations. They feel that it is enough to believe that the traditions they maintain do not contradict the teachings of Islam, and even have a closely intertwined conformity. They have a good view, if not fanaticism, towards the scholars who spread Islam and take part in blowing the breath of Islam into their culture. Through the study of *living hadits*, the assumption that the traditions lived by Muslims, even though they have long dynamics and intersect with local culture, must have a spirit sourced from the Qur'an and hadits, can be confirmed.

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